

STANDARD EDITION.

THE
PICTORIAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

090

BEING
A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,
AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
MANY HUNDRED WOOD-CUTS;
AND
ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR ILLUSTRATIVE PORTRAITS, ENGRAVED ON STEEL.

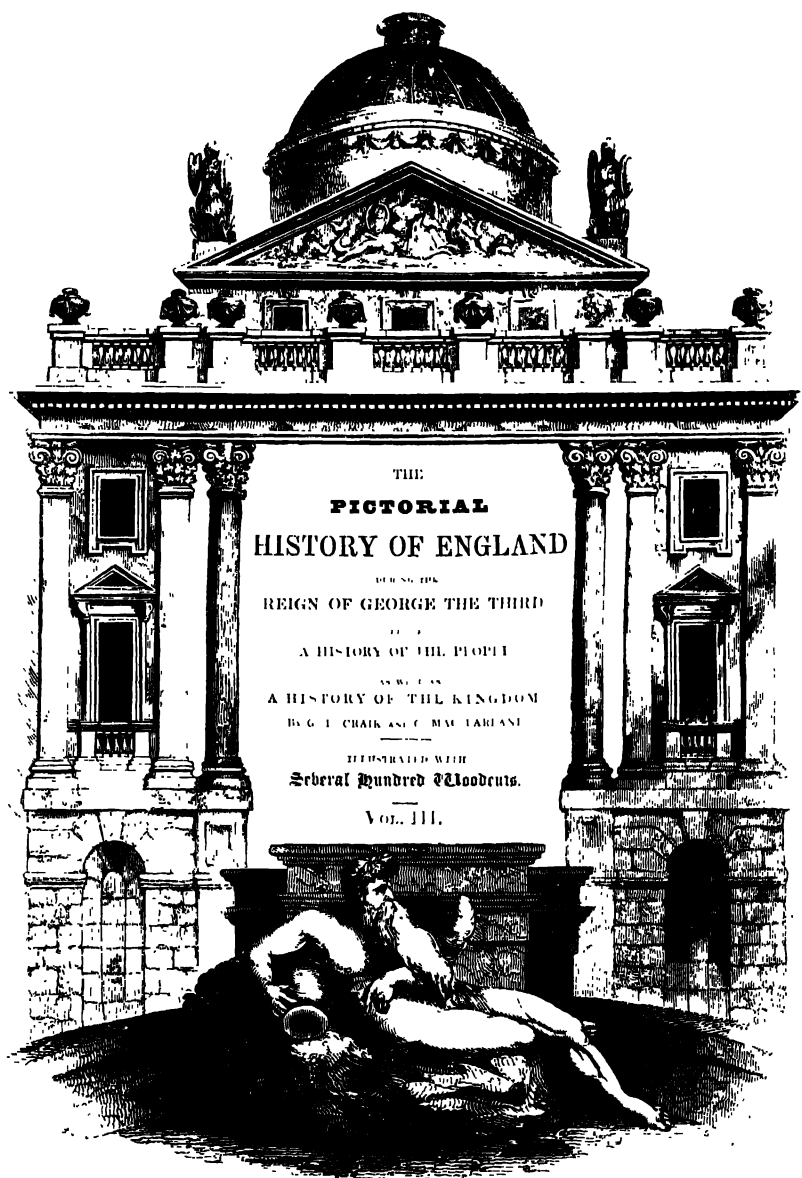
BY
GEORGE L. CRAIK AND CHARLES MAC FARLANE,
ASSISTED BY OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME VII.,
BEING THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

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THE
PICTORIAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DESIGNED
REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD

OR
A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

AS WELL AS
A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM
BY G. T. CHALK AND C. MAC LAREN

ILLUSTRATED WITH
Several Hundred Engravings.

VOL. III.

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CHAPTER I.
NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

PART II.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).—1792.

A.D. 1792.—THE British Parliament did not assemble until the 31st of January. The speech from the throne conveyed none of the anxieties and alarms which agitated the breasts of the king, of the minister, and of all thinking Englishmen. Both George III. and Pitt loved to follow the rule of saying least in these addresses to parliament when there was most to say. The first topic mentioned was the marriage of his majesty's second son, the Duke of York, with the eldest daughter of his good brother and ally the king of Prussia. The next thing mentioned was that, since the last session of parliament, a definitive treaty had been concluded, under the mediation of his majesty and that of his allies the king of Prussia and the States-General of the United Provinces, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, upon principles which appeared calculated to prevent future disputes between those powers. His majesty's intervention had also been employed to promote a pacification between the empress of Russia and the Porte; conditions had been agreed upon between England and Russia which his majesty undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-establishment of peace, on such terms, appeared, under existing circumstances, a desirable event for the several interests of Europe; and he was in expectation of speedily receiving the account of the conclusion of definitive treaties, preliminaries having been for some time since agreed upon between the empress and the sultan. His majesty regretted that he was not yet enabled to inform parliament of the termination of the war in India with Tippoo Sultaun; but the success which had already attended the distinguished bravery and exertions of the officers and troops, under the able conduct of Lord Cornwallis, afforded reasonable ground to hope that the war would be speedily concluded. The speech not merely mentioned in the routine manner the friendly assurances received from foreign powers, but affirmed, with a strange insincerity, that the general state of affairs in Europe appeared to promise to Great Britain the continuance of her present tranquillity. "Under these circumstances," said his majesty, "I am

induced to think that some immediate reduction may safely be made in our naval and military establishments; and my regard for the interests of my subjects renders me at all times desirous of availing myself of every favourable opportunity to diminish the public expenses." He recommended to the House of Commons to consider of such measures as the flourishing state of the funds and of public credit might render practicable and expedient for a reduction in the rate of interest of such of the annuities as were now redeemable; and he told them he entertained the pleasing hope of their being enabled to enter upon a gradual reduction of taxation, giving at the same time additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the success of which our future ease and security must essentially depend. Again France was not so much as mentioned; but the speech concluded with another recommendation of a steady and zealous, a confirmed and increased attachment to the British constitution, which had been found, by long experience, to unite the inestimable blessings of liberty and of order, and to which, under the favour of Providence, all our other advantages were principally to be ascribed.

The address proposed by ministers gave rise to a long and most animated debate, the attack upon it being led by Mr. Grey, who severely blamed the government for its interference in the war between Russia and Turkey, though that interference had rescued the Turkish empire in Europe from immediate destruction. Mr. Grey also censured ministers for holding out the hope of a speedy termination to the war in India, blaming everything that had been done there, and asserting that we were as far from victory or an honourable peace as we were at the end of the preceding campaign. He concluded by moving the omission of the passage in the address relating to the success which had attended the military operations in India, and the substitution of other words expressive of regret that the war in that part of the world had not yet been brought to a conclusion. Dundas, the real India minister, replied smartly to Grey touching Indian affairs, and adduced good sound facts to prove that

ministers were justified in predicting a speedy and glorious termination to the struggle with Tippoo. When Fox rose to speak, every one was sure that he would bring forward France and her revolution and constitution. He began, however, with Russia and Turkey; for he and his party had conceived almost as strong an attachment for that very amiable woman and gentle sovereign the Czarina Catherine as they entertained for the French revolution; and the Czarina, fully aware of this somewhat contradictory prepossession, had, as we shall soon see, taken certain flattering steps to increase the vivacity of Fox's feeling in her favour. On this day Fox expressed his strongest disapprobation of the interference of ministers in support of Turkey, saying that it was very unnecessary and very dangerous to excite the resentment of a court like that of St. Petersburg. After dwelling for some time upon this subject, he suddenly turned to France. He said that the frequent eulogiums on the constitution of Great Britain which had of late been introduced into parliament had been introduced in order to reproach him and his friends for their admiration of what had been done in France, and to suggest the suspicion that he and his friends were not so much attached to our own constitution as they ought to be. He thought that those who had overturned a constitution so radically bad as that of France had done what was perfectly right, and had properly run all hazards to do it: but the constitution of Great Britain was fundamentally good, and merited the efforts of all honest subjects to preserve it, although it was not absolutely free from defects and imperfections. It was therefore most unjust to insinuate that those who approved of the destruction of despotism in France would rejoice in the downfall of the British constitution. Fox then came nearer home, and took up the Birmingham riots and the sufferings of Dr. Priestley. He bitterly complained that, through the laxity or tacit approbation of the magistrates, those violent outrages had been committed upon property and person. The mob, he said, had been basely connived at: a gentleman of the greatest celebrity for science and character, the famous Dr. Priestley, had been reduced to absolute ruin, and had hardly been able to escape with his life. With a too sweeping generalization he declared that all the dissenters were as much attached to the established constitution, and as averse to revolution at home, as the followers of the established church. "It would have been well," he said, "if his majesty, in his speech, had spoken of those riots at Birmingham in the terms they merited. They were not riots for bread; they were not riots in the cause of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had yet some excuse in their principle; they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining—of men who had set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of an entire description of their fellow-citizens, including persons as eminent for their ability, as blameless in their conduct, and as faithful in their allegiance, as this or any

country could boast." Pitt, as usual, replied to Fox. He lamented the disorders at Birmingham; but thought these were matters which discretion ought to consign to oblivion, particularly as enough had been done for their atonement. And he told Fox, very plainly, that he was seeking to revive the subject for party purposes. He warmly defended the conduct of his cabinet and his diplomatists abroad in the interference for the pacification of Russia and Turkey; and he told Fox that, but for him and his party, and their clamours in Parliament, the British government could have succeeded much sooner in procuring that desired end. [But Fox, not satisfied with a legal opposition to ministers in the House of Commons, sent, as we shall soon have occasion to notice more particularly, a representative, a sort of minister of his own, with his cypher, to St. Petersburg, to thwart the treaty in progress and frustrate the king's minister—a measure which, as Burke afterwards remarked, though not absolutely high treason, as we were not actually at war with Russia, was in law not very remote from that offence, and undoubtedly a most unconstitutional act and treasonable misdemeanour.] Pitt added, that his object was to prevent the ruin of the Turkish empire, and to maintain that balance of power in Europe which was important to this country, and the maintenance of which Fox himself had so often and so eloquently recommended. But, soon quitting these topics, he launched into the pleasanter subject of financial improvement, laying before the House a circumstantial statement, by which it appeared that the last year's revenue had amounted to 16,790,000*l.*, which, after all the expenditure and the annual million devoted to the reduction of the national debt, left a surplus of 900,000*l.* He intimated that, encouraged by this prosperous condition of the finances, he contemplated taking off some of those taxes which pressed most heavily upon the poorer classes. His speech ended the debate, and, the question being called for, the amendment was negatived by a majority of 209 to 85, after which the original address was agreed to.

The opposition, in their plan of campaign, had determined to make a great fight on the subject of the Indian war, and Mr. Philip Francis, the antagonist of Hastings and Impey, had been busily engaged in preparing the means of attack. Their chief objects were to prove that the war with Tippoo had been unjustly and unnecessarily provoked, and that it had been conducted by Lord Cornwallis without spirit or ability. As we have seen, they began their attack on the first day of the session: they renewed it with more formality on the 9th of February by a call for papers, which, they said, were necessary to throw light upon the subject. Major Maitland, who made the motion, accompanied the demand with a retrospective view of India affairs, not very favourable to the present administration. The major contended that the old policy was to remain at peace with the natives, and that this system was more safe and advanta-

geous than the present system of war and conquest. Although Tippoo's insults, enormities, and direct attacks were known to all the world, the Major maintained that he had given no provocation, and that the present war, which must involve us in all manner of difficulties, was uncalled for and aggressive on our part, and a breach of the treaties we had concluded with Tippoo. Maitland was supported by Francis, who expressed his astonishment and indignation at the denial of papers necessary for the examination of transactions not in progress, but already past and completed, and who said ministers, by refusing these papers, acknowledged that their conduct would not bear investigation. Dundas replied, and consented to produce all the papers which were called for, except copies of any proposals of peace which had been made by Tippoo Sultan, and, with that exception, Maitland's motion was agreed to. On the 15th of March Maitland moved various resolutions on the Indian war, tending to reprobate it as unjustifiable, and as the result of a design planned long before any declaration of hostilities for the destruction of Tippoo. Thus design the Major thought as impolitic as it was unjust, for, were Tippoo to be destroyed, no native power would remain strong enough to balance the formidable power of the Mahrattas, who would become extremely dangerous from their restlessness and rapacity. Maitland was supported by several good speakers of his party, but his resolutions were all negatived. Nevertheless, on the 24th of March, the Major resumed the subject, declaring that, from the most attentive perusal of the papers which had been produced by ministers, he was confirmed in the correctness of his opinions. These papers, he said, clearly proved that a plan of conquest had been formed, and that we had sought the war. In reply, ministers and their friends enlarged upon the personal character and conduct of Tippoo, and his immense hostile preparations and the known moderation and justice, and perfect sense of honour of Lord Cornwallis, who had, they said, lamented the necessity of taking up arms against the Mysorean. In conformity with these views a resolution was moved, declaring that the conduct of Lord Cornwallis on this occasion accorded with the true spirit and intent of the rules of government established by the British Parliament for the affairs of India, and, after a long and animated debate, in which Pitt took part, this resolution was carried.

The papers relating to the apprehended rupture between Great Britain and Russia, on account of Turkey, had been laid before the House on the 6th of February. On the 13th of that month Mr Grey complained that large sums had been unnecessarily spent in fitting out an armament, and that the papers produced were incomplete, and did not sufficiently enable the House to examine particulars. He complained that ministers had not produced the preliminaries said to have been adjusted between the Russian and Turkish negotiators, without which no opinion could be formed of the benefits

arising from the interference of the British court, supported as it had been by an extensive armament, and the apparent determination of employing force. These things, he said, had nearly involved Great Britain in a dangerous and unnecessary war with Russia. Ministers ought also to have given papers to explain the vacillating conduct of the court of Berlin, and, above all, they ought to have presented the account of the expenses attending our formidable armament. Pitt replied, that every paper had been produced that could with propriety be made public, and that the account of the expenses of the late armament was in preparation, and would be laid before the House with all possible dispatch. As for the preliminaries between the two belligerent powers, they had not been officially communicated to our government, but he hoped soon to present to the House a more satisfactory document—the definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. A week later Mr Grey moved for a more ample production of papers regarding various portions of the recent diplomacy of ministers. He said that, even from the papers they had so stungly laid before the House there appeared just cause for censuring them for having, without any warrantable motive, engaged in the business, and then relinquished it in a base and pusillanimous manner. Administration had acknowledged that they had not been able to preserve to the Porte the possession of Orzikoff, and yet this had been the great avowed object of our armament. He had been told by ministers that Great Britain stood on such intimate terms with Prussia, that the interests of Turkey, Prussia's ally, could not be relinquished, but our alliance with Prussia was but defensive, and if we were by any secret articles bound to enter more deeply into the views of Prussia, the House ought to know it, in order to guard against mere projects of ambition, which must be inimical to the interests of Great Britain, and tend only to aggrandize other countries at her cost. He called upon ministers to produce the requisitions of the Turks for our assistance and mediation, to produce the entire correspondence between the British and Russian ministers, if they wished to justify the various steps they had taken. In replying to Grey, Pitt said that, though candour and openness between ministry and parliament were commendable and requisite, there were cases which prevented their exercise, that, where other powers were implicated, secrecy became an absolute duty, for otherwise no negotiations could proceed, that he thought, in the present case, the ministry had disclosed enough to make the House master of all the essential parts of the business, and that confidence was due to administration until their capacity or their integrity was impeached. Fox reprobated in severe terms the expectation or demand from parliament of confidence in ministers. He thought that the minister had already exacted a great deal too much confidence, and given too little; that ever since the formation of the present administration

tion, in 1784, these had been a fixed and regular design to tell parliament as little as possible. "Parliament had been made to vote money on confidence, and to pay for extensive armaments without inquiring into the necessity of them: this was assuredly an attack on the fundamental principles of the constitution, on the most important functions of the representatives of the people, whose peculiar duty it was to watch over the money of their constituents. The king, it might be said, had the right of declaring war; but the Commons had the right, as full and as undoubted, of granting or withholding the means of carrying it on." After condemning the uses that had been made of our alliance with Prussia, Fox very daringly declared that the Porte—the poor sultan, who seemed within an inch of ruin—so far from courting, had felt an objection to our interference. He said that he doubted whether there had ever been any necessity for that interference; but that, if such a necessity really existed, it ought to have been explained fully to the House before any expenses were incurred or any steps taken that might have involved us in a war with the empress. The call for fresh papers was negatived by a majority of 235 against 120. Lord North (the son of the ex-minister, now Earl of Guildford) not only divided with the minority, but also spoke at considerable length. Mr. Grey, in the course of his speech, made allusion to the constant ministerial plaudits bestowed by ministers and their friends on the British constitution, hoping that they would prove true to that which they praised, and quoted Cowper's celebrated lines—

"We, too, are friends to loyalty. We love
The king who loves the law," &c.

On the same day the same question was agitated with equal vivacity in the House of Lords. The attack was led by Lord Fitzwilliam, who affirmed that the Empress of Russia had been unjustly attacked and forced into this war by the Turks; that, as far back as May, 1790, she had intimated to our government the moderate terms on which she would make peace; that she had been moderate and magnanimous throughout, and that, even after concluding a separate peace with Sweden, which left her free to act with all her force against the Turks, she had adhered faithfully to her first moderate proposals; that, after we had equipped our formidable armament, a negotiation had been set on foot by the British minister at Petersburg in order to secure to Turkey the restoration of Ochakoff and a well-fortified frontier on the side of Russia; and that this negotiation had ended by our accepting the very terms which the empress had offered in May, 1790, and in our further agreeing that, if these terms were not accepted by the sultan within four months, the two belligerent powers should be left to terminate their quarrel without any further interference on our part. Thus, urged Lord Fitzwilliam, many months of negotiation and the great sum of money expended on the armament had been thrown away, and during all

that time the trade of Great Britain had been exposed to continual hazard; and, what was still worse, the honour and dignity of the nation had suffered a material injury in the eyes of Europe. On the other side it was argued that ministers had managed the difficult business in the very best manner, and had committed no sort of error in interfering to rescue Turkey from the grasp of Russia. It was represented as being manifestly the interest of Great Britain to oppose the aggrandizement of the Russian empire—an empire already too extensive and powerful for the tranquillity and safety of its neighbours. The measures which ministers had pursued, and the armament they had fitted out, were also rendered necessary by other and truly critical circumstances: it was highly necessary that we should exert ourselves in order to prevent, in time, the predominance of that naval power which was forming by a potentate who had, in the American war, acted an unfriendly part towards us, and was now again preparing to oppose us, with all her might, upon our own element. Nor was the formidable fleet we had equipped to be considered as a useless parade of our maritime strength. It had carried terror to the heart of Catherine, and imposed upon her some degree of moderation in dealing with the Turks; whereas, if that fleet had not been equipped, she would assuredly have risen in her demands. Lord Fitzwilliam was outvoted by a large majority, 82 to 19. A few days later, on the 27th of February, there was another debate in the Lords on the same subject, which was rendered remarkable and amusing by a speech from Earl Stanhope, who had carried over the congratulations of the Revolution Society to Paris, and who was passionately enamoured of all parts of the French revolution. This eccentric nobleman recommended, as the very best means of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and preventing the overgrowth of any ambitious state, a close alliance with France, which had, in forming its present system, solemnly forsworn all projects of aggrandizement, and resolved to draw the sword only in a defensive war. These glorious principles, together with all the measures which had been adopted in France since the happy revolution, pointed out that country as the only natural ally of this. Stanhope, who was an experimentalist in natural as well as political philosophy, must have made use of some strange new spectacles or lenses while travelling in France or residing in Paris, for he declared that the French had very zealously copied the British constitution, and that the old antipathy and animosity to the English had entirely disappeared, to give place to the most loving brotherly feeling. On this occasion the opposition only mustered 19 votes against 98. Two days after, on the 29th, the subject was revived in the House of Commons by Mr. Whitbread, who was becoming a considerable man on the Whig side of the House, and who moved the following resolutions:—1. "That no arrangement respecting Ochakoff and its district appears to have been capable

of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on the part of Great Britain between Russia and the Porte. 2 That the interference, for the purpose of preventing the cession of the said fortress and its district to the Empress of Russia, has been wholly unsuccessful. 3 That his majesty's ministers, in endeavouring, by means of an armed force, to compel the Empress of Russia to abandon her claim to Oczakoff, and in continuing an armament after the object for which it was proposed had been relinquished, have been guilty of gross misconduct, tending to incur unnecessary expenses, and to diminish the influence of the British nation in Europe.' Whitbread exclaimed loudly against the temerity of ministers in lavishing the money of the people in unnecessary and unjustifiable armaments. He condemned what had been said by ministers to exasperate this country against Russia, and declared it to be a well known fact, that in the armed neutrality set up to injure us during the American war, Russia had been only one among many, that the late King of Prussia, the celebrated Frederick, was the original contriver of that measure, so injurious to England, although the enmity of Prussia seemed now to be utterly forgotten. But Whitbread forgot that Frederick the Great, who had no fleet, could have done nothing in this armed neutrality without the Empress Catherine, and then, again, Frederick the Great was sleeping quietly in the marble vault at Potsdam and Prussia, under his nephew and successor, was following a policy altogether different from his, while Catherine was still living, reigning, and domineering. He re-asserted that the Turks had rushed into the war to recover possession of the Crimea, which the Russians had fairly conquered in previous campaigns, and which the sultan had ceded to them by a regular treaty. He prayed the moderation of the empress, and undervalued the importance of Oczakoff, which had cost so much blood and occasioned so much diplomatic bustle and delay. Because England exported nothing to Oczakoff, and imported nothing from it, he concluded that Oczakoff was not worth any contention and that ministers must have had another and a hidden motive. After all their bluster, ministers had agreed that Russia should keep Oczakoff. But this concession had been granted because our ally, Prussia, was coveting possession of Dantzic and Thorn, which were to be torn lastingly from Poland and given to his Prussian majesty, for his consenting to the Russian possession of Oczakoff. Whitbread was seconded by Colonel Macleod, and supported by Grey, Windham, Sheridan, Fox, Francis, and others of the Whig phalanx. The first that rose to oppose his motion was Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool), who, on this occasion, delivered his maiden speech in the House, with great applause and effect. He, too, declared that Russia was becoming dangerous to the balance of power and the tranquillity of Europe; and that her plans of conquest on the Turks

were notorious. The Turks were accused of having begun the present contest; but were they justified by the manner in which the Crimea was obtained by Russia, by the revolt prompted in Egypt by the shameful intrigues of Russia, by the haughty and unjust claims set forth by Russia to some of the fairest provinces of the Turkish empire? The power whose position best enabled it to stem this torrent was Prussia and the British government, by a seasonable alliance, had enabled it to undertake the task of counteracting the schemes of Russia. Britain had already mediated successfully for the Turks in detaching the Emperor of Germany from his Russian alliance and the war against them, and the interposition of Britain between the Turks and Russians, however artfully misrepresented, had obviated the extravagant claims which the empress would indubitably have enforced after the many successes which had attended her arms. He thought, however, the present era was not calculated for invasions and conquests: a spirit had arisen in Europe decidedly adverse to ambitious views, Great Britain was constitutionally their foe, a stable, unshaken peace was equally her interest and inclination. Dundas made a sharp, telling speech on the same side, and, after several other members had spoken, at a late hour of the night the debate closed by an adjournment of the question till the following day. On the first of March the debate was re-commenced by Mr. Martin, who observed that wherever much secrecy prevailed, either in public or private transactions much fraud and deceit might be expected. He was followed by Francis, who said that England was merely serving the interests of Prussia, that all German alliances were particularly to be dreaded, as being always attended with endless and unprofitable expense, that the English character was now to throw aside all steadiness in politics and national pursuits, and adhere only to pecuniary speculations, that the balance of power in Europe was not so much our affair as it was that of the continental powers, that we had lost a great deal of money by our quarrel with Russia, as thereby had arisen a delay of several commercial advantages which might have been obtained from that power, &c. Then Fox rose and delivered one of his longest and most eloquent speeches. He accused Pitt of being guilty of the meanest craft and duplicity, and of having acted in all his foreign negotiations against the honour and the real interests of his country. After taking a review of our foreign policy, from the time of our joining Prussia, in order to prevent Holland becoming the prey of France—a great object, which he applauded at the time, and which he could not censure now—he said that we were standing forward the principals of every quarrel, the Quixotes of every enterprise, the agitators in all the plots, intrigues, and disturbances that were every day arising in Europe. He hurled Oczakoff at the head of the minister with terrible effect. If Oczakoff was an unimportant place, they ought to

be censured for having armed and protracted the war on this account; and if Ouzakoff was an important place, the key to Constantinople, then they ought to be censured for disarming without having obtained re-possession of it for the Turks. But the reproach came with a bad air from Fox and his party, for their opposition to the armament, and the strong feeling they excited in the country against any war with Russia, had forced ministers to disarm sooner than they wished. Fox drew a flattering picture of the greatness and the steadiness of purpose of the Empress of Russia; and declared that she would have granted better terms to the Turks if we had never armed or interfered at all. Nothing, he said, could be more rash than the minister's foreign policy, or more unconstitutional than his reserve and secrecy with parliament. "This," added he, "is what puts our constitution in danger. That the pride, the folly, the presumption of a single person shall be able to involve a whole people in disgrace is more than philosophy can teach mortal patience to endure. Here are the true weapons of the enemies of our constitution! Here may we search for the source of the present outpouring of seditious writings, meant either to weaken our attachment to the constitution, by depreciating its value, or that loudly tell us we have no constitution at all. We may blame, we may reprobate such doctrines; but, while we furnish those who circulate them with arguments such as these, while the example of this day shows us to what degree the fact is true, we must not wonder if the purposes the seditious writings are meant to answer be but too successful. They argue that a constitution cannot be right where such things are possible; much less so when they are practised without punishment. Against the vain theories of men who project fundamental alterations upon grounds of mere speculative objection I can easily defend the constitution; but when they recur to these facts, and show me how we may be doomed to all the horrors of war by the caprice of an individual, who will not even condescend to explain his reasons, I can only fly to this House, and exhort you to rouse from your lethargy of confidence into the active mistrust and vigilant control which your duty and your office point out to you." Pitt defended himself with as much spirit as Fox had employed in the attack. He again told his great adversary that it was chiefly through him that what had been done well had not been done still better. He asked whether any man conversant in politics could admit that the Turkish empire, if unable by its own intrinsic strength to resist the attacks of its two potent neighbours, Russia and Austria, should be abandoned by the other European powers, every one of which was so visibly interested in the preservation of its independence? But if other powers were indolent and apathetic, or hindered by untoward circumstances, could Great Britain remain inactive and leave Turkey to its fate? Could a British ministry look on with indifference or tranquillity,

while her commerce in the Levant was so manifestly threatened, and the maritime power of England, not only in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, but in every other sea, must receive a fatal blow from the immense increase of shipping that would accrue to Russia and Austria, were they to become masters of European Turkey? Russia especially, already formidable at sea, must through the possession of the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which unite those seas, derive such an accession, as might in a short time render her the first maritime power in Europe.* These were considerations which authorised a British minister to act with uncommon energy; for we must not lose the sovereignty of the sea, without which the immediate safety of Great Britain must necessarily become precarious. If the Turks had been the ostensible aggressors in the present war, they had received beforehand provocations from Russia which no people with any remnant of spirit could bear; their subjects had been excited to rebellion by the secret agents of the empress; and the Turks knew—and all the world knew—the ambitious plans, the regular system, which the empress had concerted against the Turkish empire. Nothing, he said, was more obvious than the certainty that, if Great Britain had not assumed that hostile posture of which opposition so unjustly complained, the

* In the Greeks, Russia would have obtained the best sailors in the Mediterranean, and subjects most obedient to her commands, and intelligent and quick in all matters. The community of religion, the friendship between the Greeks and Russians, the harsh and most barbarous treatment which the Turks still gave the Greeks, an inveterate hatred of the latter for their Mussulman masters, and their natural proneness to change and political intrigue, made the people of the Morea, the Isles, and other parts of Greece, forget the shameful way in which they had been abandoned by Catherine during the preceding insurrection and war, and they were as eager as ever to co-operate with the Russians. In the month of April, 1790, a memorial had been presented to the empress at Petersburg by deputies from the Greek islands, who, in the name of their countrymen, offered her imperial faith to the Greek throne to her second grandson, Constantine. This memorial was strongly marked with the character of the modern Greek people. The deputies began by vituperating a certain cavalier Euro, the leader of another party of Greeks, who had been for some time in Russia, where he had extracted large sums of money from the empress. "This Euro," said they, "who now erects himself into a chief and conductor of our people, is a man abhorred by our nation, out of the disgust of which he sprung, and where he would have remained, if he had not with an unheard-of audaciousness deceived your imperial majesty's ministers, and assumed a reputation by attributing to himself exploits he never performed. . . . We assure your imperial majesty that neither he nor any of your officers you sent to us ever paid us a single ruble. The flotilla and the other armaments of Lambrò were equipped at our own sole expense. . . . We never ask of you treasures; we do not ask for them now; we only ask for powder and ball, which we cannot purchase, and to be led to battle. We are come to offer our lives and fortunes, not to ask for your treasures. Deign then, O great empress! glory of the Greek faith! deign to read our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the glorious reign of your imperial majesty. It is under your auspices that we hope to deliver, from the hands of barbarous Mohammedans, our empire, which they have usurped, and our patriarchate and our holy religion, which they have insulted; to free the descendants of Athens and Lacedæmon from the tyrannic yoke of ignorant savages, under which groans a nation whose genius is not extinguished; a nation which glows with the love of liberty; which the iron yoke of barbarism has not degraded; which has constantly before its eyes the images of its ancient heroes, whose example animates its warriors even to this day. Our superb ruins speak to our eyes, and tell us of our ancient grandeur; our innumerable ports, our beautiful country, the heavens which smile on us all the year, the ardour of our youth, and even of our decrepit old men, tell us that nature is not less propitious to us than it was to our forefathers. Give us then for a sovereign your grandson Constantine; it is the wish of our nation (the family of our ancient emperors is extinct); and we shall become what our ancestors were. And it had been the wish of Catherine from the birth of her second grandson, and from the day on which she married him, as if generally, Constantine, that he should sit on the throne of Constantinople."

original demands of the court of Petersburg would have been insisted on to the last, and Turkey would have been forced to submit to a dismemberment. These demands had been made previously to a victorious campaign; and could it be believed that so rapacious a power as Russia would have relinquished such extensive and important provinces as Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, after conquering them, unless it had dreaded a contest with the first naval power in the world, which would probably have ended in the annihilation of the Russian navy? Pitt paid back the personalities of Fox, and not without interest, although he made no use at this time of the unjustifiable conduct of the leader of the opposition, in sending an agent of his own to Petersburg to counteract what the king's minister was doing. He said that the party divisions in this country encouraged the temper of resistance to Russia; that unfortunately the enemy had been encouraged by an opposition, who now took merit to themselves for having rendered that useless, which, but for their efforts, would have been attended with full success. But he did not envy them their triumph. There was not a triumph over the enemies of their country, but over the council of their king. And now, as he was on the subject of triumph and popularity, he must observe, that if he and his right honourable friend (Dundas) were to go to the capital of that empire, which opposition had thus served, certain he was that they should not be found in any place of glory between two orators of antiquity! The cut was sharp, and the allusion which gave it its edge was known to all the world, for the Whig newspapers had blazoned the following facts as honourable and glorious both to the English orator and the Russian autocrats. In the summer of 1791, shortly after the strenuous opposition of the Whig party to the Russian armament, Catherine had written with her own hand to her ambassador at London, to request Mr. Fox to sit to Nollekens for a bust in white marble, which she said she meant to place between the statues of Demosthenes and Cicero! Pitt's reference to this bust brought red blood to the swart countenance of Charles Fox, who rose as soon as the minister sat down, and told him that he had said nothing to make him retract the censure which he thought his conduct had deserved. "With regard," said he, "to what the right honourable gentleman has chosen to introduce into his speech, respecting compliments and honours conferred on me by the Empress of Russia, I am ready now and at all times to declare, that if any foreign sovereign, in friendship with this country, shall pay me the compliment to think well of me, and testify it by those marks of distinction to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded, I shall feel myself highly gratified by such distinction." But this plaster could not cover the gash which Fox had received: the great termagant of the North, the Messalina-Semiramis of modern Europe, had never been distinguished by friendly feelings towards this country; she had attempted to inflict a

mortal wound upon us during the American war, she had behaved uniformly with an arrogance and an insolence hurtful to our national spirit, and at the moment she chose to pay these well-calculated compliments and honours to the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, so far from being in friendship with this country, she and we were in a state of open enmity, and our narrow seas were covered with an armament which a little more obstinacy and a little more insolence on her part would have called to Cronstadt and Petersburg. Nor can we possibly conceive how, under any circumstances, an English statesman could be justified in accepting such honours, even from the most friendly of foreign powers, for his speeches and conduct in the British parliament, upon questions like the present; and still less can we imagine how any friendly sovereign could decently offer these honours to the leader of a party opposed to the government of the day, which alone is recognisable by foreign powers. Assuredly, there was scarcely more indecency in Catherine's sending money and bribes to the poor and factious nobles of Sweden, in order to promote their opposition to their sovereign in their diets; or in her caressing and flattering the madly factious nobles of Poland, to keep up anarchy and her own influence in that wretched country. Fox might have made these reflections before sitting to old Nollekens for a bad bust; but he and his party, though professing such an extravagant love for democracy, and such a sympathy for French principles, had long since fallen into a state of admiration for the greatest despot in Europe which is best expressed by the French word *engouement*; and, forgetting the moral of the old Scotch song, that it is well to be off with an old love before we take on with a new, these men persevered in their passion for the czarina even after they had taken to their hearts that new Dalilah, the French revolution. But this bigamous and anomalous connection is not a single isolated instance in liberal politics; for the same party and their successors, though enthusiastic for extreme liberty, fell prostrate before the star and the prestige of Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest of liberticides. In both cases, no doubt, the prostration was made to successful energy and grandeur of design; and Catherine and Napoleon were also reformers in their way; and the autocrats had cultivated an intercourse with the philosophes and liberals of France, had adopted some of their theories and systems of law and government, though only to let them remain in their chrysalis or theoretic state; and her correspondence with Voltaire and Diderot had gained her wonderful esteem; for what could seem so marvellous and so beautiful as a despotic sovereign courting the correspondence of men of letters, and assuming the language of liberalism and philosophy? The deeds which accompanied and followed this imperial coquetry, this philanthropy in words and ink, were kept out of sight and out of mind by these infatuated adorners, who continued to applaud Ca-

therine's high wisdom in granting full religious toleration to every sect and community in every part of her immense empire, even after she had wielded the sword of persecution with as remorseless a hand as Simon de Montfort in his crusade against the Albigenses; and who extolled her for abolishing, in her code, capital punishments, though in practice she knouted people to death, and continued for political offenders the unspeakable hardships of Siberian exile. Continuing his answer to Pitt, Fox proclaimed his strong predilection for a close Russian alliance: and declared that he had been steady and consistent in this opinion. "With regard to Russia," said he, "it has ever been my opinion that she was the power in Europe (I will scarcely except even Holland) with which the cultivation of reciprocal ties of friendship, both commercial and political, was most natural, and of the greatest consequence to this country. For the uniformity of this opinion, I appeal to my whole conduct, whether in office or out of it. At the close of the American war, I thought Russia the power whose naval force, joined with ours, might effectually counterbalance the united navies of the house of Bourbon. The gentlemen on the other side have opportunities of knowing to what degree I endeavoured to give effect to this opinion. When I was again in office, I refused to concur in remonstrances to the court of Petersburg against the seizure of the Crimea. These have ever been my sentiments; and I see nothing in what has recently happened to make me change them." The question being then put on Whitbread's first resolution, it was negatived without a division; on his second resolution the previous question was moved and carried; and the third was negatived by 244 against 116.

On the 7th of March the Commons resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of so much of his majesty's speech as related to making a suitable provision for the establishment of their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York. In announcing the marriage of his son the Duke of York, the king had intimated the necessity of increasing that prince's allowance. Parliament voted, in addition to 12,000*l.* a-year already enjoyed by the duke, the further sum of 25,000*l.* a-year. Some murmurs had been raised out of doors at the parsimony of the king of Prussia, who had only given the bride a portion of about 22,000*l.* English, and had stipulated that this money was to be returned to him in case the princess should die before the Duke of York. Some slight opposition was even made in doors to the amount of the annual sum demanded, as the duke, besides his 12,000*l.* a-year, already enjoyed a considerable revenue from the bishopric of Osnaburg, in Hanover, which had been given to him, though a layman and a soldier, as an appanage. But Pitt said that parliament ought not to discuss this matter; and Fox observed, that in a monarchical government such as England, founded on the preference given to it by the people

over all other forms of government, the splendour with which they loved to see it attended required that every branch of the royal family should be maintained with suitable magnificence. It was also agreed, without any difficulty, that the Duchess of York should have a "private revenue" of 4000*l.* a-year, and that a sum of 8000*l.* per annum should be settled on her royal highness in case she should survive the duke. In the course of the debate several allusions were made to the Prince of Wales, who was again seriously embarrassed with debt. Fox said that as the prince's name had been mentioned, he would just say a few words respecting *his* income, which he contended was proportionably much less than that of any of the younger branches of the family, much less than that of former Princes of Wales, and perfectly inadequate to the expenses of his establishment. He said that George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., had 100,000*l.* per annum; and Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III., had likewise for some part of his life 100,000*l.*, and that he had not always so large a sum was a circumstance of regret, and occasioned consequences that would reflect honour on no part of the country or government. [Among other things, Fox meant that Frederick, Prince of Wales, had died in debt, and that his debts had never been paid.] He was sure that the present Prince of Wales was the only part of the family that had received no increase to his income; although, in the meantime, the privy purse had been increased from 6000*l.* to 60,000*l.*, and the civil list from 600,000*l.* to 900,000*l.* He never had been one who wished to take from the splendour of monarchy. With regard to the principle of the present vote, he wished it might be a principle to provide as liberally for the other branches of the royal family, when in similar situations with the Duke of York. To those who thought otherwise, he would ask, whether they were sorry for the flourishing increase of his majesty's family and the Brunswick line? Certainly, if this was the case, they acted most hypocritically, for scarce a year had passed that they had not carried up the most fervent congratulatory addresses to the throne upon the birth of another prince or princess!

This matrimonial alliance tended to strengthen that political alliance with Prussia which George III. had so much at heart. As the Prince of Wales continued his connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, as perhaps there were still some doubts in the mind of the king as to the nature of that connection, George III. appears to have been the more eager to get his second son married. The union proved an unproductive one; but in other respects it was not much unhappier than the general run of royal marriages.

When the House went into committee to consider the state of the finances of the country, on the 17th of February, Pitt made another most hopeful speech, representing the country as being in the most flourishing condition. The increase of the revenue would, he said enable government to

take off taxes, bearing chiefly upon the poorer classes, to the amount of 300,000*l.*, and to apply 200,000*l.* more to increase the sinking fund for paying off the national debt. But, eminent as was the degree of prosperity and happiness to which this country had attained, it had not yet reached that summit of grandeur and felicity which lay within the reach of its industry, energy, and manifold advantages. But to reach this summit we must have tranquillity and order at home, and peace abroad; and he was happy to be able to confirm the language of the king's speech, and to assert that *unquestionably there never was a time when a durable peace might more reasonably be expected than at the present moment.* At the conclusion of the debate the House resolved, without a division, that, from the 5th day of April,—1. The additional duty on malt should be taken off. 2. The new duties on male and female servants should cease and determine. 3. The duties upon waggons, wains, carts, and other such carriages, should be taken off. 4. The taxes now payable on inhabited houses, containing less than seven windows or lights, should cease. 5. A halfpenny in the pound of the duty upon all candles (except wax and spermaceti) should be taken off. And in the committee of supply on the same day the House resolved to grant to his majesty the sum of 400,000*l.*, to be issued and paid to the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt. As reductions in taxation, or as instalments for the great debt, these things were sufficiently trifling; but they afforded a prospect of greater things; and a good part of the nation had never been more sanguine in their hopes than at this moment, when we were on the very verge of the most costly of all wars, which increased the national debt by processes far surer and infinitely more rapid than the action of Pitt's or Price's compound interest system, which was to have extinguished the debt altogether. And it was no light conviction which rendered popular a war that was to destroy all these bright financial hopes and shut out the prospect of that Land of Promise, a country without a creditor, with a people flourishing under a minimum taxation.

During the session Wilberforce again brought the subject of negro slavery before the House. He had devoted his life to it, and during the recess he and his friends had made unwearied exertions, wherein at times zeal perhaps had been allowed to outrun political discretion. Some of the abolitionists had determined to use no sugar except such as came from the East Indies, where African slavery was not; some of them left off sugar entirely and completely; and some began to form regular associations to stop the consumption of all West India produce. This would have interfered very materially with the revenue and with his friend Pitt's statements and hopes; and when Wilberforce was applied to—the abolitionists seem to have exhorted him on all points connected with

this great business, and to have adhered to his opinion as decisive and imperative—he, though at first disposed to recommend the association, decided, upon maturer consideration, that it would be better to suspend the measure until, if necessary, it might be adopted with effect by general concurrence. The dreadful news of massacres and burnings in the French part of the island of St. Domingo, the use the negro slaves were making there of their new-found liberty, the dread that these troubles and enormities might spread to Jamaica and our other West India islands, the knowledge that Brissot and the other French friends of the blacks were amongst the fiercest of the revolutionists of Paris—were men inimical to all thrones and all altars—threw a damp on the new philanthropy, and indisposed both the king and his minister to Wilberforce's extensive innovations. Pitt "threw out" against his making any motion this year, on account of what had happened in St. Domingo; and no doubt the chancellor of the exchequer was ruffled by the threatened associations against the use of produce which afforded so much revenue. Matters were made worse by not a few of the abolitionists professing an admiration for the French revolution and its principles. These were mostly men of religious lives, and even of an exalted devotion, but they dissented, for the most part, from the church of England; and, as the French Jacobins professed to be most friendly to the abolition, to be as enthusiastic as themselves, they seemed to forget their blunders and their madness, their vices, and even their loud-toned irreligion; and, agreeing in one great point, they were too ready with their expressions of sympathy as to others. All this Wilberforce saw operated to the injury of the cause. Of his most active co-operator, Clarkson, he was terribly afraid. He implored Lord Muncester, another active friend of the blacks, to caution Clarkson against talking so much about the French revolution, saying that *that* would ruin their cause. Dr. Milner, another champion, after an interview with Clarkson, wished him "better health and better notions in politics;"—"for," added the doctor, "no government can stand on such principles as he appeals to and maintains. I am very sorry for it, because I see plainly advantages taken of such cases as his, in order to represent the friends of abolition as *levellers.*" Clarkson, it appears, was in the habit of attending popular meetings at taverns and public places; and he had been present, the preceding summer, at the great dinner at the Crown and Anchor tavern to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Dundas said to Wilberforce, in his bluff manner, "What business had your friend Clarkson to attend the Crown and Anchor last Thursday? He could not have done a more mischievous thing to the cause which you have taken in hand." The name of Thomas Paine, as an abolitionist, gave an increase of discredit to the cause, and deprived Wilberforce of not a few

votes. Nevertheless, the House having resolved itself into a committee on the African slave-trade, Wilberforce, on the 2nd of April, moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of procuring slaves from Africa, ought to be entirely abolished." In a speech, which was exceedingly admired, he declared that he would never abandon this business until he had obtained his object; he intimated that, if he carried his present motion, he would immediately follow it up by another, "That the chairman be directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade." He was strenuously opposed by Jenkinson, Colonel Tarleton, and others, who defended the traffic, and declared that our West India islands would be useless without the slave-trade. These gentlemen also treated with great contempt the petitions against the traffic with which Wilberforce and his friends had loaded the table, saying that many of the signatures were those of raw youths, ignorant and inexperienced persons, or needy individuals who wrote their names for money. The motion was supported by Henry Thornton, Montague, Whitbread, and by the two illustrious rivals, Pitt and Fox, who, according to Wilberforce, "displayed more energy and ability than were almost ever exerted in the House of Commons."* Even in the imperfect manner in which they are reported, the two orations read admirably. Pitt's fast friend and brother-minister Dundas, who had recently become secretary of state by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, opposed immediate abolition as dangerous and impracticable, and recommended a middle course, which he thought might reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and he moved that the word "gradual" should be inserted before the word "abolition." And the committee adopted this amendment by a majority of 68, the numbers being 193 against 125. Wilberforce felt hurt and humiliated. "We must now," said he, "endeavour to force on these gradual abolitionists in their bill, for I will never myself bring forward a parliamentary licence to rob and murder." Some of his adherents exclaimed, without any moderation, against Dundas. A dignitary of the church assured him that nobody thought well of Dundas—that duplicity and artifice were esteemed parts of Dundas's character, &c. On the 4th of April, Wilberforce, upon being asked whether he meant to bring in a gradual abolition bill, declared that he neither would nor could do anything of the sort; that he could not sanction for a time that which it was his deep and firm conviction ought not to endure one moment

longer; that it was for his right honourable friend (Dundas), or for some of those who had supported him in his gradual abolition opinions, to follow up a measure which he disclaimed, and bring in a bill. Dundas replied, that the abolition of the slave-trade was Wilberforce's own object; that he had no bill to bring forward, nor could have any, as much the greater part of the plan which he thought best must be carried into effect by the internal legislatures of the different West India islands. Fox here fell upon Dundas with his usual warmth, telling him that the House had expected a regular bill from him before this; that having defeated Mr. Wilberforce's motion for immediate abolition, he was bound to bring in his plan of gradual abolition; and that the House would be insulted, and Dundas himself, and those who had voted with him, disgraced, if they did not bring in a bill forthwith. Dundas retorted that Fox was rude; that it was his opinion that the House and the Colonial Assemblies ought to act together in the business of abolition; that he was confident the slave-trade could not be got rid of until we had the concurrence of the Colonial Assemblies; that he was not prepared to bring in any bill; and that he thought it was unreasonable to expect him, within twenty-four hours after the discussion of the question had been closed, to bring forward any digested system. He added, however, that it was his intention to bring forward certain resolutions for the gradual abolition of the trade. But, as he fixed no day, Fox taxed him with a design of losing the present session, and moved that on the 18th of April the House would resolve itself into a committee to consider of measures to be taken for the abolition of the trade. This motion was seconded by Wilberforce himself, and was agreed to. The committee was, however, postponed till the 23rd, when Dundas produced twelve resolutions, to the effect that all that branch of the trade which was not applicable to the direct supply of the British West India islands should cease instantly; that, in order to prevent the importation of aged negroes into the colonies, no males past the age of twenty-five, nor females exceeding twenty, should henceforward be exported from Africa in British bottoms; that the whole tonnage employed in the slave-trade should be limited and strictly ascertained; that the duty on negroes imported into the colonies should be increased; that laws should be enacted for punishing the white people who maltreated the blacks, &c.; that the colonial legislatures should be invited to concur in these humane measures; and that the period of abolition should be fixed for the year 1800. These resolutions were warmly opposed by Wilberforce, and also by Pitt and Fox. An amendment was moved substituting the 1st of January, 1793, for the 1st of January, 1800; but this was rejected by 161 against 121. The abolitionists, however, carried the 1st of January, 1796, by a majority of nineteen, the numbers being 161 against 132. These debates ran through

* Wilberforce added—"Windham, who has no love for Pitt, tells me that Fox and Grey, with whom he walked home after the debate, agreed with him in thinking Pitt's speech one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard. For the last twenty minutes he really seemed to be inspired. He was dilating upon the future prospects of civilising Africa, a topic which I had suggested to him in the morning."—*Letter to Mr. Bay, in 1840, by his Son.*

several days. On the 1st of May, when the question came again before the House, Dundas declared that he could not propose the adoption of his resolutions by the House as they had been amended by the committee. They were, therefore, moved by Pitt, and, being passed, they were sent up on the following day to the Lords. Here the friends of immediate abolition were few, and the number of those opposed to any abolition very considerable. One of the king's sons, Prince William Duke of Clarence, who in the course of his naval training had visited the West India islands, who had lived among the planters and their slaves, and who conceived that that state of society did not justify the dreadful pictures which had been drawn of it by Clarkson and Wilberforce and the rest of the abolitionists, spoke against their projects with that facility of elocution which appears to have been inherent in all the sons of George III. Some men, who were critics in parliamentary oratory, thought that this young and royal sailor only required a little study to become an excellent speaker. His highness of Clarence was joined by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, Lords Stormont and Hawkesbury, and the Bishop of St David's, the learned Dr Horsley. As a sure means of delaying the business, they proposed a committee for the hearing of evidence at the bar of the House. This was vigorously opposed by Lords Grenville, Porchester, Stanhope, and Rawdon, and by the Bishop of London, Dr Beilby Porteus, who called for an upstairs committee, knowing it would answer their purpose much better than the examination of witnesses at the bar. The resolution of the anti abolitionists was carried, and was in itself equivalent to a direct vote, which followed on the 5th of June, when the business was formally postponed till the next session. Wilberforce always complained that it was to Dundas's fatal appeal to the principle of gradual abolition that he chiefly owed the defeat of his first assault, and the twenty years' continuance of the murderous traffic, but men less enthusiastic in the cause will confess that immediate abolition, if not an impossibility, was a measure which would have been attended with great difficulties and probably with convulsions. His disappointment seemed almost to affect his loyalty, for he further complained of St James's and the "Guelph family" being against him.*

The disgraceful state of the police of the metropolis, and especially of the largest portion of it not included in the verge and jurisdiction of the City of London, had long been a subject of complaint, and all men felt that the old unpaid (or *unsalaried*, for they got money and drove a trade in fees) justices of the peace were altogether inadequate to the discharge of the immense and almost daily increasing duties imposed upon them by a most rapidly increasing population. During the present session, at the beginning of March, a bill proposing to remedy the evil was introduced into

the House of Commons with the countenance and approbation of government. The plan of the bill was to open five different police-offices in the metropolis, for the prompt administration of those parts of justice within the cognizance of justices of the peace. Three justices were to sit in each of these new offices, with a salary of 800*l*. a year to each of them. These justices were to be prohibited from the taking of fees individually; and the fee-money paid into all the offices was to be put into a common stock and to be applied to the payment of their salaries and official expenses. A new power was also to be vested in constables and magistrates; for the first were to be enabled to apprehend people who did not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and the justices were empowered to commit them as vagabonds. Although every one (the rogues and vagabonds excepted) felt that some change was necessary, strong objections were taken to this bill. It was urged that the vesting the appointment of these new magistrates in the crown would give an unconstitutional increase of strength to government, and that the summary arrest and commitment of any individual was an infringement on personal liberty, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution. Fox, Windham, and Sheridan spoke loudly against it, and Dundas, Wilberforce, and some others as loudly in its favour. The advocates of the bill represented that it was meant as an experiment, as was proved by the limited time proposed for its duration, that if it was found to work well it might remain, but that in the contrary case parliament might either amend it or annul it. Being carried through the Commons, it was opposed in the Lords by Loughborough and Rawdon, but it was supported by the Chancellor and by Lords Grenville, Kenyon, and Sydney, and was passed by the usual strong ministerial majority.

A bill brought in for enclosing several parts of the New Forest in Hampshire gave rise to a hot debate and not a few personal attacks. The preamble of the bill stated, correctly enough, that the commissioners of the crown lands had recommended serious attention to the necessity of promoting the growth of proper timber for the British navy, but, as Pitt's adherent and man of all work, Mr George Rose, the son of a poor Scotch clergyman, who had attained to the profitable post of secretary to the Treasury, was supposed to have had a hand in the bill, and was known to have a house and a small estate in the neighbourhood of the New Forest, the opposition chose to consider the bill as being made solely with a view to his private benefit. They harangued against the many anecdotes he had already obtained from his bounteous friend the minister, they spoke of his wealth as being already immense, and they stigmatised the whole thing as a barefaced, infamous job. As the newspapers, pamphleteers, and satirists or squib writers took up the subject, as Mr. Rose was very unpopular (he was one of the objects of Peter Pindar's constant attacks), a terrible

* Letters and Diary, in Life of Wilberforce, by his Son.

outcry was raised, and kept up, out of doors; and it was thought expedient to withdraw the bill. The national utility of its principle was, however, admitted, and it was allowed that the personal character of the motives at present attributed to the measure ought not to prevent the future attention of parliament to the important subject. Not satisfied with this blow, the opposition picked a fresh rod for the servant and friend of the minister, whose services in the House of Commons as an acute and ready debater were of no small value to Pitt. During the preceding summer Mr. Rose had been pursued in a court of law by a publican in Westminster named Smith,* for a debt said to have been contracted at the last Westminster election. Mr. Thompson rose in the House of Commons on the 13th of March to state that from the evidence produced on that trial it appeared that Mr. Rose had unduly interfered in the late election of a member for Westminster, and had first bought over Mr. Smith the publican, who had some time before been fined fifty pounds for an offence against the excise laws, by using his influence and causing that fine to be remitted. Thompson observed, that the jury had given a verdict for Smith; and he declaimed against the heinousness of such conduct in a secretary of the treasury, who, not satisfied with using his influence and spending his own money, could spend the money of the public in purchasing votes for the iniquitous purpose of packing a parliament. He moved, in consequence, that the House should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the abuses of which persons in office had been guilty in the Westminster election, &c. The motion was seconded by Mr. Lambton, who stated another dark electioneering transaction. One Hoskins, he said, being in prison for infringing the lottery act, informed the solicitor for that department that he would procure fifty or sixty votes for Lord Hood, the ministerial candidate for Westminster, whom Mr. Rose had worked for, if they would only get him out of prison upon bail. The man's request was granted, but he produced such tattered malions for his bail, that, notwithstanding the recommendation of the solicitor, they were rejected. Subsequently, however, means were found to get this ill-conditioned bail accepted; Hoskins got his liberty and sixty votes for Lord Hood—"and from that time until this season," nothing more had been heard either of Hoskins or of his bail. If, said Lambton, such proceedings are connived at, if the laws can be thus eluded or suspended at pleasure by individuals, there can be no use in enacting laws. The secretary of the treasury, who

was present to speak in his own defence, and who lacked not the ability of doing it with effect, explained that Smith the publican had been fined for brewing small beer for the use of his own family; that the vestry of his parish had consented to remit their share of the penalty; but that the board of excise, to which he (Rose) had referred his petition for a like indulgence, had refused it—a sufficient proof, he thought, of the little efficacy of his interposition. Mr. Rose acknowledged that during the last general election, he had indeed had some dealings with Smith the publican; but the object of them was not to get votes for Lord Hood, but to get at the knowledge of the bad votes that were given to his lordship's opponents. He said that Smith had proposed to open his house, and had informed him that he could discover a great number of illegal votes given to Lord Townshend, one of the opposition candidates; that on his (Rose's) assent, Smith had detected a good many illegal voters; that Smith had applied to him for a reward, and that he had referred him to Lord Hood's committee; and that, this not satisfying Smith, he had sued him in a court of law, and had won his cause. But did any man in his senses suppose that if he had felt the least consciousness of being really indebted to Smith, he would have suffered the cause to have gone into a court of justice? Most certainly he would not. He referred to the common and notorious practice of all parties keeping open public-houses during elections, and drew a distinction between feasting and filling men with drink in order to find out what was illegal, and filling them with drink and feasting them in order to procure their votes. His assailants produced a letter which he had written to Smith, inviting him to his own private house to meet Mr. Vivian, the solicitor to the excise, on the business of the fifty pound fine, and they insisted that this letter was proof enough of his having improperly interested himself in the matter. But Thompson's motion for a committee of the whole House was negatived on a division by a majority of 221 against 84. Everywhere bribery and corruption from all parties, and undue influences on the part of government, were manifest; but it was in Scotland, the country of Rose and of the greater Dundas, that these latter influences were most openly practised. The occasion was very favourable: the people were much excited against George Rose, and it seemed but a continuation of the same exciting story to take up the case of the monstrously corrupt boroughs of Rose's native country. The initiative was intrusted to the ready-tongued Sheridan, who, on the 18th of April, moved for an inquiry into the grievances complained of and petitioned against by the royal burghs in Scotland. The number of these burghs was sixty-six, and the popular party in fifty of them had petitioned parliament for redress. They complained of infringements both on their rights and on their property, through the unlawful authority of their municipalities or corporations,

* The case was tried before Lord Kenyon and a special jury. The publican, George Smith, claimed of George Rose, Esq., secretary to the Treasury, &c., the sum of 110*l* 8*s*. "For the work and labour, care, diligence, and attendance of the plaintiff during the late contested election for Westminster." Erskine, now in the House of Commons and a distinguished member of the Whig party, was counsel for the plaintiff, and did not make an opportunity for bespotting the public functionary. It appeared clearly on the trial that Smith had been employed to detect bad votes, and that he had detected above six hundred. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff to the whole amount of his demand.—*Trial of George Rose, Esq., in the year 1791, &c.*

who were self-elected, and against whose usurped power and corruption no formal law had provided a remedy. The main grievance was considered to lie in the self-election of the magistrates in these burghs, and Sheridan required that this practice should be abolished. He said, it had been objected to that abuses of a like kind existed in England; but he could not consider that this was an argument to justify abuses in either country. He had also been told that the courts of law in Scotland might be resorted to for a remedy; but, on consulting those who knew the country and the subject, he had been assured that those courts could afford no remedy whatever. Knowing that at this moment there was a dread of every change or innovation, however innocent in its tendency, Sheridan tried to disarm this principle; but he spoke in a manner to exasperate rather than allay the general fear. He well knew, he said, that numbers were deterred by what had happened in France from countenancing changes in government; but the French revolution, considered in itself, and abstracted from the disturbances which *its enemies had occasioned*, was an event which must prove beneficial both to France and England: the French were delivered from despotism, and the English were freed from the fatal effects of the ambitious government of that kingdom while under an absolute monarchy. We were, moreover, through this revolution and the promise and assurance of peace it held forth, left at leisure to take in hand the reform of the many abuses which through apathy and negligence had been allowed to creep into our own constitution. And, according to Sheridan, instead of being a bad time, this was the very best season that could possibly be chosen for changes and improvements. The lord-advocate for Scotland* defended the corporations and the magistrates of the royal burghs from the charges brought against them; but he admitted in part one of Sheridan's complaints, acknowledging that there was no court in Scotland which could compel the magistrates of burghs to produce their accounts; and he said that, if a specific proposition were brought forward to remedy this defect, he would most willingly support it, provided it did not interfere with the general constitution of the burghs as established by long usage and practice. As to the power of self-election, as it was termed, the lord-advocate protested he would never countenance its abolition, nor any change in it, as it had worked well and was sufficiently restrained by public opinion. He entirely disbelieved the irregularities and dilapidations imputed to the magistrates; but, if such things were really committed by them, the case might be brought before the court of session, where redress would be afforded. Fox gave the lord-advocate a terrible mauling for resisting the inquiry, and for meeting the assertions contained in forty-six petitions then actually before the House

* The present Charles Hope, Esq., lately Lord President of the Court of Session.

by nothing but contradiction and counter-assertions. If things were as right as the lord-advocate affirmed, why should he resist an inquiry which would only prove and satisfactorily establish the fact? He (Fox) had a high respect for the inhabitants of North Britain on account of their integrity and abilities; but he would not pay them such a compliment as to suppose that there were no abuses in any of their burghs, while he knew there were so very many in England; he could not believe that in a country where, he was told, there existed no check, matters could be better conducted than where there were many checks. The petitioners, a numerous body of persons, complained that money was taken out of their pockets which ought not to be taken, that from the way in which the magistrates were elected there was no possibility of examining into their conduct, &c.; and he was most decidedly of opinion that there was ground for inquiry. If there was to be no inquiry, what character for freedom could the inhabitants of North Britain have? If the abuses did not really exist, still the House ought to peruse the papers which so much pains had been taken to collect; and let them afterwards declare and proclaim the enormous falsehoods they contained, if such should be the result of the inquiry. If the House refused to go into this inquiry, they would break their promise with the public, for they stood pledged by a resolution of last year to enter upon the subject. He hoped the inhabitants of North Britain loved the substance of liberty too well to permit the abuses they complained of to continue for any considerable length of time. He knew very well that every reform was now called a subversion by the enemies of reform, but this ought not to deter other men from entering into inquiry. If the present outcry were to have this effect, no evils would be prevented, no grievance redressed, and matters might come to a pitch when there really would be subversion instead of reform. When it was said that there was no peculiar hardship to the people of North Britain, inasmuch as many boroughs in England were in no better condition than the royal burghs in Scotland, it called to his mind the pleasing recollection of what had once been said by a friend of his (Burke), a person whom he had once the pleasure of calling his friend, who of late had absented himself much from that House, but who had often adorned it with his eloquence and informed it by his wisdom, *although he now was pleased to retire from its debates*. His right honourable friend (personally he must still call him so) had made a most excellent observation on a point somewhat similar to this during the debates upon the American taxation, which led to the American war; when some persons had maintained that it was no peculiar hardship on the Americans that the British House of Commons should vote taxes upon them without allowing them the right of representation in parliament, as the case was precisely the same with Birmingham.

and Manchester and other great towns at home, his right honourable friend had exclaimed—"Why do you deal with these people thus? Why do you deal out our own defect for their emulation?" But still the general dread prevailed. One member declared very solemnly, that, if they began changing, there was no knowing where they might stop, and that he had made up his mind always to oppose every motion for a reform, of whatever nature it might be. Retiring before the storm, Sheridan withdrew his first motion, and then merely moved, "That the several petitions and other accounts and papers presented to this House in the last parliament, relative to the internal government of the royal burghs in Scotland, be referred to the consideration of a committee," which was negatived by 69 against 27.

Twelve days after this assault on the royal burghs of Scotland an attack was made on the rotten boroughs of England, and the standard of an extensive parliamentary reform was hoisted. A loud stir had been made out of doors by the various and increasing political societies, who made up for the comparative smallness of the number of their converts by their enthusiasm and activity. In addition to the Revolutionary and Constitution Societies, who continued to talk in a very high strain, and to commend the French revolution at least as much as they had done in 1790, two other societies now took the field—one, the Corresponding Society, which entered into a most friendly intercourse with the French Girondists and Ultra-Jacobins, and which professed to pursue nothing less than annual parliaments and universal suffrage—the other, the Friends of the People (an unhappily chosen name), which simply proposed, in general terms, the reform of the representation. This latter association counted among its members many opulent merchants, many literary men, and from thirty to forty noblemen and members of the House of Commons.* Grey, Sheridan, and Lord Lauderdale, who have been considered as the founders of this association, gave in their names at the first starting of the society, and frequently attended its meetings, and spoke at them in a very popular and very exciting style—at times in a style which might have been dangerous, if Englishmen had only been as readily ignited by oratory as Frenchmen were. It was precisely because more men of character and eminence belonged to this

society of the Friends of the People than to any of the others that it was most dreaded by that formidable majority of the nation opposed to change, whose fanaticism in loyalty or Toryism kept pace at least with the fanaticism of the other party, and who, being far too hot and zealous and angry to draw nice distinctions, confounded together the views and objects of all these political societies. These men set up the king against the people; the relative constitutional position of the two was entirely lost sight of by both parties, and it was everywhere King versus People and People versus King. The Society of the Friends of the People, with parliamentary reform for their motto and their theme, met rather frequently, and published their sentiments, and the resolutions they came to at their meetings, with great spirit and freedom, and to the manifest discomfort of the king and his loyal subjects, who could see in these demonstrations nothing less than a palpable imitation of the Jacobin Club in Paris. This was enough to call up a tremendous array in parliament against the question of parliamentary reform, which the society resolved to bring forward in the course of the present session, though, from the spirit prevailing in the majority, there was scarcely the hope of their being able to reform so much as a corrupt vestry or a parish poor-house, and although any demand from a society and party in such bad odour was sure to strengthen the cause it opposed. Conformably to the plan of the Society, Mr Grey rose, on the 30th of April, to make a stirring speech on the subject, and to give notice that he intended, in the following session, to move regularly for a parliamentary reform. He founded the propriety of some such measure on the opinion of the two leading men in that House. Mr Fox and Mr Pitt had both declared themselves unequivocally to be parliamentary reformers, and he was quite certain that the majority of the nation were of the same opinion. The critical state of the times, instead of shelving such questions, called imperatively for their discussion and settlement. If a general discontent was to be avoided, they must put an end to the incessant complaints of the people, at being misrepresented in parliament, and made the instruments of ministerial projects in which their interests were sacrificed to the ambitious views of their superiors. This called up Pitt, who inveighed with uncommon heat against the designs of the Friends of the People, and against the designs of the other clubs and societies, whom he taxed with aiming at a revolution. This, he said, was no time for moving questions that involved the peace and safety, and endangered the constitution of the kingdom. He was no enemy to a reform obtained peaceably and by a general concurrence; but he thought the present time highly improper, and the national sentiment decidedly inimical to any such attempt. It was true, he had, at the conclusion of the American war, thought a parliamentary reform immediately necessary to quiet the clamour and confusion which

* The number of members of the House of Commons that signed the first declaration and address of the Society on the 28th of April 1792 was twenty-eight. The most distinguished names among these signatories which in all amounted to one hundred were—Charles Grey John Tweedell Earl of Lauderdale James Mackintosh (the late Mr James) Malcolm Laing (the Scotch historian) Lord Kinnaird Philip Francis W H Lambton George Thurney Samuel Whitbread Dudley North Michael Angelo Taylor Hon Thomas Buxton Lord John Russell Samuel Rogers (the poet) R B Sheridan Colonel Follen Alderman Bivalidge (brother to Mrs Catherine Macaulay) George Blyng Lord Duff (the young Scotch nobleman whom we have seen travelling from Paris to London with Thomas Paine and Dumont) Lord Edward Fitzgerald (whom we shall soon find playing the highest stakes of treason in Ireland) Richard Sharp (known afterwards as one of the very best cover fellows in English society and known more generally since his death by an exquisite little volume of Essays and Thoughts) and Doctor Joseph Peters and Doct & Kippie (both Unitarian preachers, and famed in politics by Priestley).

had arisen from the dread of an approaching bankruptcy, and to unite both parliament and people in cordial endeavours to prevent so dreadful an evil. But, however much he might, in earlier life, have been inclined to promote schemes of reform, experience had taught him the danger of altering the established form of government. He reprobated the whole class of revolutionary writers that had recently sprung up in England, and that were labouring might and main to recommend and bring about an imitation of that revolution in a neighbouring country which certainly did not seem to promise good government, peace, and happiness. Fox, whose own *real* notions of parliamentary reform were of a most limited kind—Fox, who, in his quieter hours, shuddered at the idea of depriving the great whig aristocracy of their property in boroughs, &c.—rose to reply to Pitt, whose speech had been very enthusiastically applauded. He said, he knew that, within the walls of that House, the words “Parliamentary reform” were very unpopular, but he believed the public regarded them very differently. He begged it to be remembered that he had never professed to be so sanguine upon this subject as the right honourable gentleman who had just spoken; but, although less sanguine, he was a little more consistent; for he had, early in public life, formed an opinion of the necessity of some parliamentary reform, and he remained to this hour fully convinced of that necessity. The danger which then existed to the liberty of the people existed still. The chancellor of the exchequer had, year after year, made speeches in favour of parliamentary reform. He had followed it up to the year 1785, when all his ardour forsook him. The cause, the necessity for this reform, so far from diminishing, had been progressively increasing, and had increased more than ever in the last session of parliament. The proceedings of that House were too often at variance with the opinion of the public. There had been the Russian armament carried by a ministerial majority against the will of the people. The people of England were at this moment paying the expenses of an armament for which they never gave their consent, and, as far as that went, they paid their money for not being represented in parliament. He knew it was not agreeable to the House to hear it, but he would repeat it—unless something was soon done to quiet the minds of the people, there would soon be some difficulty in preserving the internal tranquillity of this kingdom! If among the allies of his honourable friend (Grey) there were infuriated republicans, among the allies of the minister there were slaves of despotism! As to the books lately published upon principles of government, he could only say that he had not read many of them. There were, indeed, two well-known pamphlets, written by a *gentleman*, who had distinguished himself as an author during the American war, a native of that country, of the name of Thomas Paine.* One of these pamphlets he certainly had

read; and he must say, that, whatever merit *might* be met with in that publication, he could not suppose we were so far reduced as to be in any great danger from the abuse of a *foreigner*; nor because, perhaps (he did not remember seeing it, by the bye), the word “reform” was to be seen in the “Rights of Man,” that therefore all those who thought a reform necessary agreed with the general tendency of that book. The truth was, the book called the “Rights of Man” was a performance totally different from all ideas of reform in our government. It went the length of changing the form of it. Why, then, should those who profess reverence for the constitution of this country be charged with having taken up the sentiments contained in a book that was a libel on it? [Because, we would say, these political societies were constantly applauding the author, and recommending and circulating the book.] As to innovation, the greatest innovation that could be introduced in the constitution of England would be to come to a vote that there should be no innovation in it. The greatest beauty of the constitution was, that in its very principle it admitted of perpetual change and improvement, which time and circumstances render necessary. It was a constitution, the chief excellence of which consisted in admitting a perpetual reform. Much had been obliquely insinuated as to the *supposed* terrific situation of France; but he would observe that the whole government of that country was so detestable, that the most moderate man he ever heard in his life had agreed, that, if it could be proved that vast improvements could not be introduced into it, the whole of it ought to be overthrown at once. The French revolution was therefore justified, and therefore there did not appear to him so much danger from the supposed contagion of French example. To dread similar danger we should be in similar circumstances, which was nothing like the case. Why, then, shut the door against reform on account of this imaginary danger? He taxed all the accounts received of the calamities of the French, and of the defectiveness of their present form of government, with malicious exaggeration. Pitt, he said, had, in his warmth, outrun himself, when he held forth Great Britain as the only country exempted from despotism and anarchy, and in possession of undisturbed liberty. Surely France had entirely changed a detestable government; and Poland was no longer under a despotism; and America was in the full enjoyment of liberty—a liberty which had produced justice, commerce, wealth, and prosperity. He believed the world to be rapidly improving in science, in knowledge, and in virtue; and, as philosophy was spreading her light around every part of the globe, he hoped England alone would not remain without improvement, and enveloped in the darkness of bigotry. If his honourable friend (Grey) had consulted him, he should have hesitated before he recommended

* a native of America. He must himself have taken some pains to keep up the delusion.

* 1792 contains two columns on this mistake about Paine's being

him to take this part he had taken at this moment; but, having taken it, he could not see why the present period was improper for the discussion. Burke, who was this night present in the House, rose under great excitement to reply to Fox, and to stigmatize the society of the Friends of the People, and the other political societies of this class. He allowed that the object at which some of them aimed might not be altogether bad, and that the motives of individuals, in many instances, were doubtless innocent; but he told them that the way they went to work was decidedly wrong, that the sense of the people had not been taken or declared on the subject, that no specific grievance had been pointed out, no specific remedy assigned; and that, without these things being explicitly set forth, there might be innovation attempted, but it would not be reform. He asked whether any member of these societies, who gave himself the trouble to think at all, could imagine that, if a design of this nature was partially begun, it would stop there, or that it would be possible to control its progress? Our House of Commons was not perfect, was not wholly pure; but he believed it to be in the main as good as human nature would permit it to be. "At any rate, while he could raise a voice or an arm to prevent it, it should never assimilate to the National Assembly. In that body there were 700 members, 400 of whom were lawyers, 300 of no description that he could name; and, out of the whole, he believed there were not a dozen who possessed, in any one way, a hundred pounds per annum. Such might be the perfection of representation in the eyes of some, nay, he understood it to be the opinion of many of the new sect in politics; but he trusted to the good sense of the people of England never to permit such a mob, nor anything resembling it, to usurp the sacred office of their legislature." At present, he said, England abounded in factious men, who, deluded by visionary speculations, were longing to realize them at any cost, and would readily plunge the country into blood and confusion, for the sake of establishing the fanciful systems of government they were enamoured of. The disservice in the Whig party now began to show itself strongly: Windham, one of the most eloquent and accomplished men of that party, and one whose high character for independence and perfect disinterestedness gave a triple weight to his eloquence and classic wit, warmly seconded Burke. Fox corrected Burke, who had spoken of him as having termed Paine's 'Rights of Man' an infamous and seditious libel. He had not, he said, applied those epithets to it, although he had called it a libel against the constitution. He had read, he added, one of Mr. Paine's pamphlets, and did not approve of it, and, from what he had heard of the author, he was inclined to think that he should not approve of that either; but he was not certain whether the pamphlet had not done good, by leading men to consider of the constitution. In like manner the book of his right honourable

friend (Burke), which he disliked as much as either of them, had, he believed, done some good; because, in his opinion, whatever led to the discussion of the subject must be of service. This parallel of the 'Rights of Man' and the 'Reflections' was irritating and in the worst taste possible; and the great care taken to avoid the appearance of any severity of criticism upon Thomas Paine and his doings did not escape notice.

By this time government had made up their minds to adopt a much more rigid style of criticism towards the 'Rights of Man' and publications of a similar tendency, and to resort to the very questionable measure of putting down, or attempting to put down, seditious writings, by proclamations royal and restrictions on the liberty of printing. On the 21st of May appeared his majesty's proclamation for preventing seditious meetings and writings. The societies and associations were handled not less severely than the books and pamphlets. The proclamation asserted that there was reason to believe that correspondences had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward criminal and wicked purposes, &c. It solemnly warned all loving subjects, as they tendered their own happiness and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts which aimed at the subversion of all regular government; and it strictly charged and commanded all magistrates to make diligent inquiry, in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings, &c. It could not venture to prohibit clubs or meetings; but it charged all sheriffs, justices of the peace, magistrates of cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other magistrates, to take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults, and other disorders, which might be attempted to be raised or made, &c. This proclamation was disapproved of by many, who were of opinion that government ought to have contented itself with prosecuting the authors of such publications as were evidently seditious, and with opposing by pen and speech and sound arguments those publications that were so worded as to obviate prosecution. They said, and truly, that public opinion was not to be directed by royal proclamation; and that metaphysical and political speculations were not to be refuted by a call upon sheriffs and magistrates; that the appearance of prohibition would only cause the books that were known to be more read; and that persecution would only call into the field fresh authors, and increase the vehemence and importance of the old ones. But still more men were of opinion that the proclamation was all that it ought to be—a timely exertion of authority in a turbulent season—was a measure indispensably requisite to restrain within limits that effervescing spirit which was daily increasing, and which threatened to subvert the established government. The proclamation having been laid before the House, the Master of the Rolls (Mr. Richard Pepper Arden) moved an address of

approbation and support to his majesty. This address was opposed, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms by Mr Grey, who said that the "diligent inquiry" enjoined by the proclamation after the authors and distributors of seditious writings could only tend to establish an odious and arbitrary system of espionage. This was the system which had made the old government of France so much the object of general detestation, and it was a system unworthy of the sovereign of a free people to recommend. He believed that the real object of the proclamation was chiefly to discredit the late association of the Friends of the People, and to separate those political friends who had been so long united. It seemed to him a measure concerted by one whose greatest delight was to see discord supersede harmony among those who seemed indisposed to support his measures. Never, said Grey, was there a man in that House who delighted more in these minister practices than the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer. He whose whole political life had been a tissue of inconsistency, of assertion and retraction, he who never proposed a measure without intending to delude his hearers, who promised everything, and performed nothing, who studied all the arts of obtaining popularity, without ever intending to deserve it, who was a complete apostate from the first step of his political career, down to the present moment, and whose political malignity was now to be crowned by an endeavour to separate the dearest friends! After an eulogium upon Fox, and a profession of his entire faith in that great man's principles, Mr Grey moved a counter address, which declared that his majesty's government was already vested with sufficient power to punish any open violation of the laws, that, if seditious writings had for any length of time been published and circulated, ministers had been guilty of criminal neglect in not sooner instituting prosecutions, that the proclamation was unnecessary, and might produce the effect of exciting groundless alarms and suspicions, that the House of Commons were ever ready to concur with his majesty for the suppression of all riots, tumults, or other disorders, on whatever pretext they might be founded, and that they must express to his majesty the deep regret they felt at the tumults and disorders which took place at Birmingham in the course of the last summer, to the disgrace of all good government, the utter subversion of law, and the destruction of the security and property of his majesty's most faithful subjects; and that the surest means of averting the like calamities would be to proceed with all the severity of the law against such persons as might have been instrumental in aiding and abetting the Birmingham riots, and particularly to protect and punish such magistrates as appeared to have been guilty of gross and criminal neglect in the discharge of their duty. The long debate had many branches, but Birmingham and Priestley formed a principal one. It was maintained that the magistrates of that town had conspired at

the barbarities which had been committed, and had even instigated the populace to the perpetration of them; that persons of all descriptions were implicated in these senseless transactions; and that not only the ignorant among the laity, but also individuals of consideration among the clergy, had raised the storm against the unoffending victims. Whitebread produced no fewer than thirty-six affidavits to corroborate the charges against the Birmingham magistrates Fox, in supporting Grey and his counter-address, said that the proclamation was insidious and ambiguous, because it evidently had other purposes than those which it professed, and because it had all the features of that craft which belonged to the quarter from whence it came. He would ask, was the proclamation directed against Mr Paine's book, the author and publisher of which were known? If so, why desire to discover the authors and publishers? It was because it was the insidious intention of government to create unnecessary alarm, and scatter about vague aspersions! It might be asked, why had some of his own particular friends (he meant Windham and others) supported ministers in this measure? He would explicitly answer that question—these friends were, very unhappily for the country, made the dupes of the deep and artful design which ministers had in view! He described the original association formed long ago for procuring parliamentary reform, and said he found himself in a very strange predicament, between friends on the one hand and friends on the other, who had all got into strange company. He himself had not signed the declaration upon which the Friends of the People had associated, and he could not subscribe to the principles upon which others of his friends supported this royal proclamation. On both sides there was a meeting of disjointed associations. In the year 1782 he remembered there was a meeting at the Thatched House tavern, when Mr Pitt, the Duke of Richmond, Major Cartwright, and Mr Horne Tooke, all agreed together to certain resolutions of reform. Now, by a strange association, one set of his friends had got into company with the two first of these four reformers, and another set with the two last. The Friends of the People had disclaimed the imputations cast upon them of being connected with Mr Cartwright's and Mr Tooke's doctrines, but there was no disclaimer from the others. The right honourable gentleman (Pitt) and the Duke of Richmond had thought proper to change their opinions on the subject of reform; and not merely to change their opinions, but the right honourable gentleman had brought forth a proclamation, and the noble duke was to head a camp, against it. He did not mean to say it was singular that the right honourable gentlemen should change his sentiments upon any subject; he was so much in the habit of doing it upon all subjects, that one would think he had a patent for retraction, and a monopoly for change. Fox declared, as Grey had done, that the plain intention of this proclamation was to strive to make a division in that great body of

united patriots known by the name of the Whig interest; a party whose firm union he considered as of the utmost consequence, as indeed essential, to the maintenance of the constitution. He knew of no plan so good, no object so desirable, as the firm union of the Whigs; and he was proud to say that to divide them was impossible. [They were divided already by a breach that no oratory could either patch up or conceal.] They might think differently on some particular subjects; but, united on principles salutary for the nation, no arts, however insidious, could prevail in dividing them. The proclamation was assuredly intended to effect this division, and not to put down the pamphlets and writings and popular meetings of which it spoke. The Rights of Man and those other publications had long been before the public, some of the political associations had long been in existence, and, if any alarm had been entertained of them, the proclamation ought to have been issued long ago. As for riots, all the riots that had happened had been from the other side—had had Church and King for their cry. It was not a republican spirit that we had to dread in this country—there was no tincture of republicanism in the country—but it was the high church spirit, and an indisposition to all reform, which marked, more than anything else, the temper of the times. Fox concluded with a feeling allusion to the friends of his political life, from whose side, he said, he would never separate, to whose opinions he had often yielded fair objects of personal ambition, but whose union he considered so essential to the public good, that, though, in the prosecution of their system, they were without hope of favour from the crown, and without thanks from the people, he knew and felt that they would have the reward of their own consciences and hearts. Windham said the pain of differing from his old friends was alleviated by the consideration that their difference was but on a single point, of means, not ends, of speculation rather than of practice; and he hoped that when these debates were over they might again act as cordially together as if no such difference had ever existed. Pitt charged Fox with being the only person who saw no danger in the writings and doctrines which had recently gained ground in this country. He could not, he said, reconcile such conduct with any spark of patriotism. Fox indignantly rejoined: he avowed that he saw no danger in these writings and doctrines, because he knew that the good sense and constitutional spirit of the people of this country were a sure protection against them. This, too, had been uniformly the opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer himself, until he saw, or thought he saw, the means of stirring up division among the friends of freedom. Lord North, Dundas, Powsy, Thomas Grenville, and others spoke strongly in favour of the original address; and Francis, Lord John Russell, Whitbread, Lambton, and others spoke as vehemently in favour of Grey's amendment or counter-address. The House sat

till four o'clock in the morning, when the original address was agreed to without a division. It was then communicated to the House of Lords, and their Lordships' concurrence requested, in order that it might be presented to the king as the joint address of the two Houses. As soon as a motion for this purpose was made and seconded, the Prince of Wales rose for the first time to deliver his sentiments in the House of Lords. His rising excited great interest; for, as he seemed as closely connected as ever with Fox and Sheridan, it was doubted whether he might not share their opinions about that great political touchstone the French revolution. The prince said he should be deficient in his duty as a member of their Lordships' House, unmindful of the respect he owed to the constitution, and inattentive to the peace and welfare of the country, if he did not state to the world what was his opinion upon a subject of such magnitude as that on which their Lordships were then deliberating. He declared he was educated in principles which taught him to revere the established constitution; and to these principles he was determined, as far as he could have any weight, to give his firm and constant support. He thought the matter now at issue really was whether the constitution was or was not to be maintained; whether the wild ideas of untried theory were to conquer the wholesome maxims of established practice; and whether those laws under which we had flourished for a long series of years were to be subverted by a pretended reform, unsanctioned by the people. As a person nearly and dearly interested in the welfare, the happiness, and comfort of the people, it would be treason to the principles of his mind if he did not come forward and declare his disapprobation of those seditious publications which had occasioned the motion now before the House. His interest was connected with the interest of the people; they were indeed inseparable. On this great, on this solid basis, he grounded the vote which he meant to give; and that vote should unequivocally be for a concurrence with the Commons in their wise and salutary address. Lord Grenville said that these were words that must warm the breast of every Englishman who heard them, and convey the strongest satisfaction to the people at large. The motion was of course carried. A long protest was entered; but it bore the solitary signature of the Earl of Lauderdale. These debates and proceedings, the frequent mention of the author and the book, the information filed by the attorney-general against the publication of the Rights of Man, and the exertions of the political societies, all served as so many advertisements for Paine's production, the sale of which became more extensive and rapid than ever.

A motion made by Fox, on the 11th of May, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain old laws affecting dissenters from the established church, which will fall to be noticed again in the next chapter, occasioned a remarkable debate, much of which bore rather upon the political than

the religious disputes of the day. Fox had grounded his motion principally on a strong petition from the Unitarians, which he had presented a few days before; and in his speech he went at great length into the subject of the late Birmingham riots, and the cruel persecution to which he asserted Dr. Priestley had been subjected, not so much on account of his political as of his religious opinions. Burke replied at great length, in a speech of which some notes were found among his papers after his death. The Unitarian petitioners he treated, without ceremony or circumlocution, as merely a body of republicans banded for the destruction of the existing institutions of the state, civil as well as religious. He said he could only look to the petition of the Unitarians which had given rise to this proceeding, and which in his opinion had little or no relation to the other sects, such as Catholics, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers. He insisted that no one universal rule had ever been adopted, and that parliament had examined the grievances of those complaining of the penal laws, and had legislated thereon, according to times and circumstances; and, for himself, he preferred this practical method to general theories. "My mind," said he, "marches the same road; my school is the practice and usage of parliament. . . . Old religious factions are volcanoes burnt out; on the lava and ashes and aquald scoræ of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn. Such was the first, such the second condition of Vesuvius. But when a new fire bursts out, a face of desolation comes on, not to be rectified in ages. Therefore when men come before us, and rise up like an exhalation from the ground, they come in a questionable shape, and we must exorcise them, and try whether their intents be wicked or charitable; whether they bring airs from heaven or blasts from hell. This is the first time that our records of parliament have heard, or our experience or history given us an account, of any religious congregation or association known by the name which these petitioners have assumed. We are now to see by what people, of what character, and under what temporary circumstances, this business is brought before you. We are to see whether there be any, and what, mixture of political dogmas and political practices with their religious tenets, of what nature they are, and how far they are at present separable from them. This faction—the authors of this petition—are not confined to a *theological* sect, but are also a *political* faction." Even as theologians he contended that they did not aim at the quiet enjoyment of their own liberty, but were associated for the express purpose of proselytism; and in proof of this opinion he referred to the words of their own act of primary association. Secondly, he maintained that their purpose of proselytism was to collect a multitude sufficient by force and violence to overturn the church; in proof of which proposition he read the Letter of Priestley to Pitt, and extracts from his other works.

Thirdly, he insisted that their designs against the church were concurrent with a design to subvert the state; in proof of which he read the advertisement of the Unitarian Society for celebrating the 14th of July. Fourthly, he argued that the model on which they intended to build was that of the new French constitution, as fully appeared by the correspondence of the Revolution Society with the clubs of France. This led him finally to examine what the French system was with regard to religious toleration, and also with regard to religion, to civil happiness, to virtue, order, and real liberty, to commercial opulence, and to national defence; and in illustration of these topics he read the late representation of the French minister of the home department, and the report of the committee upon it. He said that there was no possibility of knowing what opinions would prevail if the Unitarians should become masters; that they would not tell us their present opinions, one principle of modern dissent being not to discover them; and that, as their religion was in a continual fluctuation, both by principle and in practice, there was no knowing what it would be. If religion only related to the individual, and was simply a question between God and the conscience, it would neither be wise nor equitable for human authority to step in. But when religion is embodied into faction, and factions have objects to pursue, it will and must become a question of power between them. If the Unitarians limited their principles to their own congregations, and satisfied themselves with abstaining from what they thought unlawful, it would be cruel to molest them in their tenets or practices. "But we know that they not only entertain these opinions, but entertain them with a zeal for propagating them by force, and employing the power of law and place to destroy establishments, if ever they should come to power sufficient to effect their purpose; that is, in other words, they declare they would persecute the heads of our church; and the question is, whether you should keep them within the bounds of toleration, or subject yourself to their persecution. . . . But let us pass by *our* opinions concerning the danger of the church. What do these gentlemen themselves declare to be their own designs? . . . Their designs they declare to be to destroy the established church, and not set up a new one of their own." [Here he referred to Priestley.] "But if they should find the state stick to the church, the question is, whether they love the constitution in *state* so well, as that they would not destroy the constitution of the state in order to destroy that of the church. Most certainly they do not! . . . Does a design against the constitution of this country exist? If it does, and if it is carried on with increasing vigour and activity by a restless faction, and if it receives countenance by the most ardent and enthusiastic applauses of its object in the great council of this kingdom, by men of the first parts which this kingdom produces, perhaps by the first it has ever produced, can I think that there is no danger? If there be danger, must

there be no precaution at all against it? If you ask whether I think the danger urgent and immediate, I answer, Thank God, I do not. The body of the people is yet sound—the constitution is in their hearts; while wicked men are endeavouring to put another into their heads. But, if I see the very same beginnings which have commonly ended in great calamities, I ought to act as if they might produce the very same effects. Early and provident fear is the mother of safety.” He then alluded to the storm which had so suddenly burst on the head of the unfearing, unsuspecting king of France; and the reflection sharpened his invective against Unitarians and political societies. “Let not the king,” he exclaimed, “let not the Prince of Wales, be surprised like the deposed Louis XVI. Let not both houses of parliament be led in triumph along with the king, and have law dictated to them by the Constitutional, the Revolution, and the Unitarian Societies. These insect reptiles, whilst they go on only caballing and toasting, only fill us with disgust; if they get above their natural size, and increase the quantity, whilst they keep the quality, of their venom, they become objects of the greatest terror. A spider in his natural size is only a spider, ugly and loathsome; and his flimsy net is only fit for catching flies. But, good God! suppose a spider as large as an ox, and that he spreads cables about us, all the wilds of Africa would not produce anything so dreadful—

*Quale portentum neque militaria
Draconum in litis alit ceculeis,
Nec Juba telus general leonum
Ardua nutrit.*

Think of them who dare menace in the way they do in their present state, and of what they would do if they had but power commensurate to their malice. God forbid I ever should have a despotic master—but, if I must, my choice is made. I will have Louis XVI. rather than Monsieur Bailly, or Brissot, or Chabot; rather George III. or George IV. than Doctor Priestley or Doctor Kippis: for these kings would not load a tyrannous power by the poisoned taunts of a vulgar, low-bred insolence!” He asked whether those who had the sway in France confined themselves to the regulation of their own internal affairs, or whether, upon system, they nourished cabals in all other countries, to extend their power by producing revolutions similar to their own? and whether we had not cabals formed or forming within these kingdoms to co-operate with them for the destruction of our constitution? He drew a powerful and startling distinction between men of tender consciences and men who made sedition, conspiracy, and confusion a part of their conscience. “The principle of your petitioners,” said he, “is no passive conscientious dissent on account of an over-scrupulous habit of mind; the dissent on their part is fundamental, goes to the very root; and it is at issue, not upon this rite or that ceremony, on this or that school opinion, but upon this one question of an establishment, as unchristian,

unlawful, contrary to the gospel and to natural right, popish and idolatrous. These are their principles, violently and fanatically held and pursued—taught to their children, who are sworn at the altar like Hannibal. The war is with the establishment itself—no quarter, no compromise. As a party they are infinitely mischievous; see the declarations of Priestley and Price—declarations, you will say, of hot men. Likely enough: but who are the cool men who have disclaimed them? Not one—no, not one. Which of them has ever told you that they do not mean to *destroy the church*, if ever it should be in their power? Which of them has told you that this would not be the first and favourite use of any power they should get? Not one—no, not one. Declarations of hot men! The danger is thence, that they are under the conduct of hot men; *falsus in amore odia non fingere.*”

Pitt assured the House that, if there existed any laws against general toleration, he should be ready to vote for their repeal, provided it could take place consistently with the safety of the constitution; but he desired it to be understood that his system of toleration also would always be regulated by existing circumstances, and by the character of the times to which it was applied. No practical evil could happen from the statutes in question; but, now, danger might arise from their repeal. He could see no propriety in the House giving encouragement to a society professing principles subversive not only of every established religion, but also of every established government. At this moment, too, the repeal of these statutes might be considered by the public as the first step towards a gradual removal of all those barriers which our ancestors had erected for the safety of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution, and as indicating a disposition in the House to favour that prevalent spirit of innovation which had so justly excited serious alarm.

Fox rose to reply. He said he had indeed heard before he came down to the House that his motion was likely to be opposed, but what the grounds of opposition were to be he had not the least idea of. Now, however, all was out; for the right honourable gentleman on the bench with him (Burke) had circuitously, and the right honourable gentleman opposite directly, opposed every principle and system of toleration. It was not his intention to follow the first right honourable gentleman through all the extraneous matter he had introduced; for certainly his motion had nothing to do with France, which it was the fashion with some gentlemen to cram into every debate. He repeated that his opinions of the French revolution were the same now that they ever had been; that he considered that event as highly advantageous to this country, and to the world in general; and that it was not to be supposed that any temporary or accidental defeat the French might suffer in their struggle for liberty could stagger his mind with regard to their success in the result. His

mentioned again the happy capture of the Bastille, and said a description of that fortress came to his mind, as given by "one of the first of our modern poets, the amiable Cowper," and he quoted from the 'Task' the beautiful lines beginning, "Ye horrid towers, the abode of broken hearts." He spoke again of the Rights of Man, and of the Reflections on the French Revolution, saying that Paine's book was a libel though not an infamous one, on the constitution of Great Britain, and that Burke's book was a libel on every free constitution in the world. He said he knew not why Dr Priestley, because he approved of the French revolution, should be liable to punishment from the circumstance of his being a Unitarian and that he (Fox) should be exempted from punishment, who was of the same opinion, but a Unitarian. In the end the motion which Fox could never have had the slightest idea of carrying, was negatived by 142 against 63.

In the course of the session Fox reproduced his libel bill, for declaring the power of juries to decide upon the law as well as the fact. It was again carried through the Commons. When carried up to the Lords, some points in it were referred to the Judges, who did not give in their opinions with it considerable delay and when they gave them in they were not thought very perspicuous or decisive. There was then considerable opposition to the bill, but Lord Camden and Lord Lansdowne eloquently defended its principle and provisions, and at last it was carried through the Upper House, and became the law of the land. A short but strong protest was entered against the bill, and signed by Chancellor Hurdlow, Lords Kenyon, Walpole, Bathurst, and Abington and the Bishop of Bangor (Dr Warren). Lord Rawdon on the 1st attempted to procure a revision of the laws relating to debtor and creditor, in order to abridge the imprisonment and sufferings of unfortunate debtors but the season was too far advanced to allow of any progress being made, and at the instance of the law lords the motion was withdrawn for the present. Dundas introduced and carried some excellent regulations for securing to the seamen and marines of the royal navy, and their respective heirs or families, the wages due to them, and of which, through their own ignorance and the state of the law, they had been hitherto often defrauded. In presenting his annual statement of the income and expenditure of British India, Dundas drew a very flattering picture of happiness and prosperity, which had increased and was increasing in spite of Tippoo and his war. Francis contradicted nearly everything he said, making Dundas's bright picture all one black. He denied that there was either happiness or prosperity in Bengal, or in any other part of our possessions; and said that one-third of the company's territory was inhabited only by wild beasts. He reminded the House that the war with Tippoo was not yet finished [it was finished, and very honourably, although the news had not reached

England], and he prognosticated nothing but disgrace, defeat, and ruin.

On the 15th of June the king prorogued parliament in person, with a speech in which he announced the commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe, but in which he also once more expressed the pleasing hope of preserving to his own people the uninterrupted blessings of peace. He applauded the measures which had been adopted for the diminution of taxation, and the additional provision made for the reduction of the existing national debt, and "for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future." Striking words, when we reflect on what happened within a very few months after.

In spite of the proclamation the press continued to spawn Paine's Rights of Man and revolutionary pamphlets, some of home production and some translated from the French, and the political clubs and societies persevered in meeting, debating, and passing resolutions, and some of them at least in corresponding with the French revolutionists, not merely as individuals, but as a body politic, as a national convention, with which every correspondence must, if strictly considered, be illegal. The French system of affiliation was adopted, and branch clubs and societies were established in Manchester, Sheffield, and other large towns. These clubs and societies corresponded with their respective mother-societies in the capital, and employed themselves in making converts in their neighbouring towns in the country. As was the case in France, several of these provincial clubs grew hotter and fiercer than the metropolitan ones. The cotton spinning patriots blazed up like cotton flue on fire, and those of Sheffield seemed waxing as hard and sharp as their own razors. As early as the month of May of the present year (1792) the committee of the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield announced to "the committee of the honourable society entitled The Friends of the People in London," that their numbers already amounted to about 2400, and that there was every prospect of a rapid increase. "As our numbers increase," said the Sheffield patriots, "the number of meeting-places are increased in proportion, so as not to exceed at most thirty members at one place. All the circular meetings are held once a fortnight on the same evening. Our general meeting is held once a month at three different houses, on the same day, generally very crowded, yet good order and regularity are strictly attended to." The main object of this epistle was to obtain from the society of the Friends of the People advice and instructions, but the Sheffield men gave advice as well as asked it, and their advice simply was, that before the next session of parliament there should be established a *Convention* in London by deputies from each county or district of the kingdom. The reply of the Friends of the People, which was signed by Mr Grey as their chairman, assured the

society of Sheffield that they had received sincere pleasure, not only from the firm and virtuous tone in which they had spoken their principles, but from the wise and temperate manner in which they had limited the application of them to practice; that a conduct in the great body of the people corresponding to such sentiments would alike defeat the hopes of those who would dupe the people into tumult, and silence the slanders of those advocates of corruption who had laboured to render the cause of liberty odious and terrible to all good citizens by confounding it with principles of anarchy; that the cause of liberty could never be endangered by the assault of its enemies, but might sometimes be exposed by the indiscretion of its friends, so that it was necessary for them to defend themselves by the wariness of their language and conduct; that they ought to make the preservation of the constitution on its true principles the foundation and end of all their proceedings, which would convince the friends of order that they had nothing to fear, &c. The letter further stated that it was only with societies who expressed the same moderation of principles and adopted the same wariness of language that the Friends of the People could entertain any correspondence, or promise any co-operation: that they had been compelled to decline all intercourse with the Society for Constitutional Information in London; for, though they neither wished to attack, nor pretended to dictate, they were certainly entitled to decline all intercourse with men whose views and principles appeared irreconcilable with their own. As to the bold proposition for the assembling of a convention in London, the Friends of the People, or their chairman, Mr. Grey, said at the end of the letter—"On the particular measure which you suggest for collecting the opinion of the people on the subject of reform, we do not feel ourselves yet prepared to decide. *In a more advanced stage of the business it may become very fit matter for deliberation.*" About a fortnight before this time, or on the 5th of May, the Friends of the People, at a great meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern (William Baker, Esq., M.P., being in the chair, and Lord John Russell, M.P., being deputy-chairman), broadly proclaimed that their sole object was a parliamentary reform, to be effected and brought about by none but strictly legal and constitutional means; that, whenever this desirable object should be obtained, their association would be at an end. "*We go no farther,*" said they in one of a series of resolutions published to the world. When the Jacobin Club began, they, too, had laid down a *no farther*; but the founders of that association had been soon made to feel that their resolution was as useless as the words which Canute spoke to the rising tide of ocean. We cannot for a moment believe that any body of Englishmen could have acted altogether like French Jacobins, or French politicians of any cast or colour (great misfortunes were occasioned by the belief in one part of the

nation that they could so have acted); but still we can conceive that this society of the Friends of the People might very soon have been inclined to go to far greater lengths than Mr. Grey and gentlemen of his condition and principles could possibly desire. Differences presently broke out among the Friends of the People; and as early as the 9th of June Lord John Russell, Mr. Baker, Dudley North, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Curwen withdrew from the association, publicly stating as their reason for so doing that the society was already going too far in continuing its connection with societies and individuals whose conduct was becoming dangerous and illegal.* Some confusion of ideas arose out of the fact that several conspicuous men were members, at one and the same time, of several of the societies, although their avowed objects differed very essentially. It thus of necessity happened that people could not distinguish very clearly between these associations, but applied to them all an identity of conduct and purpose. The Corresponding Society, which became the most famed of them all, contained many avowed republicans, who made no secret of their earnest wish to revolutionise the country in order to establish the doctrines of the Rights of Man, liberty and equality, and a Gallican commonwealth; and these said incurables worshipped the French goddess of liberty when she was covered from head to foot with blood and filth. As a body, however, this Corresponding Society did not profess any higher aspirations than the annual parliaments and universal suffrage; it continued to increase the number of its members, and of its affiliations; but from first to last there never appears to have been any great consistency or bond of union among them, any uniformity of opinion and feeling like that which reigned among the Jacobins in France, among the vast masses of the French nation, and which gave to them their enormous force. Many men that entered the association never went near its meetings; others withdrew when they thought the society was going too far, and others kept aloof from the dread of the law and the two acts that were afterwards passed. Three years later than this, in 1795, the Corresponding Society boasted that they were 400,000 strong; but a petition they presented then, and which had evidently been hawked all over England, had not 14,000 signatures; and even a good many of these signatures were suspected of being spurious, or the idle scrawling of boys and vagabonds. At the end of September of the present year (1792), that is to say, after all the unspeakable horrors of the Septembriziers had been committed in Paris, and had been fully reported in England, the Mother or London Corresponding Society, backed by four other societies—the Man-

* These five seceders said that, although the society had refused to admit as a member Mr. Cooper, because that gentleman had been appointed by another society to correspond with the Jacobins at Paris, they had not expelled Major Cartwright, who was carrying on a similar correspondence under his own hand and signature;—Letter to the Chairman of the Society, signed by Lord John Russell and the four other seceders, in *Ans. Enquirer*.

chester Constitutional Society, the Manchester Reformation Society, the Norwich Revolution Society, and the London Constitutional Whigs—joined in an address to the National Convention. In this address they told all Frenchmen that, by an oppressive system of control and by gradual encroachments, this nation had been deprived of nearly all its boasted liberty, and the English people brought almost to that abject state of slavery from which the French had so gloriously emerged; that a few thousands of British citizens were now indignantly and manfully stepping forward to rescue their country from oppression and opprobrium; and that they conceived it to be the duty of Britons to countenance and assist to the utmost of their power the champions of human happiness, and to swear an inviolable friendship to the magnanimous French nation. The address contained sundry passages which showed how attentively the writers of it had studied Jacobin orations and manifestos. It said, “Sacred from this day be that inviolable friendship between us! And may vengeance to the uttermost overtake the man who shall hereafter attempt to cause a rupture between us! Though we appear comparatively so few, be assured, Frenchmen, that our number increases daily. It is true that the stern uplifted arm of authority at present keeps back the timid, that basely circulated impostures hourly mislead the credulous, and that court intimacy with avowed French traitors has some effect on the unwary and on the ambitious; but with certainty we can inform you, friends and freemen, that information makes a rapid progress among us; curiosity has taken possession of the public mind, and the conjoint reign of ignorance and despotism passes away. Men now ask each other, what is freedom? What are our rights?—Frenchmen, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to become so!” After swearing that they would never again fight the French, or let their own throats be cut at the command of ambitious kings and corrupt ministers, these five English societies said in their joint address—“Seeking our real enemies, we find them in our bosom; we feel ourselves inwardly torn by, and ever the victims of, a restless, all-consuming aristocracy, hitherto the bane of every nation under the sun: wisely have you acted in expelling it from France!” After some very significant threats as to what the King of England might expect if he dared to go to war with the French republicans, the address said—“The triple alliance, not of crowns, but of the people of America, France, and Britain, will give freedom to Europe, and peace to the world! Dear friends, you combat for the advantage of the whole human race! How well purchased will be, though at the expense of much blood, the glorious, the unprecedented privilege of saying, ‘Mankind is free! Tyrants and tyranny are no more! Peace reigns on the earth! and this is the work of Frenchmen!’” That there might be no mistake as to date, they particularly begged Frenchmen to remark that this ad-

dress was written on the 27th day of September.* These precious societies presently received a flattering answer from the Convention, under the hand of the president, who called them brothers and fellow-citizens of the world, told them that the time was not far distant when they might join the hands of fraternity, &c. The Society for Constitutional Information in London, which Grey had disclaimed, not only sent an address to France, but a good many pairs of shoes besides. This London association had enrolled among its members and taken to its heart of hearts a good many American citizens, who, for commercial or political traffic, or for both, were sometimes residing in England and sometimes in France. Among these Transatlantic republicans was Joel Barlow, the laureat of the United States, the author of that not-to-be-forgotten epic wherein George Washington is typified by Joshua, and the free citizens of America, and their expulsion of the English, by the Jews and their conquest of the Holy Land. This American infusion certainly gave some new twang or flavour to the London Society for Constitutional Information. Indeed, we suspect that their present address to the French republicans must have been written and composed by the great Joel himself. Is not that laureat’s patriotism and style recognisable in this passage?—“The sparks of liberty, preserved in England for ages, like the coruscations of the northern Aurora, served but to show the darkness visible in the rest of Europe. The new lustre of the American republic, like an effulgent morning, arose with increasing vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our hemisphere, till the splendour of the French revolution burst forth upon the nations in the full fervour of a meridian sun, and displayed the practical result of principles which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation, and which experience must everywhere confirm!” The address promised the French something more than sympathy. “From bosoms burning in your cause,” said this Society for Constitutional Information, “we tender you our warmest wishes for the full extent of its progress and success. It is indeed a sacred cause; we cherish it as the pledge of your happiness, our natural and nearest friends; and we rely upon it as the bond of fraternal union to the human race, in which union *our own nation will surely be one of the first to concur*. Our government has still the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is *our real opinion that we now speak the sentiments of a great majority of the English nation*. The people here are wearied with imposture, and worn out with war. They have learned to reflect that both the one and the other are the offspring of unnatural combinations in society, as relative to systems of government, not the result of the natural temper of nations, as relative to each other’s

* The manuscripts of the Septemberists continued from Sunday evening, the 3rd of September, till the evening of Wednesday the 6th. They spread horror not only throughout England, but through every part of the civilised world. It was impossible for these corresponding nations to be ignorant on the 27th of September of what had happened.

happiness. Go on, legislators, in the work of human happiness. The benefit will in part be ours, but the glory shall be all your own: it is the reward of your heroic perseverance; it is the prize of virtue. Your revolution dispels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the secrets of all despotisms, and creates a new character in man. In this career of improvement your example will be soon followed; for nations, rising from their lethargy, will reclaim the Rights of Man, with a voice which man cannot resist." The paper was signed in London, by order of the society, Semple, chairman; D. Adams, secretary. But there was a postscript written in Paris, to tell the Convention about the shoes, and this was signed Joel Barlow, John Frost.* The Convention never failed in returning prompt and flattering answers to these addresses, which really made them believe that England too was getting ripe for revolution and liberty and equality. In the present case the president called the Society for Constitutional Information in London "Brave children of a nation which has given lustre to the two worlds, and great examples to the universe," and told them that the defenders of French liberty would one day be the supporters of English liberty, that the sons of liberty throughout the world would never forget their obligations to the English patriots; that the shades of Pym, of Hampden, and of Algernon Sydney were hovering over their heads, and that the moment could not be distant when the people of France would offer their congratulations to a National Convention established in England!† Whatever the Society for Constitutional Information in London might call themselves, the president of the French Convention called them "generous republicans." Nearly at the same time—in the month of November—the Revolution Society in London sent over their congratulatory address to the Convention. They said, "At the suggestion of one of our members, the late Dr. Price, whose loss we regret, we have already congratulated you on your first successes in the common cause of liberty; and we cannot be silent at a period so fruitful in events." They rejoiced that the Prussian army had been foiled; they rejoiced that the tyrants who had threatened the French had retired with disgrace; but, above all, they rejoiced in the late revolution of the 10th of August, so necessary to secure the advantages which the former revolution had taught them to expect.‡ They labelled the English commonwealth-

men and opponents of Charles I. by comparing them with these French republicans; and they emphatically applauded the sacred right of insurrection, in the evident hope that that right would be soon used at home. "This right," said they, "acknowledged in theory by all the defenders of liberty, formed the groundwork of the revolution which we celebrate (that of 1688); and we feel a tender joy in beholding this right of insurrection successfully exercised in so large a country as that of the French republic." They concluded their address with hoping that the Rights of Man would soon be established over the whole earth, and the characters and distinctions of tyrant and slave be known only in history. These things were not done in a corner, these lights were not hidden under bushels; they were paraded in the most public manner and in the most public places; they were blazed forth to the world in daily and weekly newspapers, in books, tracts, handbills, placards; for every one of these societies held their own doctrines as gospel truths, and every one of them was burning with the fierce zeal of proselytism, and ready to denounce every man that differed from them for a scoundrel or a fool. This particular society, of which Price, the friend of Priestley, had been high priest and patriarch, this Revolution Society in London, had published some time before this, with high evaluation at having been the first to avow their admiration of the French revolution, a big book, containing a collection of their proceedings and correspondence, both at home and abroad, from the close of the year 1789, when Price had preached his sermon in the Old Jewry Chapel, and when Earl Stanhope had undertaken to carry the congratulations to Paris, down to the month of March, 1792. A dread of that power which "keeps the wretch in order," and a calculation that it would not answer their purpose to startle Englishmen's minds by producing at once all their boldest theories or aspirations, induced these Priceites to suppress some of their opinions and many of the papers they had written into foreign parts, but quite enough remained in the portions they had the courage to print to damn them in public opinion, and their book too. It appeared from the volume that in 1790 it was reported and boasted at the anniversary meeting that this society had lately received "the warmest marks of approbation and respect" from the Jacobin clubs established in more than twenty of the principal cities and towns in France, together with copies, for their own instruction, of numerous Jacobin resolutions and publications; and that in England they had been very successful in forming branch societies in different parts of the kingdom: that at the anniversary of 1791 there was read a long list of societies in France and England with which the committee of this Revolution Society in London had corresponded in the course of the preceding year; and that letters from the French Jacobin clubs, hailing the members of the Revolution Society as friends and brothers and fellow-combatants for

* The postscript was a bit of lathe-work. "We are also commissioned to inform the Convention that the society which we represent has sent to the authors of liberty a patriotic donation of a thousand pair of shoes, which are by this time arrived at Calais, and the society will continue sending one thousand pairs a week for at least six weeks to come. We only wish to know to whose care they ought to be addressed."

† The French patriots in the field against the invading Prussian army were very badly off for shoes and clothes, which was in a good measure owing to the dishonesty of the patriots staying at home, and to the rapacity and remorseless avarice of their commissaries.

‡ This revolution of the 10th of August, so dear to the disciples of Dr. Price, consisted of five attacks on the Tuilleries, the massacre of the Swiss guards, and the flight of the king and royal family to the hall of the National Convention, whence they were soon transferred as close prisoners to the Temple, &c.

the sovereignty of the people, &c., were read at the said anniversary: that these Pricettes had declared over and over again, in words spoken and in words written, that they aimed at nothing less than a sweeping revolution, like the "late glorious and splendid one in France," as England was a prey to an arbitrary king, a servile peerage, a corrupt House of Commons, and a rapacious and intolérant clergy.

The established clergy of England were among the first to take serious alarm at these political societies and publications, and to express either their thankfulness for the royal proclamation which was intended to check them, or their devotion to the established form of government. First of all, the bishop, dean and chapter, archdeacon and clergy of the church and diocese of Worcester sent up an address to his majesty, to return their warmest thanks for his late wise and provident proclamation. The bishop and clergy of the diocese of Llandaff followed the example, and other clerical bodies followed them. The Llandaff address, which was drawn up by Dr. Watson, bishop of that diocese, and one who professed extremely liberal opinions in politics, did not mention the proclamation, but expressed the utmost abhorrence of every attempt to subvert the constitution in church and state; and declared that the improvements which the constitution had received, in the judges being rendered more independent, in the mode of determining contested elections, in the repeal of certain penal statutes respecting Protestant and Catholic dissenters, in the laws ascertaining the rights of juries, and in other ways, had been more numerous and important during his majesty's reign than during the reigns of all his predecessors since the revolution of 1688. Towards the close of the year clubs and associations began to be formed, with the avowed object of counteracting the Revolution Society, the Corresponding Society, &c. One of these new societies—"The Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers"—held their first great meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the 20th of November, and agreed to meet at that place, or elsewhere, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. They also came to certain resolutions and declarations, which they caused to be published in the newspapers, and to be otherwise circulated very extensively. "Considering," said they, "the danger to which public peace and order are exposed by the circulating of mischievous opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the industry of clubs and societies of various denominations in many parts of the kingdom, it appears to us that it is now become the duty of all persons who wish well to their native country to endeavour, in their several neighbourhoods, to prevent the sad effects of such mischievous industry; and that it would greatly tend to promote these good endeavours, if societies were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whose

object should be to support the laws, to suppress seditious publications, and to defend our persons and property against the innovations and depredations that seem to be threatened by those who maintain the mischievous opinions before alluded to. These opinions are conveyed in the terms of *The Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import; all of them, in the sense imposed on them, expressing sentiments in direct opposition to the laws of this land, and some of them such as are inconsistent with the well-being of society under any laws or government whatsoever. It appears to us, the tendency of these opinions is, that we are voluntarily to surrender everything we now possess—our religion and our laws, our civil government and civil society; and that we are to trust to the formation of something new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auspices of speculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world: and it appears that the missionaries of this sect are aiming at effecting the overthrow of the present system of government and society, by infusing into the minds of ignorant men causes of discontent adapted to their various stations; some of which causes are wholly imaginary, and the rest are such as inseparably belong to civil life; have existed, and ever will exist, under all forms of government; cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied a hundred-fold by the change proposed." They exposed the fallacy that all men are born equal and must remain so; and they called attention to the facts, that the road to wealth and promotion and honours of all kinds, in the state, the church, the law, the army, and the navy, was, and had been for many generations, open, in England, to all men, without distinction as to birth and family.* They demonstrated that, if a perfect equality could be established to-morrow, there would be inequality the day after; that the French people, after all their murders and assassinations, "deliberately planned and justified by some of their pretended philosophers, as the

* "It appears," said they, "from history and from observation, that the inequality of rank and fortune, in this happy country, is more the result of every man's own exertions than of any controlling institution of the state. Men become great who have greatly distinguished themselves by the application of talents, nature or acquired; and men have become rich who have persevered with industry in the application to trade and commerce, to manufactures, and other useful employments. How many persons are now of great rank and fortune who were born without either! How many are rich merchants and traders who began their career in the lowest employments of the shop and counting-house! In the progress to this advancement they have all, in their stations, contributed their share toward the show of opulence, both public and private, which is now seen in every part of this island. It is by the efforts of this industry that the gentleman is enabled to support his rank and station, and the merchant and tradesman to employ his clerks, journeymen, and apprentices. Hence comes the price of the farmer's corn, and the wages of servants of every description. By this happy inequality and dependence of one man upon another, employment is found for all in the several vocations to which they have been called by design or accident. This inequality and dependence is so indissolubly diversified in this country, that there is to place upon earth where there are so many ways in which a man, by his talent and industry, may raise himself above his equals. This has hitherto been thought a pre-eminent happiness that was peculiar to ourselves, and ought to be cherished: it has been ascribed to the protecting influence which our property has always enjoyed under equal laws; and it has increased of late years in a wonderful degree by the prosperity which was caused, and can only be continued, by the same influence."

means to attain their ends of reform"—after all their sufferings and atrocious crimes, "which it could not enter into the gentle heart of a Briton to conceive"—after all their pretences and boasts, had, in reality, only changed their masters to groan under new tyrannies, to be subject to the lash and knife of one desperate leader after the other. They said with perfect truth, and with facts (at the end of 1792, open to the whole world) to prove all they said, "The excesses of these ruffian demagogues have no bounds; they have already surpassed the wildest frenzies of fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm; plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries; imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed! their philosophy is the idle talk of school-boys, and their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts. Such are the new lights and the false philosophy of our pretended reformers, and such the effects they have produced where alone they have unfortunately been tried." After recapitulating the real rights of man as they understood them, and as they had enjoyed them, they concluded with these words:—"We do, as private men, unconnected with any party or description of persons at home, taking no concern in the struggle at this moment making abroad, but most seriously anxious to preserve the true liberty and unexampled prosperity we happily enjoy in this kingdom, think it expedient and necessary to form ourselves into an association for the purpose of discouraging, in every way that lies in our power, the progress of such nefarious designs as are meditated by the wicked and senseless reformers of the present time. And we recommend to all those who are friends to the established law and constitution to form themselves, in their different neighbourhoods, into similar societies for promoting the same laudable purposes." This recommendation was not given in vain: associations against the inroads of republicans and levellers were formed in most parts of the kingdom, and they included individuals of all ranks and conditions—men of rank and fortune, and men that had neither—of various shades of politics, and of almost every religious community except the Unitarians and one or two other tiny sects, whose numbers would scarcely have been discernible in a census of the population. It would be unfair to deny, or even to pass over in silence, the fact that these counter-revolution societies became in many places over suspicious and over zealous, intolerant, and persecuting.

If England was crowded with emigrant French priests before that event, it was doubly crowded after the massacres of the clergy in the Abbaye, in the month of September. Most of them without money, food, or raiment, the priests fled to our shores, and threw themselves for present subsistence on our charity. The late Sir Samuel Romilly, who by this time had completely recovered from his admiration of the revolution, writing to Dumont on the 15th of September, from London, says—

"It is impossible to walk a hundred yards in any public street here, in the middle of the day, without meeting two or three French priests. Who would have conceived that, at the close of the eighteenth century, we should see, in the most civilized country in Europe, all the horrors of political proscription and religious persecution united?"* A vast number of these refugees found support in private hospitality and sympathy, and never knew a want; others became teachers of their language, and gained an easy and respectable livelihood; but others remained for some time in a deplorable condition. Towards the close of the year a great meeting was held at the London Tavern, where their case was taken into consideration, and extensive subscriptions set on foot for their relief.

We must briefly notice a change of some importance which took place in our cabinet. Ever since the king's malady and the chancellor's double-dealing in the regency business, there had been no good understanding between Thurlow and Pitt. On some occasions, where his assistance in the House of Lords was considered necessary by the premier, the chancellor had sat silent, and in other cases he had even openly opposed measures to which Pitt attached the greatest importance. Nor did Thurlow in private society restrain his irritable temper and rough tongue in speaking of the chancellor of the exchequer: he spoke of him often in a tone of contempt which must have been exceedingly irritating to one who was probably about the proudest man in England. The Marquess of Stafford, himself a member of the cabinet, who had been intimately acquainted as well as politically connected with the lord chancellor for many years, repeatedly remonstrated with him, and laboured to bring about a reconciliation, which seemed so necessary to the existence of the present administration; but Thurlow was proud and obstinate, and all these exertions of the marquess were thrown away. Thurlow's imposing manner and solemn and wise looks (which made Fox tax his countenance with imposture, and say it proved him dishonest, since no man could be so wise as he looked),† his indisputable abilities in many parts of business, and the force of habit, which was always a potent force with George III., long made him cling to his heavy-browed, ill-humoured chancellor, and apparently balance at times whether he should keep him by throwing out Pitt, or keep Pitt by throwing out Thurlow. The chancellor of the exchequer at last determined to leave the king no other alternative. Early in the session Thurlow had poured out in the Lords a torrent of spleen and censure on the minister's bill for liquidating future loans. On the very next morning Pitt submitted to the king the impossibility of his remaining in office with the lord chancellor, and the consequent necessity of his majesty's making his choice between them; writing at the same time to Thurlow, to tell him the step he had taken, and

* Life, edited by his Son.

† Lord Brougham, *Statesmen of the Time of George III. First Series.*

his conviction that his majesty's service could not be carried on to advantage while they both remained in their present situations. When thus pressed, George III. presently made his choice, and acquainted Thurlow that he must resign. But as a change was not desirable during the session, and as it was wished he should terminate some chancery business, it was agreed that he should keep the seals until the prorogation of Parliament. Embittered and spiteful at the triumph "of the boy," Thurlow set his tusks into the New Forest Inclosure Bill, which Pitt was accused of promoting for the benefit of his friend George Rose, and gored it most unmercifully. On the very day of the prorogation Thurlow gave up the seals, which were then placed in the hands of three commissioners, Lord Chief Baron Eyre, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and Mr. Justice Wilson.* The Titanic form of Thurlow was not seen again near the helm of the state: he subsequently joined the Whigs, only to serve them badly, or betray them. He cheered the long interval between his dismissal and death, as best he could, with abusing Pitt, and criticising the chancery decisions of Lord Loughborough (the Wedderburne of former times), who became his successor, and with other amusements of the kind suited to his nature, among which was included a most superabundant quantity of swearing and blasphemy. His was indeed of that class of minds to whom quiet is a hell.† On the 5th of August the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, worth about 3000*l.* a-year, fell vacant by the death of the Earl of Guildford, formerly Lord North and prime minister, who had only succeeded to his father's peerage in 1790. The king immediately offered the sinecure to Pitt in a most gracious and pressing letter; and, as Pitt was then at Burton Pynsent, his majesty sent the letter to Dundas, telling him that he must forward it, with a few lines of his own, to state that he (the king) would not admit of this favour being declined. As the chancellor of the exchequer had not improved in the art of managing his domestic finances, as his salary as chancellor of the exchequer had not prevented his getting and continuing in debt, and as a fall from office (which might happen through the king's death or through other accidents) would leave him poor and even miserably embarrassed; and, as the royal letter was imperative, Pitt took the place and salary (which are always for life) without hesitation, and hoped his conscientious friend Wilberforce would think he was right in so doing.

As more immediately connected with our own affairs and interests, we shall now rapidly sketch the history of the war in India which began in 1790. Tippoo Saib, whom our opposition in parliament had taken to honour and applaud, was the

cruel, faithless, ambitious prince that we have described him. Hyder Aly, though a barbarian, had several of the qualities of a great prince; but there appears to have been nothing great about Tippoo except the power and resources which his father had left him. After the peace of Mangalore, in 1784, the dominions of Mysore, of which Tippoo remained in possession, extended over a tract of country some 500 miles in length by 350 in breadth: it was nearly all an elevated table-land, intersected everywhere with rivers, and cooling, fertilizing streams; the climate is, for India, very temperate, and the soil as fertile as almost any part of the great peninsula. It swarmed with population, the Mohammedans being almost as numerous as the Hindus, the more ancient occupants of the soil. Several of the towns, besides Seringapatam, the capital, were strongly fortified; and the region abounds in places of great natural strength, affording admirable advantages for a defensive war. Anticipating and providing for a grand struggle, Tippoo, assisted by European engineers, chiefly French and Italians, had erected many new fortresses. His annual revenue was estimated at about five millions sterling, and his father had left him a well-filled treasury. Besides European engineers and artillery officers, he had a considerable number of Europeans to train and discipline his native troops: but these fellows were chiefly common soldiers that had deserted from the Company's service to escape punishment for crimes committed; and, as Tippoo was a bigoted Mussulman, and fond of religious conversion, forced or spontaneous, they had all become renegadoes. He had clothed part of his regulars in uniform resembling that of the sepoys in the English service, and had armed them with French muskets. Their discipline, however, was very far from perfect, and their whole number inconsiderable, not exceeding three or four thousand. The rest of his infantry was a mere rabble, armed with old muskets, matchlocks, pikes, and scymetars. But his principal force was his cavalry—that Mysorean cavalry which had repeatedly rushed through the Ghauts like mountain-torrents, and swept the whole of the low country of the Carnatic. Yet the élite of this force, the Circar, or stable-horse, who were uniformly clothed and equipped, did not exceed 6000; all the rest being irregulars, who found their own horses and arms, and who did no military duty, except when called into the field on some emergency, or to make some plundering incursion into the territories of their neighbours. These fellows, however, were bold and clever riders; and the rapidity of their movements often made up for their deficiency in other points. His artillery was more than respectable, the French having furnished him with guns of all calibres, many of which, being larger and longer than any of the guns of Lord Cornwallis, gave him a considerable advantage over the English in this war. He boasted that, in artillery practice, he had left his masters, the Nazarenes, far behind

* Bishop Tomline's Life of Pitt.—Ann. Regist.

† Thurlow had a valet, a poor foreigner, upon whom he more especially vented his humour. One day, after sundry other caresses, the ex-keeper of the king's conscience roared, "D—n you, you rascal; I wish you were in—41!" "I wish I was!" said the poor fellow, as he stole out of the room and shut the door on his tyrant.

him; "although, like the salamander, they passed their lives in fire." His heavier pieces were all drawn by elephants; and, besides four hundred trained elephants, the best that could be procured in India, he had an immense train of the finest bullocks. According to a British officer engaged, a hundred pieces of ordnance were frequently moved, during these campaigns, with a rapidity not easily to be conceived, and far superior to the best speed the English artillery could make; and the velocity with which his large bodies of cavalry changed their situations, and the general rapidity with which his whole movements were executed, gave him another great advantage. When the war was carried into his own dominions, his irregulars, who had been accustomed to rely only upon plunder for their support and reward, were engaged by what Tippoo called regular pay: but he only engaged them by the month or moon; and Tippoo lengthened months or moons beyond their natural duration to save his pocket. "Thirty, forty, and even fifty days," says Major Taylor, "constitute their duration; and the state of his treasury, or his own whim, regulates the calendar." But in matters where the advantage is less evident Tippoo indulged his whims to excess. He was a reformer or innovator of the most persevering kind, changing all old things, and liking nothing but what was new and of his own creation. It seemed as if the soul of a French democrat had been transfused into this Indian despot. He changed the dates of the ancient Mohammedan festivals; he changed the name of everything in government, law, and military tactics; he gave new names to the days and months, to weights, measures, coins, forts, towns, offices civil and military; in short, to all things and persons, exhibiting "a singular coincidence at nearly one and the same time, and in distant and unconnected quarters of the globe, between the extremes of unbridled democracy and uncontrolled despotism."* He created a fleet, which never existed except upon paper, and made admirals, who had never seen the sea. He drew up a commercial code, and considered himself the chief and best merchant in his dominions. He drew up a civil and criminal code, which is said to have been the maddest and the worst ever devised by man. In the criminal part, "he combined the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule with obscene mutilation, the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."† And whatever the Tiger once did, he would never allow to be altered. Abbé Sisyra himself was not a greater formalist, or more given to rule and line work. Tippoo had a rigid method in all his madness, and he made laws and regulations for almost everything, however trifling. Besides keeping in pay a corps of authors to record his wonderful exploits, he was an author himself, and so busy a one that the pen was for ever in his hand. His capricious but fierce persecutions of the Hindus,

and his forcible conversions of some of them to Mohammedanism, made him odious to all that people; and his changes and innovations almost alienated his Mohammedan subjects, who loved change as little as the Hindus. It certainly could not have been from the people of Mysore or the Malabar coast that Francis and other opposition members drew the materials for the favourable character they made up for this Indian Sultan.

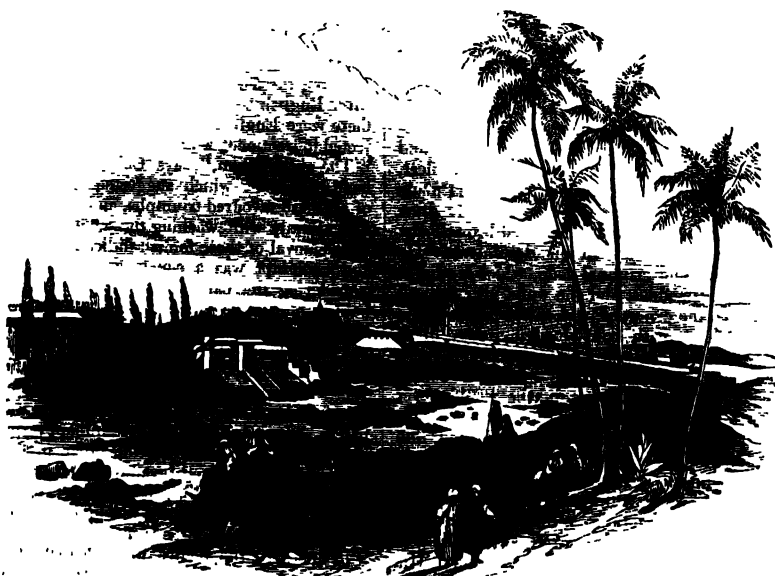
By the end of 1790, or early in 1791, the Rajah of Travancore, the close ally of the Company, was re-established in his dominions, and Tippoo was dispossessed of nearly all the dominion he had acquired on the Malabar coast. In the month of February, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, who had taken the command of the army upon himself, laid siege to Bangalore, and took that important place by storm. His lordship then resolved to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at the capital. He began his march in the first days of May. The native troops, as well as the British troops with him, burned with impatience to take their revenge for the atrocious and brutal degradation Tippoo had put upon their brothers in arms during the last war, and even after the conclusion of it. The news of the fall of Bangalore and of the rapid advance of Cornwallis filled the mind of the tyrant with alarm, and induced him to make arrangements for removing from his capital his women and treasure. To gratify his taste and his vanity, the walls of the houses in the principal streets of Seringapatam had been ornamented with rude paintings caricaturing the English. In one place there was a tiger seizing a trembling Englishman; in another there was a Mysorean horseman rivaling the feats of Antar, and cutting off two or three English heads at a blow; and in other places there were Englishmen put into positions and subjected to treatment which will not bear description. "The anticipation," says Colonel Wilks, "must have been acute which suggested the obliteration of all these favoured triumphs, and a positive order for carefully whitewashing the whole of the walls. The removal of these foolish indications of hostility and contempt was a conclusive testimony of his considering the capture of the place highly probable; but conscience suggested more serious terrors in the mass of living prisoners at Seringapatam and elsewhere, of his detention of prisoners in direct violation of the treaty of 1764. Of the English boys educated as singers and dancers* twenty still remained; a secret order was dispatched for the murder of these unhappy youths as the first victims, and then the other prisoners of the preceding war were gradually and secretly put to death. It was difficult to obtain precise information regarding details in which no individual would acknowledge instrumentality, or even ascribe it to another: the bodies were carried out at the first opening of the gates, by the common scaven-

* Colonel Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.
† *Id.*

* The instruction, performance, and dress of these English boys were precisely the same as those of the Hindustanee dancing girls.

gers, to places of distant sepulture, and the assassinations were supposed to have been perpetrated by Abyssinian slaves, by the well-understood practice of a sudden and violent twist to dislocate the vertebre of the neck. The orders to the outposts were executed according to local circumstances, and the English army had afterwards direct evidence, even to exhumation, of murders so committed. . . . The horrible butcheries of this period exemplified the natural connexion between cruelty and fear." Tippoo, however, took up a strong position on the main road, some miles in advance of his capital, behind the deep river Cavery, and seemed resolved to await there the attack of the English. The march of Cornwallis, and of General Abercrombie, who moved in a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercrombie's route was across steep mountains, where the battering trains, provisions, and stores were moved with the greatest difficulty—"every separate gun being hoisted over a succession of ascents by ropes and tackle." They also suffered severely through a want of forage, Tippoo having carefully destroyed all he could; and, in the latter part of their march, the periodic ruins, and bad food, and long fatigue brought on sickness and disease. To complete their wretchedness the small-pox broke out among the troops. Our Mahratta allies, who had solemnly engaged to co-operate with a great army of horse, came not at the time of their appointment, and most men

doubted whether they would come at all, or, if they came, whether they were not as likely to join the Mysoreans as the English. Lord Cornwallis, however, arrived at Arikera, on the Cavery, and about nine miles from Seringapatam, on the 13th of May; and, crossing the river with difficulty, for it was swollen by the rains, he attacked Tippoo, who had steadily waited his coming in a very advantageous position, on the 15th, before General Abercrombie could join him or get near enough to co-operate with efficacy. The Mysoreans plied their artillery with great spirit, and preserved a very imposing countenance until the British bayonets were near their breasts, when they broke and fled. They were driven from rock to rock, and from mountain to mountain, and were at last obliged to seek shelter under the guns of their capital. The setting sun displayed a glorious view to the victors as they halted on a ridge of the hills. Right before them rose Seringapatam, the proud capital of Mysore, in all the grandeur of Eastern magnificence, adorned with mosques, minarets, pagodas, and other buildings, defended by immense fortifications, and skirted by superb gardens; the rapid Cavery winding round its walls, which seemed everywhere lined with forts, and filled with crowds of the routed army. The road was open, the prize seemed within their reach; but in the very hour of victory the English found it necessary to retreat. The force actually with Cornwallis, though strong enough to beat Tippoo's army in the field, was not strong enough to invest a place like Seringapatam;



SERINGAPATAM. From an Original Drawing.

and they had with them neither provisions nor stores enough for a long siege. Moreover the camp was half filled with sick, and the pitiless rains continued to fall in torrents. Cornwallis sent orders to Abercrombie, who had reached Periapatam, about three marches from Seringapatam, to retire towards the coast; and, after remaining some days on the Cavery, near the scene of his victory, to cover Abercrombie's retreat, Cornwallis burst the greater part of his battering guns, and began his mortifying retreat also on the 26th of May. Towards the end of his first day's march Cornwallis was startled by the sudden appearance of a body of horse that rode right in on his baggage flank; but, instead of being enemies, they proved to be the advance of the long-expected Mahratta army; and they gave intelligence that the main body of that army, counted at more than 20,000 horse, under the command of Purseram Bhow, a celebrated Mahratta warrior, and Hurry Punt, a brahmin of the highest rank, who was also charged to act as minister plenipotentiary to the whole Mahratta league, was not far distant. Cornwallis halted for a day or two, and was joined by the two great chiefs; but the swelling of the rivers, the sickly state of his own men, and now the want of his battering train, forbade all thoughts of besieging Tippoo in his capital that year; and he continued his retreat to Bangalore, there to prepare better means for another campaign. Tippoo now boasted that he had obtained the greatest of victories; nevertheless he immediately renewed some overtures for peace; but Lord Cornwallis demanded the same ample reparation to the Company and their allies which he had demanded at the beginning, and the negotiation fell to the ground. During the following autumn immense preparations were made for renewing the war in the centre of Mysore. A fresh battering train, one hundred elephants from Bengal, an immense number of bullocks, stores, and abundant provisions of every kind were collected on the Malabar coast. The Company had sent out 500,000*l.* in specie; and the English government had sent out reinforcements to the king's regiments in India, together with some fresh detachments of the royal artillery. The Mahrattas were steady and active in their co-operation, and rendered important services with their light, rapid cavalry. The passes which lead from Mysore into the Carnatic, through which Tippoo and his father had been accustomed to descend, and through which Cornwallis was to receive supplies and reinforcements, were now cleared, and several strong forts which Tippoo had erected in them were taken by storm. Onsoor, though a very strong place, was carried with little difficulty; nor was there much fighting or delay at Rajahcotta, although it consisted of two forts, the one at the bottom, the other at the top, of a high and rugged rock. The rest of the forts which defended this pass—the Policade pass—surrendered upon summons; and this direct road from Madras was opened to an immense convoy which

presently came through it, headed by elephants loaded with treasure, marching two abreast, with the British standard displayed. Some hill forts, which interrupted Cornwallis's communication with the army of his other ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, were also reduced, none of them making a manful resistance except Nundydroog, which was built on the top of a mountain 1700 feet high, and apparently inaccessible to artillery. Here General Medows greatly distinguished himself. Guns were drawn up the steep, breaches were made in the walls of the fort, and orders were given to storm. Some one cried out, in the hearing of the troops, that there was a mine near the breach. "If there is a mine," said Medows, "it is a mine of gold." The troops, headed by the flank companies of the 36th and 71st regiments, rushed to the assault, entered the breach, and made the place their own. In another direction, in the mountainous, wooded country that lies between Bangalore and Seringapatam, Savendroog, a place of extraordinary strength, was captured in the same manner, the bands playing "Britons, strike home," as the storming parties advanced to the breach. Ootradroog, another fortress of the same kind and in the same district, was also carried by storm; and before the end of December all the lines of communication for Cornwallis's ultimate operations were opened and rendered perfectly secure. Tippoo had sent a considerable army to keep open his communications with the rich provinces of Bednore and Mangalore, the only part of his dominions which had escaped the ravages of war; but his Mysoreans retreated on the approach of a division of the Mahratta army, and threw themselves into a thick forest, where, besides other natural defences, they were protected by the river Toom and some deep ravines. They were soon, however, attacked, defeated, and driven out of the forest, by Captain Little, with 750 men and two guns. General Abercrombie, who, since the retreat from the upper country, had occupied cantonments at and round about Tellicherry, began to move again towards Seringapatam early in December, but he was obliged to halt at the top of the Ghauts, as the Mahrattas, who were busily engaged in plundering, could not be got together to accompany him. Early in January (1792) Lord Cornwallis united his main army under Ootradroog, where he was kept waiting more than a fortnight by the tardy Nizam, who was to join him with his army from Hyderabad. At last the Indian potentate arrived; and at the end of January the combined forces pressed forward for Seringapatam, while Abercrombie was advancing to the same point by a different route. On the 5th of February Cornwallis once more got sight of Tippoo's capital, and saw that the Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. He encamped himself at about the distance of six miles from Seringapatam. That capital is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cavery; the island being from three to four miles in

length, and the fortress standing on the western angle of it. The eastern part of the island was fortified by redoubts and batteries connected by strong intrenchments with a deep ditch. On the bank of the river, where Tippoo lay encamped, there was another line of works, and no fewer than six large redoubts. This first line was defended by 100 pieces of artillery, while the second line, or the island, its fortress, &c., was defended by 300 pieces of artillery. Tippoo's army, at the lowest estimate, amounted to 5000 horse and 40,000 foot. The sultan's hope was that he should be able to protract the siege till the want of provisions and the return of the season of rains should force his enemies to retreat. But the British did not come to loiter. In the night of the 6th of February Cornwallis led them in three columns right into Tippoo's camp; and they took several of his redoubts on the river bank before the Mysoreans well knew that they were coming. Colonel Knox, with one party, even penetrated to the island, and drove the Mysoreans out of some of their works there at the point of the bayonet. When morning dawned, Tippoo, assisted by some Frenchmen who advised some skillful manoeuvres, endeavoured to envelope and bear down by weight of artillery and force of numbers one of the three columns of the British; but he failed in the attempt; and detachment after detachment rushed across the Cavery, and got footing on the island. Tippoo fled across the river, and threw himself into the great fortress: many of his men immediately deserted; and 10,000 men, whom he had forcibly dragged from Coorg, the country his father had conquered, ran away in a body towards their native woods. The Mysoreans, who remained within the first line on the river bank, attempted to recover the redoubts which the British had taken; but they were repulsed with terrible loss. One of these redoubts, called the sultan's redoubt, was held by only 100 Europeans and 50 sepoy, who repulsed thousands after thousands. When the fighting on the river bank was over, and when Tippoo's people were all retiring to the island or to the bank of the river beyond it, 50 of the brave defenders of the sultan's redoubt were either killed or wounded, and the rest were so exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and thirst, having no provisions with them, nor so much as a drop of water, that they could scarcely stand or hold their muskets. The loss of the English during the whole of this day's hard fighting amounted to 535 in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of Tippoo in slain alone was estimated at 4000. By the morning of the 8th Abercrombie had completely established his army on the island, and Tippoo had shut up his within the works of the fortress, except the cavalry and the baggage, which he had sent across the other branch of the Cavery. Cornwallis made immediate preparations for the siege; and three European regiments, seven battalions of sepoy, and some artillery at once girded the place, preventing ingress or egress. On the evening of that

day Tippoo sent for two English officers, whom he had kept as prisoners in spite of a capitulation, and gave them presents and letters to Lord Cornwallis, assuring them that he had always been anxious to live at peace with the English. At day-break on the 10th a desperate attempt was made by some of the Mysorean cavalry, who had crossed the river in the dark, to cut off Lord Cornwallis in his camp; but the only effect really produced was an increase of zeal and animosity on the part of the British soldiers and sepoy, who were all greatly attached to their truly noble commander. On the 16th General Abercrombie, who had crossed the Cavery at Eratore, joined Cornwallis before Seringapatam with about 2000 Europeans and 4000 sepoy. As the Mahrattas had after all lagged behind, Abercrombie had been exposed on his march to several sharp attacks from the Mysorean cavalry. By the 21st the close investment of the fortress was well advanced; the first parallel, with a large redoubt in the rear, was finished, and the line was marked out for the second parallel. On the 22nd there was some smart fighting before the English could gain possession of a grove within reach of the guns of the fortress; but by the 23rd the second parallel was finished, and breaching batteries were begun and furnaces prepared for heating shot. In a few days more the walls must have been breached by the fire of fifty heavy guns, and the place must have been made untenable by the red-hot shot which would have set in flames the wooden edifices with which the interior of the fort was crowded. General Medows had undertaken to head the storming party, and the men were eager for that close conflict. But, although he had not suspended operations for a minute, Cornwallis had listened to the overtures sent to him by the two released officers, and had admitted some of Tippoo's people to close conference. These conferences, held in the English camp, were prolonged from the 15th till the 21st, and ended then without any agreement, for, though reduced to despair, the Mysorean sultan could not reconcile himself to the hard conditions proposed. But on the 24th he yielded to his fate, and Cornwallis ordered his troops in the trenches to cease working and to desist from hostilities. So inflamed were the soldiery against the sultan, and so high their hopes about prize-money if the place should be taken by storm, that it was found difficult to restrain them from continuing their works. In general orders issued to them, their general said that he thought it almost unnecessary to remind them that moderation in success was no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action; and that he trusted they would not only be incapable of committing violence in any intercourse that might take place between them and Tippoo's troops, but that they would even abstain from making use of any kind of insulting expression towards an enemy now subdued and humbled. The troops, though fired upon by the Mysoreans

both by musketry and artillery after they had suspended their works and their own fire, were dutiful to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis; but, if Tippoo had not whitewashed his walls, it is probable that their admirable discipline and their devotedness to their general would not have prevented some acts of violence. The treaty which Tippoo was thus forced to accept contained the following articles:—1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies; 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees; 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder; 4. That he should deliver up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty two of his three eldest sons. In conformity with these terms Tippoo began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers; and on the 26th the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the camp with great pomp and ceremony. They were each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, and seated in a silver houdah. They were dressed in long white

muslin gowns and red turbans; they wore several rows of large pearls round their necks, from which was suspended an ornament consisting of a ruby and an emerald of considerable size, surrounded with large brilliants, and in their turbans each had a sprig of rich pearls. They were attended by their father's vakeels, mounted also on elephants. The procession was opened by hircarrahs, or messengers riding on camels, and seven standard-bearers carrying small green flags; and it was closed by 100 spearmen, whose spears were all inlaid with silver. Some of Tippoo's sepoys and a party of horse followed at a short distance. Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff and the principal officers of his army, received the princes as they dismounted from their elephants, at the door of his great tent; embraced them; led them in, one in each hand, and treated them, as it was his nature to do all men, with great politeness, attention, and tenderness. He seated them, one on each side of himself; and then the sultan's head vakeel said—"These children were this morning the sons of the sultan, my master; they must now look up to your lordship as a father!"



RECEIPT OF THE CHILDREN OF TIPPOO SAIB TO LORD CORNWALLIS. FROM A PAINTING BY STOEDER.

Cornwallis assured the vakeels and the princes themselves that they should not feel the loss of a father's care. He gave each of the boys a gold watch, with which they were greatly delighted. The next day his lordship paid them a visit at the splendid tents which had been set apart for them. They came out to meet him with smiling faces; and his lordship again embraced them, and led them by the hand into the tent. There each of

the princes presented him with a fine Persian sword, and he gave them in return some beautiful English fire-arms. On the morning of the 28th Tippoo fired a royal salute from the fort to announce his satisfaction at the kind and honourable reception given to his sons. Sir John Kennaway, who was appointed to conclude the definitive treaty, encountered much slowness and many difficulties on the part of Tippoo's vakeels. The

sultan particularly objected to restoring to the Rajah of Coorg his dominions, and expressed astonishment and indignation at the imperative demand. But as the rajah had risen in arms, and had very materially assisted the English and their allies, Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon him. There had been but too much of this work at the peace of Mangalore. Tippoo instructed his vakeels to tell the English negotiator that he had refused to see them or to deliberate on that point. At the same time it was discovered that he was diligently repairing the damages which the fortress had sustained, and strengthening its works. Cornwallis then issued orders—orders most welcome to the troops—for recommencing the siege, informing the young princes that he must send them to Madras, while he disarmed their guard, and treated them as prisoners of war. The next morning the princes were actually made to begin their march to Bangalore. This brought Tippoo to his senses; his vakeels assured Sir John Kennaway that he would agree to all that had been demanded from him. Cornwallis agreed to suspend operations for one day, and recalled Tippoo's sons, who on the 19th of March presented the definitive treaty, signed by their father, to Lord Cornwallis. By this treaty the English obtained all the dominions of Tippoo on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, including the Baramahl and the lower Ghauts; the Mahrattas (for all the three allies shared, and about equally, in the dismemberment of the sultan's dominions) recovered possession of the country as far as the river Toombuddra, which had once been their frontier line; and the Nizam got all the country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, including the forts of Gunjecottah and Cudapa. The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce and to the extension of that influence which we aimed at. The Nairs and the other Hindu people that occupied the coast of Malabar were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion and in the enjoyment of their old customs.* In his letter to the court of directors, which accompanied the definitive treaty, Lord Cornwallis described Tippoo as "a faithless and violent character, upon whom no dependence could be placed." His lordship knew very well his connection with the French, and the efforts he had made, and continued to make, to bring that powerful nation once more into the Indian wars; and it is urged by one intimately acquainted with the whole subject, that he must have considered Tippoo, even in his reduced state,

as much more likely to disturb the Company's possessions than either the Nizam or the Mahrattas; and that it was from far different considerations than any dread of increasing the dominions of the Mahrattas and his other ally (the motive generally ascribed to him for concluding the present peace)† that he did not prosecute the war to the total destruction of the Mysorean power. The finances of the Indian government were in a very embarrassed state; the general sentiment in England seemed opposed to any war whatever in India; the court of directors had in several of their dispatches, and particularly in one which reached his lordship just before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, earnestly called his attention to the conclusion of an early peace, declaring their readiness to sacrifice some portion of the advantages which they might justly expect from the success of the war. To these strong causes remain to be added the jealousy which subsisted between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and the serious and reasonable apprehensions Cornwallis entertained of the latter.*

To soothe the troops for the disappointment of their expectations of booty in the storming of Seringapatam, and to reward them for their excellent conduct and rare exertions during the whole of the war, the commander-in-chief, upon his own responsibility, made them a gift, equal to six months' batta, out of the money paid by Tippoo; and both he himself and General Medows, his second in command, resigned their large shares, that the soldiers might have the more. The army returned to the Company's territories, good care being taken to place respectable garrisons in districts ceded, and particularly in the towns on the Malabar coast, where hitherto we had scarcely had a footing. The conduct of Lord Cornwallis to Tippoo after this peace was honourable and generous; but the sultan, whose pride had been so humiliated, and whose power had been so greatly reduced, seemed to receive every act of kindness rather as an insult than as a proof of friendship; and nothing in his conduct gave ground to hope that the peace would be permanent. Moreover, some of the Mahrattas took mortal offence at the refusal of Cornwallis to permit them to subsidise a British detachment.

While Lord Cornwallis was engaged with Tippoo, Lord Macartney, formerly governor of Madras, proceeded on his famous embassy to China, in the hope of opening that closed and jealously guarded country to English trade and enterprise. But the result really obtained was little more than a good book about the country and the people from Mr. (now Sir John) Barrow, his lordship's secretary. Our gradual conquests had brought our Indian frontier almost close upon the frontiers of the Celestial Empire; and the Chinese, who at least knew something of the history of our aggrandisement in Hindustan, were alarmed at our near neighbourhood, and thus more than ever disposed to persevere in their ancient excluding laws.

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches.—Major Dirom's Narrative.—MacKenzie, Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan.—Moore's Narrative.—Major Taylor, Travels overland to India.

The affairs of Poland now demand our attention. In the month of October, 1788, the Polish diet, consisting of the magnates and the clergy, had assembled with the intention of improving and remodelling the whole system of government in that part of the country which yet remained to them unpartitioned. Soon, encouraged by the spirit that was showing itself in France, the members of the diet resolved to continue their sittings until their work of reform should be completed; and, in order to strengthen themselves by the addition of a *Tiers Etat*, about which so much noise was making elsewhere, but which hitherto had had no political existence in Poland, they determined to admit the inferior orders into a participation in their deliberations and powers. Several years before this, the chancellor, Andrew Zamoyksi, who had both patriotism and ability, had prepared a new code, which removed many ancient abuses, and partly emancipated the peasants, who in Poland remained at the end of the eighteenth century in the same condition of serfs or slaves as the peasantry of all Europe had been in at the end of the fourteenth century. The diet which had been assembled in 1780 had rejected these vast improvements, and this code altogether, the majority of them calling Zamoyksi, who had set the example by emancipating his own serfs, a plunderer and a traitor to his country.* Nor could the diet now assembled venture to propose the emancipation of the serfs, nor was it in the end proposed until it was too late. The diet, in fact, did little or nothing but occupy itself about an alliance with Prussia, until September, 1789, when they named a committee to propose reforms in different branches of the administration, and to present the basis of an entirely new constitution. "If," says a Polish noble, a magnate of the kingdom, and one, as we believe, honestly attached to his country, "if the diet had proceeded with more dispatch, and proclaimed the new constitution eighteen months earlier than they did, Poland would have been saved. She would have had the time necessary to consolidate her government, and to gain strength, from 1789 to 1792; she would not have lost all the advantages of an alliance *very sincerely offered at that period* by the King of Prussia; she would not have left Russia the time to make peace with the Turks and the Swedes; and she would have prevented that friendly understanding between Russia and Prussia which arose out of the events and troubles in France in 1792. It was this understanding and these events which entirely changed the intentions of Frederic William with respect to Poland; which altered his character and manner of thinking; and which raised and armed nearly all Europe against France, without producing any other effect than increasing the revolutionary fanaticism, exasperating men's minds, and leaving France exposed for a time to all the horrors of anarchy."† The Polish consti-

tution-makers did not perform their work quite so rapidly as the French, although, unfortunately for themselves, they imitated those vivacious legislators in too many particulars. A deputy, or *nuncio*, from Lithuania, thought that, before they made a constitution at all, they had better provide the means of defending their country, and repeatedly exclaimed in the diet, "Money and an army! These are the two sole objects which ought at present to engage our attention!" He was in the right, but he was not listened to. At the close of the year 1789 his Prussian majesty, Frederic William, who was already putting himself forward with England as the opponent of the Empress Catherine in her designs upon Turkey, assured the diet that it was his earnest wish to see Poland happy and powerful, with such an improvement in her institutions as would enable her to maintain her own independence; and he added that this was equally the wish of his close allies England and Holland, who, like himself, were anxious to form with the Poles friendly connections not liable to be disturbed by cabals and intrigues. At the request of the diet, the king, Stanislaus Augustus, sent ambassadors to Berlin, London, the Hague, Constantinople, and other courts; and the former lover and creature of Catherine appears to have done all that in him lay to procure alliances with her enemies, and with those who were jealous of her power. After appointing the constitution committee, the diet doubted whether they had or had not the right of making any elementary changes in their old constitution, without being more formally authorised by the nation, or by the nobility and clergy, who then alone constituted the nation. This question, however, being settled in the affirmative, the committee at last produced their project of reform, in eight articles, entitled, "Principles for the improvement of the constitution." These articles laid down several good regulations; but they spoke of the crown as being still elective (that great curse of the country, and the cause of most of its miseries); and they spoke neither of the enfranchisement of the peasantry nor of the rights of the burghers and non-nobles to a share in the legislature. Stanislaus Augustus, having no son likely to succeed him, and believing that if they made the throne hereditary they would not give it to any member of his family, appeared to be passive and indifferent to the discussions which took place on this point; but when his opinion was asked, and he was consulted by members of the diet as to the choice of a prince proper to be named his successor, he made no secret of his intimate conviction that the best thing they could do would be to make the throne hereditary in the family of some prince or other; telling them that the elective nature of the crown, and the intrigues and troubles it had led to at the death of every king, had been the real cause of the decline and weakness of Poland. The burghers had demanded and were demanding to be admitted to the rank of citizens, to be represented in the national diet, and to have their share in the legislature, and their chance of promotion in the executive government, in the law, and in the

* Zamoyksi's example was followed by the king's nephew, Stanislaus Poniatowski, and by some of the nobles, but the generality of the nobility were furious at the proposition.

† Michel Orszaki, *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonois, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.*

army, where all places except the lowest were monopolised by the nobles. The diet, which was prorogued on the 30th of December, 1789, to the 3rd of February, 1790, came to no conclusion on either of these vital points; but, unlike the French nobility before the revolution, who paid nothing and would not agree to pay anything towards the expenses of the state, these Polish magnates voluntarily taxed themselves to the amount of a tenth part of their yearly revenues, and decided that the burghers and country-people should pay no more than they had been accustomed to pay in quieter times. During the recess of the diet, Luchesini, Frederic William's ambassador, informed the court of Warsaw that the Empress of Russia had declared that she would be no obstacle to an alliance between Prussia and Poland; that the King of Prussia highly approved of the projected reforms, and was ready to offer Stanislaus Augustus a defensive alliance, and conclude with him a commercial treaty, upon terms liberal and beneficial to both countries. But at the same time Luchesini did not conceal the eager desire of Frederic William to possess Thorn and Dantzie, which would throw open to him the navigation of the Vistula to the Baltic; intimating, however, that Prussia would give an equivalent by ceding other territories to Poland. It is said that the English minister resident at Warsaw backed Luchesini in asking for Thorn and Dantzie; and that some time after this Pitt himself strongly recommended the cession to the Polish ambassador at London, telling him that the Poles derived no advantage from those two outlets for their produce in the state of weakness in which they were growing under the protection of the court of Petersburg; that the King of Prussia, in offering his friendship and a treaty of alliance, was presenting them with the means of escaping from their abject state; and that this alone would be worth more than Thorn and Dantzie.* But the Poles were averse to yield the commerce of the Vistula, and the command of its embouchure, to a state which had already been a partaker in the dismemberment of their territory; and the diet afterwards decreed that no portion of the states should ever be alienated! The diet continued to discuss the great question of the new constitution; and another committee was appointed to work out the principles which had been admitted. Still the work proceeded very slowly; and, as the term was approaching when the diet, by the old laws, must dissolve itself, the nuncios resolved to make a new law for the occasion, in order to justify the prolongation of their sittings.† The king professed to be perfectly satisfied, saying that the present diet, which had been charged with the reconstruction of the constitution, was a convention, a constituent body, which ought not to

separate until it had executed its mission. There was, however, a minority in the diet that hotly opposed this novel resolution, and taxed it with illegality when it was adopted in spite of their efforts. Many essential changes in the form of government were agreed to; but when Krasinski, bishop of Kamieniec, boldly introduced the project for making the throne hereditary, like the thrones of all the countries of Europe, he was furiously assailed by a minority, but still a considerable part of the magnates, who declared that hereditary monarchy would overthrow all liberty and subject Poland to a despotism—as if there were any liberty left to overthrow in the unhappy country. Having determined that the throne should be made hereditary, the majority of the diet recommended the Elector of Saxony as a proper successor to the reigning king. The minority quoted the old law of 1768, which had been dictated and guaranteed by Russia, and which expressly declared that no change could be made in the fundamental laws of the kingdom, except by the *unanimous* assent of the diet. The majority hereupon voted the abrogation of the law of 1768; and at the same time they decreed that the new constitution should not be discussed article by article, but approved *en masse*, after which the constitution committee might make any alterations of detail which might be voted by the diet. The Polish reformers increased their speed at the very moment when the French revolutionists were alarming or startling all the established governments of Europe. If they had determined that their crown should be hereditary, they seemed equally resolved that its power, though increased from what it had been hitherto, should be very limited: they kept to themselves the right of declaring war and making peace, and entering into and concluding treaties of alliance; only enacting that in these cases there must be a majority of three-fourths of the diet. The demand of the burghers for a share in the representation was submitted to a committee, who in their report recommended the measure. The minority of the diet, who called themselves anti-revolutionists, and who thought it monstrous that plain citizens should be anything in the state, opposed the measure with the greatest fury; but after some amendments the measure was agreed to. On the very same day Prince Adam Czartoryski, Count Potocki, grand-marshal of Lithuania, and Malachowski, marshal of the diet, took up their freedom as citizens of Warsaw; and their example was followed by many other noblemen. This seemed one great step gained; but unfortunately neither the citizens of Warsaw nor those of any other town in Poland had any great weight or influence in the country, or any familiarity with free municipal institutions, or any of those habits of self-government which are only to be acquired by time. The majority now proceeded with a constantly increasing speed; and being impatient of the opposition of the minority, and apprehending some hostile interference on the part of Russia if the business were not finished

* Michal Oginski.

† The better to legitimate their departure from the old law on the duration of sessions, and all such new laws and changes in the constitution as they might make, they called upon the electoral bodies (the nobles and clergy) to elect and send to the Diet a number of new members, equal to their own number:—and this was done.

immediately, they resolved that the articles of the constitution should be adopted *en masse* and sanctioned by the king all in one day, and that the minority should be taken by surprise. The articles of this new constitution were privately submitted to the king, who, against his better judgment, agreed to play his part in the *coup d'état*, or trick, and accept the whole constitution without further examination or debate. But it was difficult to keep secret what was known to so many individuals; and some of the opposition or minority learned the whole of the plan. The majority then anticipated, and by changing their great day, which had been fixed for the 5th of May (1791), to the 3rd of May, they hoped to prevent any mischief to their grand project. It appears they apprehended some scene of violence like those which had so often happened in Polish diets. In the night between the 2nd and 3rd of May they met in a private house and read the constitutional act, precautions being adopted to exclude every one that thought or voted with the minority, or, as they were called, the Russian faction; and, after the constitution had been read with acclamation and unanimous approbation, they set their signatures to it. On the 3rd the king, as had been agreed, entered the hall in the royal palace where the diet held their session; and, the constitution being read and voted by the nuncios, Stanislaus Augustus took the oath to it, and called upon all those who loved their country to follow him to the church to take the same oath with more solemnity. And forthwith all the nuncios except twelve followed the king through the halls and corridors which lead from the palace to the cathedral church; and before the high altar they solemnly swore to maintain this constitution. A *Te Deum* was then chanted, and the nuncios separated till the 5th of May. This new constitution determined that the Catholic religion was to remain the dominant religion of the state; that other Christian sects should be tolerated, but that the king must always be a Catholic:—that the hereditary principle was adopted, and the succession to the throne vested in the Elector of Saxony and his descendants:—that there should be *two Houses*, or a senate and a lower chamber:—that the king should have a deliberating voice in the senate, and a casting vote:—that the diet should assemble every two years, but that its convocation would be necessary at any time the country was threatened with a foreign war, a civil war or revolution, a general death, or a minority by the death or mental alienation of the sovereign:—that the king should have a suspensive veto, or the right of suspending from one diet to another the execution of any decree to which he had not given his assent:—that the king should have the right of naming to all places of trust and honour:—that the executive power belonged to the king and his council, composed of six ministers of state; but that these ministers should be responsible to the Diet, and that whenever the diet should by a majority declare that they had no confidence in a minister, his majesty should be bound to dismiss him and

name another:—that the army should be entirely at the disposition of the executive power:—that in the interval of the diets the king and his council should provisionally have the power of making treaties and regulations:—that, the nobility should be confirmed in their ancient rights and privileges, but that the burghers of the free towns should send deputies to the diet, and that these burgher deputies should at the end of three years have the right of being ennobled if they chose:—that every man that reached the rank of captain in the army should be ennobled; and that in every successive diet thirty burgher proprietors might be ennobled at the demand of their towns:—that, in addition to the territorial courts of the noblesse and proprietors, there should be courts of justice for such of the country people as were free:—that the executive power should be entrusted with the management of national education, police, war, and the treasury:—that the *liberum veto*, the cause of so much mischief, and confederations and associations, should be abolished for ever:—that every twenty-five years the constitution should be revised and amended in an extraordinary diet convoked for that purpose. The abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil was no clause in this charter, and was not even mentioned in it; but measures had been taken by the leaders of the reforming party to prepare for and gradually bring about that change without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights and property of the noble holders of lands and serfs; and the Poles insist that there can be no doubt whatever that if this reforming diet had not been forcibly interrupted, and then dissolved for ever, the slavery of the peasants would gradually have disappeared.*

None of the Poles, except the enthusiasts of the nation, could fancy for one moment that they, in the impoverished and already dismembered state of the country, could make head against the formidable power of the Russians, or oppose the Czarina in a single campaign when she should have finished her war with the Turks, unless they were backed and supported by some other power or powers. The ally pointed out by the circumstances of the times and the disposition of the reigning king was certainly Prussia. In the month of March, or some six weeks before the constitution was sworn to and promulgated, the ministers of Frederic William had concluded the commercial treaty with the Polish government; but, as the Poles would not yield to him Thorn and Dantzic, no progress was made in the defensive alliance; and the decree of the Polish diet prohibiting for ever the alienation of any portion of the remaining territory stopped all further negotiation on that subject. This decree was passed some time before the 3rd of May, and there can be little doubt that it gave offence to Frederic William, and destroyed all hope of Prussian assistance, although he allowed his ministers to conclude the commercial treaty after the decree was passed, and wrote an approving

* Oginski, Mémoires.

and an applauding letter to Stanislaus Augustus after he had sworn to the new constitution. And the Prussian minister at Warsaw had on the 16th of May (thirteen days after the promulgation of the constitution) a long conference with a committee the diet had appointed for managing foreign affairs, and assured them, in the name of the king his master, that his majesty highly approved of the happy and bloodless revolution which had given to Poland a wise and well-organised constitution. The Prussian minister further assured the diet that his master was more than satisfied with the choice they had made of the house of Saxony to be their hereditary sovereigns; and that he was of opinion that this firm and decisive step would give a solid basis to the government of Poland and to the national prosperity and happiness. He also told the diet that his Prussian majesty had expressed the same sentiments to the Elector of Saxony on the subject of this wise constitution. All that was said at this conference was taken down in writing, signed by all present, and then deposited in the archives of the foreign office. Other strong proofs exist of Frederic William's keeping up the same tone for weeks and months after the passing of that constitution which he subsequently pretended he had all along disapproved. Felicitations poured in to Warsaw from other quarters; but the Elector of Saxony, whose family had already suffered so much by aspiring to wear the worse than iron crown of Poland, who knew the political state of Europe, and felt assured that Russia would never permit him or any of his family to reign in peace as hereditary kings of Poland, hesitated and held back, and only returned evasive answers to the diet, who thought he ought to have been in transports of joy at the offer they made him. The Count of Malachowski was sent to Dresden as envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to discuss the whole matter with the elector; and, as he made no progress in removing that cautious prince's doubts and misgivings, the Prince of Czartoryski was sent to join and co-operate with Malachowski. This was in the month of October, 1791; and it was not until the month of April, 1792, only one month before the empress Catherine issued her manifesto, and marched her armies into Poland to destroy not merely the revolution and the new constitution, but the very existence of the nation, that the Elector informed the diet that he would accept the crown upon certain conditions, of which some were inexecutable and some such as the Poles would never have consented to execute. His electoral highness put among his conditions that the Poles should obtain the consent of all the neighbouring nations to the new scheme of government they had adopted, and that he should have the certainty of those neighbouring powers not opposing the hereditary monarchy in him and his family. Yet the Elector knew that Russia had determined to oppose everything. Another of his conditions was that the constitution of the 3rd of May should be

remodelled so as to give more power to the sovereign, and determine and limit the powers of the diet. He also demanded the exclusive right of war and peace, and a more direct authority over the army than was given by the constitution. Several things in his ultimatum seemed written to conciliate the empress, and condemn sundry proceedings and regulations in France which the Poles had imitated in their constitution, rather than for any other use or purpose: thus the Elector exposed the form of oath to be taken by the Polish troops to the *nation*, which he called a vague word signifying whatever a dominant faction chose to make it signify; and, in claiming for himself the entire management of the education of his son and heir, he seemed to glance at the conduct of the National Assembly in usurping the paternal power over the young Dauphin. In far too many particulars the Poles had displayed a fondness for French forms, ceremonies, and phraseologies; and, however different its character, their revolution unquestionably received most of its impulses from Paris, where there were constantly many Poles residing. And ever since the troubles and the first partition in the year 1772, there had been many French propagandists and intriguers residing in Poland, where they disseminated, by spoken words and by printed books and pamphlets, sentiments subversive of all social order. All this was, perhaps, less dangerous in Poland than in other countries; for, except the upper classes, who could never altogether wish that the doctrines of the Rights of Man and of the levelling Jacobin clubs should be put in actual practice, few or none could read, or understand any language except their own difficult Slavonian dialect—a dialect far too difficult for any flighty, impatient Frenchman to learn, even though he remained years in the country. There was no medium by which to communicate the principles of Jacobinism, and liberty and equality, and all the rest of the new philosophy; and the dull, degraded Polish serf was as little given to ambition, or to speculation of any mental kind, as the bullock he drove or the horse he rode. Whatever might be the mistakes in political principles or the errors committed by the Polish nobles and clergy, who were in fact the only makers of this revolution, the only builders of this new constitution, there was therefore but little danger that the scenes passing on the Seine, the Loire, and the Rhone should be repeated on the Vistula, the Bug, and the Niemen: there was in Poland no mighty mass of material to constitute a domineering, remorseless, and all-destroying democracy. Still, however, in those moments of universal doubt and dread, when every sovereign knew that he was threatened from France with insurrection and revolution, it is not unreasonable to believe that the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, and even the Czarina of Russia may have felt some alarm at the partial imitation of the French revolution in a country seated in the midst of their territories, and portions of which they had so unjustly appropriated to

themselves. The Empress Catherine, who felt, and like a woman, that it was to her, and her alone, that Poniatowski (Stanislaus Augustus) owed his Polish throne, and that his present conduct, so contrary to her wishes, and his negotiating with Prussia, and through Prussia with England, to enter into that hostile league which threatened her (and which, but for the strenuous opposition of the English Whigs, would, in all probability, have been formed against her on account of Turkey), was most undutiful and ungrateful, was eager for revenge, by force of arms or by policy, and no doubt calculated from the beginning on nothing less than the total destruction of the Polish kingdom, or republic, or nondescript. Any home-fears about the French revolution or its principles must have been far less strong and vehement in her bosom than her thirst for revenge and her avidity for more territory. In the King of Prussia, although from the character of his country and some of his subjects he had considerably more to apprehend than Catherine with her Muscovites, doubtless the dread and detestation of French principles were much sharpened by the refusal of the Poles to give up Thorn and Dantzic, and by the prospect soon opened to him by Catherine—opened as soon as, or perhaps *rather* sooner than, the time when the Czarina so reluctantly concluded her war against the Turks, to prevent the progress of which his Prussian majesty was bound by his English alliance—of obtaining not merely Thorn and Dantzic, with the free navigation of the Vistula, but whole Polish provinces, another great slice wherewith to round and to give shape to that shapeless thing the Prussian monarchy, which had been made up, and in quite recent times, by additions and fragments—a bit here and a bit there—acquired by treaty or by war. Up to a certain point, or so long as the integrity, or at least the independence, of the Turkish empire was the uppermost consideration, Pitt and his government unquestionably encouraged the King of Prussia in demanding Thorn and Dantzic as the price for which he would conclude a defensive alliance, and assist the Poles in maintaining their new constitution and guarding all of their kingdom that was left to them by the last partition against the arms of Russia, and against the arms of Austria, if the emperor should be induced to make common cause with the Czarina. Pitt's words to Count Oginski, and Lord Grenville's dispatches to the British minister at Warsaw, were sufficiently explicit on this head; and a pamphlet, printed, published, and widely circulated in the Polish capital, to recommend the cession in question and to prove that the indispensable sacrifice would not really cost the Poles much, was universally attributed to the English resident minister, Mr. Hailes, who, on the 28th of January, 1791, or three months and a few days before the promulgation of the new constitution, had delivered a note to the diet, expressing the most friendly sentiments on the part of the British government, and the earnest desire entertained by

the king, his master, to contract a commercial and defensive alliance with Poland, and to see his ally, the King of Prussia, essentially included in that alliance. But when the Czarina had concluded peace with the Turks, and had begun to put herself forward as the antagonist of French revolutionary principles, pretending to seek the friendship of Prussia chiefly if not entirely on account of the one great object and common cause of sovereigns and established governments, Pitt and his cabinet became suddenly cool and indifferent as to the fate of Poland, adopted a tone of the greatest caution in their diplomatic correspondence, and hinted very plainly that they must and would remain neutral in that quarrel. Fox and other members of the opposition, though they expressed an enthusiastic admiration of the new Polish constitution, and complimented Oginski on the energy, good conduct, and moderation of his countrymen in their late revolution, certainly did nothing, in time, to serve their cause or obviate the doom which awaited them. Indeed, Fox may be ranked among the enemies of Poland; for it was he, and his party, that had prevented the extension of our Prussian alliance, and those energetic measures which would have checked in more than one direction the aggrandisement of Catherine, and have left her little time and no means to devote to the destruction of Poland. Fox told Oginski to beware of the King of Prussia, whose alliance, he said, was not to be trusted; but he continued to eulogise in the British parliament the moderation and the magnanimity of the czarina; to declare that Russia was a power we ought to conciliate instead of alienating,—that Russia was a natural ally of England; and it was at the very time when Catherine was preparing to invade Poland, when her troops were almost on the frontiers, that Fox sent his own minister, Adair, to St. Petersburg to congratulate and encourage the empress! The blame may be divided among them all, but neither Fox and his party, nor any other party or set of men that we can discover in England, can justly pretend to throw the whole of the “deep damnation” of the “taking off” of Poland upon Pitt and his cabinet.

As soon as Catherine had concluded, for the present, her war with the Turks, by the treaty of Jassy, which was signed in August, 1791, she directed the whole of her attention to Poland, preparing to employ against it those armies which had been in the field against the sultan, and diplomatising with the courts of Stockholm, Berlin, and Vienna with consummate art. As for the King of Sweden, the knight-errant of Marie Antoinette, he was completely absorbed by his wild schemes for conducting armies of half the nations of Europe against the French republicans; he was adroitly flattered with the prospect of being the generalissimo of kings and emperors—a dream from which he never awoke until he fell under the hand of an assassin; and as for the Poles, he hated them for their imitations of the French revolutionists. The King of

Prussia, in the humour he was in, was but too glad to forget his recent negotiations with the Poles, and to grasp at some new compact with Russia, which would give him far more than the Poles had refused him, or than he had ever asked, and thus, too, without the expenses and risks of a war with a first-rate power, in which he might have found himself involved, if he had abided by his original scheme of supporting Poland against Russia. With respect to the court of Vienna, whose concurrence or neutrality was a *sine quâ non*, the character of the Emperor Leopold, and his high reputation for justice and moderation, seemed to offer a serious obstacle to the nefarious scheme on foot; but Leopold died on the 1st of March, 1792, and his successor, Francis, was soon found to be possessed of a more elastic conscience, and of an infinitely more lively dread of French principles—a dread daily increased by the audacity of the French republicans, and very soon by their unexpected victories over their Prussian invaders, and over the emperor's veteran troops in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. To the narrow mind of Francis the revolution in Poland and the constitution of May, 1791, never appeared in any other light than as a branch of the great French revolution; and it seemed to him not merely natural and justifiable, but absolutely necessary, that the spirit of innovation should be put down in their rear, before Prussia and Austria attacked it in their front in France, and that all the princes engaging in the crusade against jacobinism should take their reward out of a country tainted with jacobinism like Poland. The idea never struck him, or the czarina, or the King of Prussia, that, at a great crisis in Europe, at a moment when they were taking up the sword for principles, and against violence and injustice, every part of their own conduct ought to be pure in principle, and free from the vices and excesses against which they were arming. The Poles, who had made the revolution and new constitution, certainly took no care to deprive their enemies of the handle at which they grasped. Several of the laws they made and the decrees they passed were little more than transcripts of things passed in the French Assembly; they got up themselves, or allowed, political clubs, which rather too nearly resembled that of the Jacobins; and a deputation of Poles then in Paris presented themselves at the bar of the Convention, where they glorified themselves in making a profession of ultra-Jacobin principles, and in assuring the French that the whole Polish nation, or at least all the patriots in it, cherished the same principles. There were Englishmen who had done as much as this, or even more: this Polish deputation might be self-elected; and, at all events, their boast of a reigning jacobinism in Poland was absolute nonsense; but the kingly critics of their conduct set down all their madness to the account of their country. At Warsaw they kept the 3rd of May, 1792, as a great holiday and anniversary of their revolution; and, in so doing, the Poles drank

toasts and made use of words and sentences which had become the alarm-bells, not only of every king and government, but of every people in Europe that wished to remain quiet. The municipality gave a grand dinner to five hundred persons, and invited the king to be present at it. Stanislaus Augustus not only went to the dinner, but also partook, or pretended to partake, in the double intoxication of wine and politics. When his health was drunk, he responded by drinking to the nation and the municipality (which latter had become, as in Paris, a strong governing power), and he made a speech in which he told the burghers that the period was arrived in which all artificial distinctions were to cease, except so far as they were conferred by the sovereign people. And the enthusiastic and intoxicated guests, whose ears were to tingle in a very few weeks with the roar and crash of Russian artillery, shook the municipal hall with shouts of "Long live liberty!" "Long live the nation!" "Long live our citizen king, the friend of the *Rights of Man*!" In the meantime other Poles, who were of the Russian party, a party which never ceased to exist, or who became linked with the czarina through their dislike of the new constitution, and their rage at what they termed the irregular and treacherous manner in which that constitution had been carried, had united themselves at Jassy, and had sent their agents and their memorials to St. Petersburg, calling upon Catherine, as the party who had guaranteed the old constitution and form of government, to interfere and overthrow the new one. Russia never made an attack upon the liberty and independence of this unhappy country, without having a Polish party to invite and assist her; it was so in the first partition, and it was equally so in the last. The number of the present party is differently represented, the patriots wishing it to appear small, and the Russians as large as possible. It appears, however, that it was smaller than on any previous occasion, and that only Felix Potocki, Branicki, Rzewinski, and eleven other magnates, signed the act of confederacy at Targowica, on the 14th of May. Four days after the signing of this act the Russian minister at Warsaw, Bulgakoff, presented a protest against all the recent innovations and every part of them. This protest was handed not to Stanislaus Augustus, whom Catherine had ceased to consider or treat as a king from the time he had ceased to be obedient to her will, but to the diet. It commenced with well sounding and memorable words. In the name of his mistress Bulgakoff said—"The liberty and independence of the illustrious republic of Poland have at all times attracted the attention and concern of all her neighbours. Her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, who, together with this claim, also unites the right of her formal and positive engagements with the republic, has endeavoured in a more peculiar manner to watch over the inviolable preservation of these two precious attributes of its political existence. These con-

tinual and generous endeavours of her majesty, being the effects of her love for justice and order, as well as her affection and good wishes towards a nation whom the identity of origin, language, and so many other natural relations with the nation she reigns over, render dear to her, did doubtless repress the ambition and avidity of those rulers who, not satisfied with the share of authority assigned to them by the laws of the state, aspired at a greater extent of power at the expense of these very laws." The empress, or her minister for her, told the makers of the new constitution that they had acted most factiously and ungratefully; that they had neglected nothing to tire her patience and weary out her active vigilance over the integrity of the possessions, rights, and prerogatives of the illustrious Polish nation; that they had even dared to defame the purity and munificence of her intentions; that they had with perfidious dexterity caused her protection, and the guarantee she had given to their old legitimate constitution, to be considered a humiliating yoke; and that they had long been proposing all sorts of perverse and erroneous notions, which would be fatal to their own country and perilous to its neighbours. She accused them of hurrying on these designs when Russia had a double war upon her hands, with Sweden and the Porte; of having violated all the ancient laws of the republic, sitting as a Diet beyond the period fixed by the constitution, usurping, mingling, and concentrating in themselves all branches of power, and finally crowning all their ruinous enterprises by totally subverting, on the 3rd of May, 1791, "the edifice of government under which the republic had been happy for so many years." "On this day," continued the protest and declaration of this delicate friend of the rights of nations and of liberty, "the ancient edifice vanished, and on its ruins arose a monarchy, which, in the new laws, by which it was thought to limit it, offers nothing but contradictions, incoherency with the old laws, an entire insufficiency in every respect, which leaves not even to the Poles the shadow of that liberty and of those prerogatives of which they were always so jealous. The elective throne is rendered an hereditary one; and that law which was dictated by the wisdom of their ancestors, and which forbids to meddle during the lifetime of the king with the election of his successor, has been rashly transgressed, together with every other law that guaranteed the perpetual consistency of the Polish republic." Exaggerating some circumstances which indubitably happened, and perhaps purely inventing one or two others, Catherine proceeded to tell the Diet that the means made use of for executing their designs had been characterised by the same violence and injustice as the designs themselves; that on the day of the revolution—that fatal 3rd of May—the palace and the Diet Hall were crowded with the Warsaw mob; that armed men were introduced; that cannons were brought from the arsenal in order to fire on such as might en-

deavour to prevent the success of the plot; that the regiment of artillery and the Lithuanian guards were assembled for supporting the mob, their fury being previously excited against those men whose resistance to the revolution was dreaded; that several members of the Diet who persevered in their patriotic sentiments were threatened with death; and that when one of these gentlemen humbly approached the throne to remind the king of his solemn oath to the *Pacta Conventa*, that sacred and indissoluble charter which connected the sovereign with the nation, he was trodden under foot in an unmerciful manner in spite of his inviolable character as a representative of the nation, and to the shame and disgrace of every Pole who had not lost all sense of honour and liberty. "And this is the revolution," said the autocratess, "which is represented by its promoters to have been the free wish of the nation!" Taking good care not to mention the King of Prussia, with whom her good understanding was now complete, or England, of whom she still stood in awe—an awe imposed by the tone which Pitt had frequently used towards her, and from which the bland tongue of Mr. Adair could not disenchant her—she taxed the Poles who had made the revolution with base endeavours to raise up enemies against her, and drive their country into a war with Russia when that power had enemies enough in active hostility. She taxed them with old offences of intolerance against the Greek religion, which was the religion of some of the Poles and of all the Russians; with having imprisoned a bishop of the Greek church, who was in reality her own subject; and with having torn from the altar, in a chapel at Warsaw, protected by her imperial coat of arms, a Greek priest, &c. Some of the orators in the diet had not been silent on the private life and morals of the Messalina-Semiramis of the north; and Catherine, who bitterly resented all such criticisms, accused them of having failed in the respect due to her exalted rank, saying, that this unpardonable rudeness, instead of being reprimanded as it deserved, had been encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party who had subverted the laws and constitution. "The least of these grievances," said the she-wolf to those who were destined to undergo the fate of the lamb in this quarrel, "without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her majesty to take signal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her majesty publishes the present declaration. Her innate justice does not suffer her to confound all the Polish nation with one of the parties in it which has betrayed her majesty's confidence. The empress, on the contrary, is fully convinced that the greatest number had no share in any of the things attempted against herself and the republic. For this very reason she is willing to sacrifice her just resentment to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific sentiments, of seeing all

these grievances remedied by means of a new Diet, which shall more strictly adhere to the *orders of their superiors*, and the immutable laws of the state, than the present existing Diet, which has trespassed upon them all in the most manifest manner, and marked all their transactions with the stamp of their own illegality. But, should her majesty refuse to listen to the voice of her own resentment, she cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made to her by a great number of Poles, among whom are several who are as illustrious by birth and rank in the republic as they are distinguished by patriotic virtues and their ability to serve the state. Animated by a pure and praiseworthy zeal for the *welfare of their country* and the recovery of its former *liberty and independence*, these noble Poles have united themselves (at Targowica) for the purpose of forming a lawful confederation, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the unlawful confederation and usurpation at Warsaw has caused to the nation. With these sentiments they have claimed the support and assistance of the empress, who has not hesitated to assure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly dispositions in favour of the republic, and her desire of strictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties. In order to fulfil her promise, the empress has ordered part of her troops to enter the territory of the republic. Her troops are to show themselves there as friends, and are to co-operate in the re-establishment of the rights, liberties, and prerogatives of the republic." She promised a perfect oblivion of what was past to such as should receive her troops as friends, with every security for person and property; but she told all those that should offer any resistance, or "persevere in a perverse way of thinking, and oppose the benevolent intentions of the empress and the patriotic wishes of their fellow-citizens," that they would have to thank themselves if they met with the treatment they deserved. Nothing, according to Catherine, was so easy as to get rid of the oaths they had taken to the new constitution on the 3rd of May, by error, by force, or by seduction; they had only to take again the oath to the old constitution, the only true and sacred oath, by which, long before the 3rd of May, they had engaged to maintain and defend the free government under which they were born; and the renewal of this old oath was the only means of repairing the perjury of which they had been guilty in taking the new oath.

On the 18th of May, the very day on which this declaration was presented at Warsaw, a Russian army, consisting of 80,000 regular troops, and 20,000 Cossacks and other irregulars, entered Poland, along with some of the confederates of Targowica and other Poles. The Diet at Warsaw returned an answer which was both spirited and moderate. They claimed for themselves that liberty and independence which the empress seemed to acknowledge as their right; and they defended the revolution they had made as being conformable to

the interests of the nation and the wishes of the best of the people. They said that their Diet, before proceeding to pass the constitution, had doubled their numbers by a second set of representatives freely and lawfully chosen; that the spirit of the new was soon seen to assimilate with that of the old representatives; and that a union of will and of sentiment necessarily reinforced the system of patriotic reform, and hastened the completion of the work. They declared that in making their crown hereditary they had been actuated by the recollection of the long and unfortunate troubles inseparable from the vacancies of elective monarchy, and that in so doing they had even served the interests of the neighbouring powers, by the suppression of abuses and intrigues, which were a constantly recurring source of cabal and jealousies to other cabinets, exposing them to influences often injurious to their own tranquillity. They read her a complete recantation of their old political prejudices in favour of the *liberum veto*, and the excessive power of the oligarchy over the sovereign and every other part of the state; and they declared that the most passionate lovers of Polish liberty must prefer the new constitution, by which the powers of the sovereign were increased, and his ministers rendered responsible for the abuse of them. They denied that one power, by guaranteeing the constitution of another, had the right to prevent improvement and change in that constitution—the right of giving an eternal fixity to laws and forms of government, which ought to vary according to times and circumstances; and they exposed the monstrous absurdity of pretending that one power was to invade another at the mere cry and reclamation of a few discontented individuals. They denied that they had acted ungenerously towards Russia, in seeking to ally themselves with her enemies at a time when her hands were full; and they said that the common object of the ambassadors they sent to different courts was to make known to all those courts the spirit and the pacific objects of the Diet, which tended solely to the improvement of their own internal government. They allowed that during the war they had sent an ambassador to Constantinople, and that the Ottoman Porte, pressed by the arms of Russia, would have been glad to find a useful diversion in an alliance with Poland, and had made advances to that end, accompanied with the most seductive offers, but they protested that they had merely sought to secure the interests of Poland, without committing those of Russia, and had thus given her majesty the empress proofs of their regard, rather than given her any just causes of complaint. As to the persecuting of Poles belonging to the Greek church, they said that the whole Greek communion had been incited to sedition, insurrection, and revolt by the fanaticism of some Greek monks, seconded by the suttlers of the empress's army, and by other Russian subjects: that, in order to stop the conspiracy at its source, endeavours were made to discover the chief authors; and that then, upon good proof, they had arrested a

Greek bishop and a monk. They assured her majesty that the subaltern officer and some soldiers, who had inadvertently arrested the monk in a chapel covered by the empress's coat of arms, had been rigorously punished, and reparation made to her majesty's representatives. The Diet concluded in a tone so very mild, that it sounds almost like a confession of their weakness and the hopelessness of their cause:—"If, contrary to all expectation, our intentions, directed by the love of peace and justice, having no object but the safety and internal peace of Poland, should be still misunderstood—if the reclamations of some individuals, dissatisfied with order, should prevail in the mind of her majesty the empress over the wish of our nation, and if the republic should find herself in the melancholy situation of seeing her sovereignty or legal authority disputed, the Polish people, jealous of the esteem of Europe, jealous of the esteem of a sovereign who knows well what noble sentiments are, will not hesitate in their choice between a degrading surrender and the honourable perils of a necessary defence." Stanislaus Augustus issued an address to the Polish army, telling them that the army of a free nation, with a good cause on their side, could not fail to find their support in the powerful arm of the Omnipotent; and he and the Diet joined in a circular letter addressed to the whole nation, in which the Poles were reminded of the dear rate at which Russian protection had been purchased, and of the curses which had attended Russian interference and domination. Senators, ministers, and representatives of the country, violently carried off from their residences or from the palace of the king and the very hall of the Diet; the contemptuous treatment of the nobility, the oppression and spoliation of the burghers, the seizure and forcible transportation of peasants and their families to stock new Russian colonies or to serve in the armies of the empress; and, finally, the dismembering of the country,—these were some of the effects of Russian interference and Russian guarantees. If the Poles did not now unite as one man, worse would follow—the yoke would be made the heavier for their having dared to become free and independent; and lastly would come the entire partition of the country, and the total extinction of the Polish name! This joint address of the king and Diet ended with a prayer to the God of armies, the God of their forefathers, who saw the innocence and the justice of their cause, who knew the purity of their intentions, and that their object was not to shed blood for the sake of ambition, spoil, and dominion over others, but solely to defend their country, and their national laws and liberty. Stanislaus Augustus, on the 31st of May, applied for aid to the King of Prussia; and many of the Poles were credulous enough to think either that this aid would be given, or that Frederic William would play the part of a generous mediator. Although, through the motives and circumstances we have described, Frederic William had hung back from the defensive alliance, Prussia, as a

guarantee at the time of the last partition of the integrity and independence of all that Russia, Austria, and itself had left to the Polish kingdom or republic, seemed bound to interpose on the present occasion. "It is apparent," said Stanislaus Augustus in his letter, "that the territory of the republic, guaranteed by your majesty, is violated; that its independence is invaded and attacked in a manner so general and extensive, and that, descending even into the most subtle interpretations, it is impossible to ascribe it merely to the articles of the new constitution. . . . In the midst of my inquietudes and fatigues, that which consoles me is, that never was there a better cause than ours, or a cause which had for its support an ally more respectable and faithful than your majesty." To this call for help Frederic William replied on the 8th of June in a cold and insulting letter, which left no doubt as to his perfect understanding with Catherine. "I see with regret," said he, "the embarrassments in which Poland finds herself involved. But I will acknowledge, with equal frankness, that, after all that has passed for the last twelve months, these embarrassments were to be foreseen. Your majesty will recollect that, on more than one occasion, the Marquis of Lucchesini was charged to manifest not only to you, but also to the preponderating members of the government, my just apprehensions on this subject. From the moment that the general re-establishment of tranquillity in Europe permitted me to explain myself, and the empress of Russia had shown a decided opposition to the order of things established on the 3rd of May, 1791, my way of thinking and the language of my ambassadors and ministers have never varied; and in observing with a tranquil eye the new constitution which the republic has given to itself, without my privity or concurrence, I have never had the idea either of supporting or protecting it." [Yet Frederic William had warmly congratulated Stanislaus Augustus on the passing of this constitution of the 3rd of May, and had assured him of his eagerness to make his sentiments known on this subject, "or to convince him and the whole Polish nation of the lively interest he took in it." But this was at the time when Pitt was threatening Catherine with his great armament, when Frederic William was contemplating a war with Russia on the score of Turkey, and when the co-operation of Poland was properly placed at a high value.*] "I have predicted, on the contrary, that the threatening measures and the warlike preparations which the Diet incessantly deliberated upon would infallibly provoke the resentment of the Empress of Russia, and draw upon Poland the evils which they were meant to avoid. The event has justified these appearances; and it cannot be dissembled in the present moment, that without the new form of government, and without the efforts

* Frederic William's note was dated the 23rd of May, 1791. Nearly a month later, or on the 21st of June, his ambassador Lucchesini repeated the same assurances to the Diet who had made the constitution of the 3rd of May. No doubt he changed his way of thinking afterwards.

which the Poles have announced for supporting it, the court of Russia would not have determined on the vigorous proceedings it has now embraced. Whatever be the friendship that I have sworn to your majesty, and the interest that I take in everything that concerns you, you will yourself believe that, the state of things being entirely changed since the treaty I entered into with the republic, and the present conjuncture, brought on by the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, posterior to my treaty, not being applicable to the engagements therein stipulated, it does not belong to me to resist the attack made on your majesty, if the intentions of the patriotic party are still the same, and if they persist in the desire of maintaining their own work; but, if, retracing their steps, they shall consider the difficulties that are rising upon all sides, I shall be ready to concert measures with her majesty the Empress of Russia, and enter into explanations at the same time with the court of Vienna, to strive to reconcile the different interests, and to agree on measures capable of restoring to Poland her tranquillity."

Appeals to other countries, if not met with so much insolence, were at least equally unavailing. Poland, as will be the fate of every country that falls by long misrule into her decrepit condition, and that is unable to help itself, found no help nor hope of help anywhere—

"Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arm, nor mercy in her woe."

England, though fain to encourage her when it was thought she might be wanted in the projected league against Russia, appears to have had at least the address to avoid committing herself, or encouraging any high hopes of English subsidies or other assistance. Pitt's cousin Grenville, as secretary for foreign affairs, proceeded with the utmost caution and circumspection in all his dealings with the Poles, most evidently apprehending all along the turn affairs might take; and this caution of course increased after the Whig opposition and the strongly pronounced sense of the people had convinced Pitt that he could not safely go into a war with Russia for the sake of Turkey. And after Catherine had concluded the treaty of Jassy, and granted moderate terms to the sultan, Pitt, who was by no means a thorough war-minister like his father, rejoiced that the necessity of English interference was over. Besides, our close ally, Prussia, was not to be thwarted in her desires and schemes. In 1791, after the passing of the constitution of May, Lord Grenville instructed Hailes, our minister at Warsaw, "to express himself most cautiously on the subject of the Polish revolution, and to confine himself to such assurances only of his Britannic majesty's good wishes as could be given without committing his majesty to any particular line of conduct respecting any troubles that might arise on the subject." In the present year, when the storm was thickening and bursting, when the Russian columns were traversing the country without any prospect of a valid resistance,

Grenville repeated and improved upon these injunctions in his instructions to Colonel Gardiner, who was sent out to Warsaw to succeed Mr. Hailes and watch events. In a note dated Whitehall, August the 4th, Grenville said, "The present critical state of affairs in Poland will require from you the utmost prudence and reserve with respect to your language and conduct." He referred Colonel Gardiner to his dispatch to Hailes, which we have just quoted, and added with true diplomatic coolness, "The event has, unhappily, but too well justified this reserve, and the present situation of Poland is such as to leave little hopes that the tranquillity of that unfortunate country can be restored, without its falling again into the most entire dependence on the power of Russia, even if no further dismemberment of territory should take place. The conduct observed on this occasion by the court of Berlin appears to have been dictated by a persuasion of the dangers which would arise to the Prussian interests from the establishment of an efficient and permanent form of government in Poland. There is perhaps too much reason to fear, that the alternative which has been preferred will be productive of more real inconvenience to the King of Prussia than that which has been rejected. But it is sufficiently evident that, while the opinion I have mentioned is acted upon at Berlin, no intervention of the maritime powers could be serviceable to Poland, at least not without a much greater exertion and expense than the importance of the object to their separate interests could possibly justify. All, therefore, that is to be done by you in the present moment is, to hold a language of friendship on his majesty's part towards the king of Poland and the Polish nation. But you are to be very careful (supposing the event still undecided on your arrival at Warsaw) not to do anything which could hold out ill-grounded expectations of support from this country." Grenville concluded his letter by desiring the Colonel to give his utmost attention to all parts of "this interesting business," and to keep his government constantly informed of the different events which might arise, as well as of all that he should be able to discover "of the views and intentions of the three surrounding courts, on whom the fate of Poland seems now entirely to depend."* The Poles, who, in the month of June or July, sent Count Bukaty on an imploring mission to London, had fondly flattered themselves that Pitt, who had so often and so publicly expressed his feeling of the expediency of curbing the ambition of Russia, and who had been so recently on the very brink of a war for that purpose, would be disposed to interfere in their favour; and that the country which most cherished and had longest enjoyed constitutional liberty would be enthusiastically in favour of a people who were attempting to secure the same blessings and to rescue their country from a foreign yoke, who had made a revolution without

* Manuscript Letter. We have had the original in our possession. It was brought to this country by a Polish noblesman, after the last unfortunate revolution in 1830-31.

bloodshed, and who were actually reinforcing the kingly dignity and royal prerogative, instead of utterly destroying both as the French were doing. But Pitt, who was about the last of statesmen to be moved by any romantic impulses, could only look at the Polish question in connection with many others; the Tory majority of the nation had a panic dread and horror of all revolutions and political changes whatsoever; and the attention and sympathies of the Whig party, which had lost half its strength, seemed absorbed by the French revolution and the exciting war of the French republicans. The Whigs, when it was too late, made a loud oratorical noise—forgetting to what an extent their great leader had indirectly contributed to the restless power of Catherine; but for the present they did nothing beyond holding a meeting at the Mansion House to get up a subscription for the suffering Poles. Although parliament was not prorogued until the 15th of June, which was nearly a month after the marching of the Russian army of 100,000 men, and although the great preparations for that army and Catherine's threats and intentions had been well known in England in the month of January, before parliament met, not a motion was proposed on either side of the House, scarcely a mention was made of Poland and the fate which awaited her. But in the course of this very session Fox had repeatedly extolled the magnanimity of the czarina, exaggerated the value of the English trade with Russia, and recommended a close alliance with that court, as being more suitable to England than any other alliance whatsoever!

Having failed in declaring themselves in 1788 or early in 1789, when the French revolution panic had not begun, the Poles ought assuredly to have waited the recurrence of some other favourable juncture of circumstances, employing themselves in the mean while in the improvement of the financial condition of their country, and (if so much could have been allowed them) in training men for a regular army. They could not possibly have thrown down the gauntlet to Russia at a worse moment. The time chosen was bad in every respect. With a people abundantly brave, and gifted with a character and habits which soon make good soldiers, they had not above 4000, or at most 10,000 disciplined troops to oppose to 80,000 thoroughly trained Russians. The property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they provoked a war: a general bankruptcy soon ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated their final ruin. What they could do, the patriots did: they invested the king with very full executive powers, placing the army entirely at his orders, and allowing him to employ foreign officers and engineers; they voted an army of 100,000 men, they authorised the king to call out the *Pospolite*, and they voted 30,000,000 of crowns. But there was no possibility of procuring the money which it was so easy to vote, and without money the troops could not be united and armed; the arsenals and magazines of Poland

being almost empty, and arms and artillery being only to be procured from foreign countries, with which, moreover, all communication was rendered extremely difficult. We have been assured by those who certainly knew the truth, and had no apparent motives for disguising it, more than a quarter of a century after the events, that Stanislaus Augustus never ceased to regret—to complain during the remainder of his life—that he had been forced by the impetuosity of his subjects to grant the new constitution before it was matured, and to provoke the hostility of Russia at a most unfavourable and inauspicious moment. [The revolution was indisputably hurried on by and through the French epidemic; and this was the first of the many good offices that the French did the Poles.] The weight of authority and most reputable proof is entirely on the side of the king's good intentions and sincerity: there seems, indeed, not the slightest reason to doubt that he was most sorely galled by the Russian yoke, and earnest and anxious to see his own native country independent and flourishing, and restored, by a better form of government, to more than her old importance among the states of Europe. But Stanislaus Augustus could never forget that he had once been simply Count Poniatowski, and that he had owed his elevation to the throne to the love and caprice of the czarina; his spirit stood rebuked before that powerful and imperious woman, and the reproach of ingratitude was an incubus which depressed the lively feelings of patriotism. He was not cast by nature in the model of great men; and the course of his life, whether in Russia, as a handsome courtier and paramour of the empress, or in Poland, brow-beaten and maltreated by factious magnates, or dictated to, like a school-boy, by Russian generals and Russian envoys, had not been proper to form greatness or independence of mind. He was not so much as distinguished by personal bravery and daring; and now, at the grand crisis of his life, he was growing old, corpulent, and fond of his ease. All this will sufficiently account for his unheroic conduct in the present war. But, unhappily, the Polish patriots have in all times been prone to suspicion and to splitting into parties and factions, hating one another, counteracting one another, reproaching one another, as heartily as they hated the anti-patriots. Some of them suspected Stanislaus Augustus; and their suspicions too often obstructed the little good he was capable of doing, and thus weakened a cause already deplorably weak. The king, who had formed a camp at Dubno, spoke of taking the command there. Giving up this notion, he formed another camp in front of Warsaw, and only a few miles from that capital. Here everybody expected he would have showed himself, if only to encourage the volunteers who flocked to the camp daily; he had even solemnly promised to repair thither; but he soon began to balance, and to show a pitiful irresolution. We have been assured that he suspected treachery, and dreaded being seized and

carried a prisoner to the very presence of Catherine; and that, to those who endeavoured to remove these fears by arguments and representations of the perfect safety he must enjoy in the midst of his patriot subjects, he always recalled the story of former years, when he had been seized in the city of Warsaw itself, and carried off by night to the windmill.* Instead of going to either camp, or taking the field, or visiting any portion of the army, he formed a new council of war, which, as timid as himself, agreed to dispatch orders to his nephew, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, the commander-in-chief, to call in all his advanced posts, and to fall back upon the river Bug, in order to be ready to concentrate all the forces for the defence of Warsaw. And Prince Joseph was obliged to retire with 56,000 men, who had never seen an enemy, and who lost spirit and heart in this retrograde movement. As Kochowski and Kreczetnikoff advanced their Russian columns, skirmishes began to take place, and these generally ended favourably to the Poles, whose light cavalry was particularly alert and excellent. On the 18th of June an affair, important enough to be called a battle, took place at Zielence, where the Poles fought with the most determined bravery, and at least checked and brought to a stand a force far superior to their own, and mainly composed of veteran troops. A few days after, Mokranowski, at the head of the Polish cavalry, gained a brilliant victory at Polonna. But the great affair of this short and desultory campaign, and that which brought into action the best warrior, the greatest name of modern Poland, was on the 17th of July, at Dubienka. Here Kosciuszko kept his ground against a Russian division three times more numerous than his own, beat them in repeated charges, inflicted a terrible loss, and only retreated when his flank was turned by another Russian division, which had been allowed to traverse a part of Galicia and to fall upon him from a quarter where he expected no attack, as Galicia belonged to Austria, and as it was calculated that the Emperor Francis would at least remain neutral in this war—a capital and an unpardonable mistake, which was attended by dreadful consequences. If there had been a gleam of hope before, the conduct of Austria in allowing this passage to Catherine's invading troops utterly destroyed it. But before the battle at Dubienka, and this proof of the complicity of Austria, no inconsiderable number of the Polish patriots had become convinced of the hopelessness of their struggle, and the faint heart of Stanislaus Augustus had died within him. It was not by skirmishes and gallant but desultory fighting that the country was to be saved; in spite of a few temporary checks, the Russian masses kept advancing, both in Lithuania and in Poland Proper: they were abundantly supplied with all the materials of war, while the Poles were wanting in almost every particular. Calculating men, who had more regard for the safety of their own persons and property than for the new

constitution and the independence of their country, began secretly to correspond with or openly to join the confederates of Targowica, whom the empress delighted to honour; and it was found that the swarming Jews, who in Poland monopolized all the trade, and nearly all the professions, except that of arms, could find bread and beer, oil, wine, and brandy, clothing and shoes, for the Russians; although, when the patriot Poles applied for those things, they showed nothing but stores as empty as the sacks which Jacob's sons carried into Egypt.

In addition to the confederates of Targowica, another confederation was made in Lithuania for the same objects, for the overthrow of the new constitution, the restoration of the elective character of the royalty, which made every magnate a king-maker, and of the liberum veto, which enabled each of them by his single will and dissidence to paralyse the Diet and government, and make a confusion or an anarchy. These confederates talked quite as loud about liberty as their opponents, pretending that the patriots by their reforms had destroyed the essence of the old Polish liberty; but most of those who joined them were chiefly actuated by the instinct of self-preservation, and the conviction that nothing but ruin could be gained by opposing the will of the empress. The patriot army of Lithuania slowly retired before the Russians conducted by Kreczetnikoff: at first it was commanded by Prince Louis of Wurtemberg, then by Judycki, who, after some reverses, began to retreat towards Grodno, when he received the king's order to deliver up the command to Michel Zabiello. On entering without opposition Wilna, the capital, Kreczetnikoff declared Kosciuskowski, one of the chiefs of the confederation, grand-general of Lithuania "by the will of the nation." Prince Joseph Poniatowski, who ended his career in the service of Napoleon Bonaparte, dying in a river not much more considerable than a ditch, on the bloody field of Leipsic, was as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword, and not destitute of high military talent; he represented to his timid uncle that the Bug was a bad defensive line, that it was impossible to defend the passage of that river, which was almost everywhere fordable; but Stanislaus Augustus only repeated his absolute orders to continue his retreat to the Bug. When the Russians had overrun two-thirds of the country, and when all the resources of the Poles began to fail, the king commanded his gallant nephew to demand an armistice. The demand was made, and rejected; the Russian generals declaring that their orders were to march right on to Warsaw, and that a truce could only be granted from St. Petersburg. Both the Russian and Prussian ambassadors had been allowed to remain in Warsaw to intrigue with a portion of the inhabitants, and to intimidate and bewilder the king. As early as the 22nd of June, Stanislaus Augustus wrote to the empress, that, if she would only withdraw her troops, he would procure the nomination of her

* In November, 1771. See Vol. I. p. 140.

grandson Constantine to be his successor on the throne of Poland; but in her answer, which was dated on the 2nd of July, Catherine did nothing but reproach him for having violated the Pacta Conventa, and urge him to accede instantly to the confederation of Targowica, and restore the constitution and all things else to the state they were in previously to the 3rd of May, 1791. The effect of this imperious mandate was ably promoted by the Prussian ambassador, who well knew the irresolution of Stanislaus Augustus, and the awe in which he stood of the mighty autocratess, and who had resistless arguments furnished him by the state of the Polish army, the wretched, impoverished state of the country, the determination of the neighbouring powers to leave it to its fate, and the want of unanimity even among the patriots themselves. On the 22nd of July the king called a council, at which were present his ministers, the two marshals of the Diet, and his two brothers; and he submitted to their deliberation the vital question, whether, under the circumstances, the best thing to be done was not to submit to the will of the empress—whether this was not the only step that could save Poland from entire destruction. Opinions were divided; but the majority thought with the king, and he on the very next day signed the act of the confederation of Targowica. In this act of shame, in which he unswore his last oath and reswore his first, he said, under Russian dictation—"United in heart and mind with a free and republican nation, which from the rank of citizen has elevated me to the throne; wishing to co-operate in concert with that nation in the salutary work which must lay a new and more durable basis, on which the republic may stand free, independent, and entire, and which tends to organise its political and civil administration with more wisdom—I give way to the impulse of that sentiment by which I am animated. Yes, it is the wish, it is the passion for the public good, which I ought to place before every other interest; it is the desire to secure your happiness, generous and free nation! which dictates the fresh testimonies of paternal love I offer you this day. Sincerely attached to my country, knowing no other pains, no other pleasures than those I partake with you all, my efforts have continually had for their object its safety, honour, and glory. But the private views of my co-assistants, a taste for reform and novelty, have not always permitted me to follow the movements of a heart which was ever yours. Of this the operations of the last Diet are a proof. Seduced by new and bold maxims, which tend only to trouble the tranquillity of nations, our legislators have dared to break the respectable empire of laws which, from the first ages of the republic, have served as its foundation; they have endeavoured to subjugate Poland to the yoke of a government monarchic and democratic at the same time. One Diet alone has seen the birth of so many different laws, that when it became necessary to digest and apply them, the difficulty of the enterprise caused

it to be renounced. Besides, the basis which was given to this new constitutional government, too weak to support it, was directly contrary to that legislative system which can alone secure the existence of Poland. But now, when every true Poland acknowledges the errors of those who misled him, after being themselves misled by ambition, I declare, both as a king who ought to be the chief of this generous republic, and as a Poland who cherishes his countrymen, that the republican government, as established by our ancestors, can alone eternise the duration and glory of Poland. In fact, whenever a nation, instead of correcting the defects of its former government, endeavours totally to overthrow it, it draws upon itself those terrible disasters which must end in a sudden and forcible shock of the whole state." After this forced eulogium upon the worst system of government that existed in Europe, without even excepting that of Constantinople—after this most insincere praise of a crazy oligarchical republic, which had ruined the country, and now left it open to its worst enemies, the miserable man passed sentence of condemnation upon the new constitution, which, with all its faults, was a model of perfection compared with the old one, and heaped upon the Diet, which had made the new constitution in concurrence with himself, the charges of usurpation and illegality in extending their session beyond the terms fixed by the old constitution in order "to form and establish a dangerous and impolitic revolution." He then said he acceded *freely*, and joined himself, *heart and mind*, to the confederation formed at Targowica, "*according to the wish of the whole country*,"—a confederation "to which that of the grand duchy of Lithuania has united itself by a solemn and public act." He added, with the most pitiable protestation, "I regard the operations avowed by these confederations as those only which are legal; I promise to conform to all the laws they may proclaim, and swear to second them in all their views which have only the public welfare for their object, in concert with a republican nation which has been free for ages. And I agree the more willingly to this step, as the plan of reform projected by this confederation offers to the impartial eye of good citizens nothing but what is just and salutary, and particularly because the generous and disinterested protection of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias restores tranquillity to the bosom of the republic, promises it new sources of prosperity, and most efficaciously guarantees its rights, and preserves it entire." After this declaration, which was published throughout Poland in the beginning of August, nearly all those who had considerable properties at stake, or who could not conveniently expatriate themselves, followed the example of the king, and declared for the confederation of Targowica, the members of which, in receiving the law from Petersburg, and in obeying the mandates of Catherine, insanely flattered themselves that they and their country would be

left at least as free as they were antecedently to the revolution of May, 1791, and that the Russians would magnanimously defend them against the Prussians and the Austrians. The patriot officers were all discharged, the army was disbanded or scattered over the country in small defenceless detachments, and the Russian columns came on to Warsaw, and occupied all the important towns and posts between that capital and the Bug. All the decrees of the late Diet, all their laws for raising the condition of the burghers, for gradually preparing the emancipation of the serfs, and for creating a *Tiers Etat*, were annulled as illegal; and the freedom of the press, which had been granted and enjoyed, gave place to restrictions more severe than those which had previously existed. The estates of such of the magnates as had been most active in forwarding the late revolution, or slowest in giving in their adhesion to the confederation of Targowica, were put under sequestration; and a series of persecutions was commenced against the patriots of all ranks and fortunes. Count Oginski, one of the patriot magnates, found it pleasanter to live in Russia than in Poland, and hastened to St. Petersburg to solicit the restoration of his estates. Catherine and her ministers endeavoured to persuade him that Russia was really the best friend of Poland, and the only power that could prevent its being swallowed up by Prussia and Austria. Prince Zouboff told Oginski that his dread of a farther partition was altogether unfounded; that the empress took a lively and sincere interest in the happiness of the Poles; that she had seen with grief the snares which the King of Prussia had laid for them, and the frightful precipice to which the emissaries of the French revolution were dragging them; that, finding the Poles deaf to her wise remonstrances, she had sent her armies into Poland, but only to save it—only at the request of the best of the Polish nobles themselves. "If," said Zouboff, "the empress wanted new acquisitions of territory, could she not, if she chose, get possession of Turkey in a single campaign, and place her grandson on the throne of Constantinople? Let your little noblesse of the provinces, who know not what they want, and your sans culottes, who have nothing to lose, cry out as they will; but men who have property ought to be quiet, and Poles who have sense ought to see that the empress will never consent to a new partition of their country." Branicki, one of the three chiefs of the confederation of Targowica, repaired to the Russian capital, at the head of a numerous deputation of Polish nobles, to thank the empress for all that she had done in their favour, to declare that the Poles would be submissive to her will, and do everything she could require of them, if she would only secure the integrity and the independence of the country; and Branicki finished his discourse by exclaiming "that God and Catherine were the sole hopes of the Polish nation." The empress gave Branicki and his brother deputies some presents; but her answer,

which was delivered to them by her grand chancellor, was so vague and unsatisfactory that some of the confederates became fully sensible of the monstrous error they had committed. Oginski perceived that, notwithstanding court galas and festivals, and an outward show of gaiety and triumph, the minds of Catherine and her ministers were greatly disturbed by the brilliant successes of the French republicans in the field, and their still more daring proceedings in the National Convention and clubs, by the aptitude which the Belgians and other neighbours of the French were showing for the revolutionary state, and by the decree of the Convention granting fraternity and promising aid and assistance to every people that should rise against their established governments and declare themselves republicans. The French republican general, Custine, who by this time had penetrated as far as Mayence, was actually realising the maxim of "War to palaces and peace to cottages;" and, as the people were everywhere promised liberty and equality and an exemption from taxes, it was thought that there must soon be a universal servile insurrection throughout Europe. All these clouds were made blacker at the end of the year, when princes and potentates were startled by the intelligence that the French people intended to try their king and bring him to the scaffold. The passions and the frenzy to which all these things gave rise contributed to a measure of iniquity which they ought rather to have prevented. But the further partition of Poland, which was made an easy work by the operations of Catherine's army in this one campaign, belongs to another year; and will be best understood in connexion with the other contemporary events that were accumulating and crowding in all parts of Europe.

To paraphrase what Talleyrand said of the Duke of Orleans, the French revolution became the sink into which were thrown all the foul things of the world; or, it came to be considered as a generating pestilence which produced all manner of diseases, the most opposite in their symptoms and character. Even the murder of the enthusiastic, romantic king of Sweden was attributed to the French revolution, although assuredly there were causes sufficient to account for it without referring to that great mother of mischief. The Swedish nobles harboured an implacable resentment against Gustavus Adolphus on account of his political reforms or revolution, which struck their corrupt oligarchy with a death-blow. Other Swedes, not attached to the oligarchical faction, were dismayed at the efforts this king of a poor country was making in order to carry a great army into France; and some of them hurried to the conclusion that he was mad, and that his madness would completely beggar and ruin the nation. In the autumn of the preceding year Gustavus Adolphus had made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and had resided for some time in that antique town, concerting with French emigrants and others the best means of attacking the French republic-

ans, and of getting to Paris in order to release the object of his idolatry, Marie Antoinette, and put down the hydra-headed Jacobinism. After the flight from Varennes of the Marquis de Bouillé, he took that general into his service and discussed with him a variety of plans. His ambition and his hope was that Russia, and perhaps Prussia, would join in the enterprise without further loss of time, and confide to him the command or the chief direction of their armies. He told de Bouillé that he had been encouraged to the steps he had taken by the Empress Catherine, who had represented to him that, as he was acquainted with the nature of revolutions, having so happily finished one in his own kingdom, he might afford the King of France the best of advice as well as assistance; and that, if Louis XVI. could only have got on from Varennes to Montmedy, he would have joined him there. With regard to his present plans, he said that the Empress of Russia promised him troops, and the King of Spain had promised him money; that he thought of landing with an army of Swedes and Russians somewhere on the French coast as near as possible to Paris, expecting that the Kings of Spain and Sardinia would at the same moment invade France by its southern frontiers, and that the French royalists or friends of order would everywhere rise against the Jacobins. After Gustavus had returned into Sweden de Bouillé employed some French naval officers, emigrants or fugitives like himself, to examine the French coast, and to establish a correspondence with some of the royalist inhabitants, who might assist the landing of the Russo-Swedish army, and afterwards co-operate with it. De Bouillé also advised Gustavus to beg the free use of the port of Ostend from the Emperor Leopold, as this would be a near and most convenient rendezvous, where his military stores might be deposited, &c. But Leopold, who clung to the last to the hope that a great continental war might be avoided—that some congress might yet set all things right—hung back from all the royal Swede's wild projects; and it was soon discovered by de Bouillé that, though the King of Prussia was eager for the war, there was anything but friendship and good intelligence between him and Gustavus. Frederic William, in fact, spoke contemptuously of the character and intellect of his Swedish brother, and described his schemes as visionary—which, in truth, they were. De Bouillé, after expressing to Gustavus his perfect conviction that Leopold would not arm at all, and that Frederic William would not co-operate with him, advised him, with the money he should receive from Spain, to buy an army in Germany, which he might incorporate with his own brave army of native Swedes. The French emigrant army, estimated by de Bouillé at from 15,000 to 18,000 men, would move at the same time. Gustavus, still feeling confident of the assistance of Catherine, made great exertions to increase his own army; and, in order to complete his arrangements and get his own country into

perfect order, he assembled on the 23rd of January (1792) the Swedish Diet at Geflla, a small secluded town about seventeen miles from Stockholm, which he surrounded with troops. On the 6th of February he wrote to de Bouillé from Geflla—"I am near the close of my Diet, which, to the surprise of all my adversaries, and perhaps of my friends, passes with the most perfect tranquillity. Wishing to assist my friends in the re-establishment of order, I thought I ought to begin at home, and endeavour to compose divisions here. Of three of the orders of the state I was certain; and the nobility, who in 1789 were most violent against me, are now kept in awe by the decided majority I have in the inferior orders, and by the constant attachment they show me. I am endeavouring to make the Swedish nobles comprehend that at the end of the eighteenth century the aristocracy ought to seek to sustain itself by the stability of the throne, and not by contending against it; but they do not yet perfectly understand their real interest. They know, however, that they are the weakest, and begin to have prudence enough not to set themselves in opposition to their king and the three other orders, who, combined, have the power of enacting laws." He had no doubt that all would go on to his entire satisfaction, and that he should be able to take the field in the spring. He boasted of being conversant in the tactics of Diets and representative bodies, and said that, if he were only as well versed in military tactics, he would not fear the Luckners and the Rochambeaus, or any generals of the French Jacobins. "But," said he, with a neat compliment, "I shall have good soldiers, and in you, my marquis, an able assistant, so that I am not apprehensive of failing."* The Swedish nobles, irritated at the loss of their old privileges, of which they had scarcely made a better use than the Polish magnates had done of theirs, and at the armed force which seemed drawn around them to intimidate and coerce them, were in the worst of humours; but, after making some attempts to prevent the voting of subsidies for a war which did not concern them or their country, they apparently acquiesced in all the measures of the Diet; and they united with the three other orders in a very loyal address to the king towards the conclusion of the Diet, which terminated its sitting on the 23rd of February. Gustavus instantly returned to Stockholm, overjoyed at having thus happily brought to a conclusion an assembly in which he well knew there were many desperate malcontents. It is said, too, that he was glad to have finished before the beginning of March, as he had been warned, like Julius Cæsar, to beware of the ides of March. He hoped that he should now be able to devote his whole attention to the war against the French Jacobins; the paucity of his means, the lukewarmness of his confederates, the divergency of their views, and all the difficulties of the case, disappeared to his sanguine imagination,

* De Bouillé, Mémoires.

and he saw nothing but victory and glory, crowned and climaxed by the liberation of the new queen of hearts, Marie Antoinette. But in the mean time plots were forming and maturing against his own life. The conspirators were so little cautious, that their intentions became known to many persons in Stockholm; and, if Gustavus had not been rashly brave or over-generously determined not to believe that Sweden harboured assassins, he must have escaped. To those who repeatedly warned him that some of the enraged nobility were plotting his destruction, he declared that he would rather blindly deliver himself up to his destiny than torment himself with suspicions and precautions. He said he could not believe that any Swede could seriously meditate a treacherous assassination; that the Swedes, though brave in war, were timid in political affairs; that they were, like himself, passionately fond of military glory; and that he would make them happy, and increase his own power and popularity, by sending them all the trophies he should take in France. Even while the Diet was sitting at Gefla attempts are said to have been made to take him off. On the night between the 16th and 17th of March he determined, in spite of many and recent warnings, to go to a public masqued ball in the theatre of Stockholm. While supping before the ball with a small number of persons belonging to his household, he received an anonymous note written in French, which cautioned him not to enter the ball-room, as it was intended to assassinate him there. He showed the letter to two or three persons who were at supper with him, passed some jests upon its style and contents, treated it as a contemptible hoax, and, in spite of the representations and entreaties of his attendants, he went to the masqued ball. He entered the ball-room without the least embarrassment, walking arm in arm with his master of the horse; but he had scarcely made two turns when he found himself environed and rudely pressed by a crowd of men in masks; and, as he was moving to get out of this throng, a pistol, loaded with cased shot, was fired close at his left side. The next instant the ball-room seemed to be filled with smoke, and there were loud cries of "Fire! Fire!" The king staggered and fell on a bench; but not one of the balls had gone directly to the heart, and, though he felt them in his reins, he neither fancied that he was mortally wounded, nor lost his presence of mind. He ordered all the doors to be shut, and all persons to be unmasked. A pistol and a long knife were found on the floor; but no person was seized that had any appearance of having been the assassin. Some few of the conspirators quitted the place before the doors could be closed; but many more of them remained, and the individual who fired the pistol, and who is said to have been the very last person that quitted the hall, was among them. Where the crowd had been great, and where nearly all were masked and travestied, there was no possibility of making any discovery. The wounded king was carried to his

bed, saying, as he went, he was glad the murderer, whoever he was, had escaped. But on the following morning an armourer of Stockholm identified the pistol and the knife, and named the person to whom he had recently sold them. This person, who was instantly arrested in the town, was Ankarstroem, a Swedish noble, who had formerly been an officer in the royal guard, and who had been dismissed, together with many others, for his mutinous behaviour, or for his opposition to the king's reforms. He was seized in his own house, having taken no kind of precaution for his safety. Without hesitation he acknowledged that the weapons found were his, and that it was he that had fired the pistol at the king. He said he was weary of life, and anxious only for revenge; that the king had subjected him to an unjust sentence, that he had long entertained the project with a view of liberating his country from a monster and a tyrant, and that he had expected to receive honour and reward from the nation. At first he denied having had any accomplices. The anonymous letter in French, which had been delivered to the king at supper, and which seemed rather intended as a bait to his courage than as a warning to keep him away from the ball, was traced to a nobleman named Liljehorn, major of the Blue Guards, who had been brought up, promoted, and loaded with favours by his royal master. He was forthwith apprehended. A few days after his arrest, Liljehorn confessed that he was engaged in the conspiracy. De Bouillé, who took great pains to inform himself of all particulars relating to this assassination of a sovereign who had been his friend in the hour of need and distress, and to whom he appears to have been sincerely attached, says that Liljehorn confessed that he had been seduced by the hope of obtaining, after the revolution, the command of the national guards of Stockholm, with which he had purposed to act in Sweden the part which Lafayette was playing in France; but the marquis was violently inflamed against his cousin the French Scipio Americanus, and too eager to identify all state crimes, and indeed all other crimes, with the French revolutionary spirit; and some doubt may be entertained as to the correctness of these accusations. De Bouillé, moreover, did not collect his information on the spot; for, though he had entered into the service of Gustavus, he had not come into Sweden, but remained in Germany, or in the Low Countries, with the other emigrants, to make arrangements for the campaign against the Jacobins, which his Swedish majesty was to head. After one or two examinations, Ankarstroem became more communicative, and, in consequence of his revelations, and of strong suspicious circumstances, Counts Horn and Ribbing, Barons Pechlin, Ehrensward, Hartsmandorf, Von Engerstrom, and others, were apprehended as accomplices. It appeared, however, from his confession, that he first thought of murdering the king without being connected with any other conspirators; but that,

falling in afterwards with Counts Horn and Ribbing and other disaffected nobles, he imparted his design, and was at least encouraged by them to execute it. He admitted that, besides the attempt at Geflla, several other attempts had been made in other places; and that, at last, it had been resolved to kill him at the masqued ball. According to de Bouillé, he confessed that the project had been formed ever since the month of October, 1791; that it was proposed, after Gustavus should be killed, to dispatch some of his principal ministers and favourites, and the commanders of the different troops composing the garrison of Stockholm; to carry their heads upon pikes through the streets, after the French fashion; and then, with the artillery of the queen's regiment, and the artillery of the Blue Guards, upon which they thought they could depend to keep the people in awe, or gain them over to their party; and further, that they had proposed to deprive the Duke of Sudermania, the king's brave brother, of his liberty, or perhaps of his life; and to make themselves masters of the person of the king's young son, and compel him to sign and proclaim a new constitution, which should restore to the nobles the privileges and powers of which Gustavus had deprived them. As torture appears to have been employed—as indeed there is little doubt that it was employed in the course of these examinations—the confessions of Ankarstroem must ever remain open to query and cavil. His trial, however, was public, and before the ordinary tribunal. There he acknowledged his crime, but denied having any active accomplices, merely confessing that several persons knew of his determination. He was condemned to be publicly whipped on three successive days, then to be exposed to the view of the people, with an iron chain round his neck, upon a scaffold erected in front of the Senate House; to have his right hand cut off, and next his head. All this torture and ignominy he seemed to bear with stoical indifference. On the fourth day his sufferings terminated; and his right hand, his head, and his body were distributed in different quarters of the city. He was in his thirty-third year when he died. Of the other nobles arrested two destroyed themselves in prison, Counts Horn and Ribbing and Major Luljehorn were banished for life, and some others were visited with confiscation of property and deprivation of rank; but Ankarstroem was the only victim brought to the scaffold for this regicide. In the mean time the sufferings of the wounded king had been ended by a slow, lingering death. In the sad twelve days which intervened between his being wounded at the masqued ball and his decease he displayed the high qualities of his character without any of its foibles and half-crazy eccentricities. Amidst his acute sufferings he displayed a courage and resignation rarely equalled; not a groan escaped him, scarcely a murmur, and he never once expressed a wish for vengeance on his assassins. He summoned round his dying bed not only his court,

his family, and friends, but also those who had been in the number of his enemies. Of this number was the celebrated Marshal Fersen, who had opposed all his constitutional reforms, and Count Brake, the head of the Swedish nobility and of the opposition party, and he was cordially reconciled to both, saying that he now felt consoled for the misfortune which had befallen him, since it again brought around him the friends of his early life, when no political differences existed. Calm and collected to the last, he added a codicil to his will, relating to the education of his young son. In order that public affairs might not be impeded, and to save himself from the disagreeable inquiries after the assassins, of whom he could not bear to hear speak, he appointed, almost as soon as he received the wound, a council of regency, with his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, at the head of it. He expired on the 29th of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Thus fell the champion and knight-errant of Marie Antoinette, and with him every chance of Sweden taking any part in this war against the Jacobins. On opening the body a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found lodged within it. The reins of government were immediately assumed by the Duke of Sudermania, the crown prince being only in his fourteenth year. The regent was intent on peace, and the Swedish people, who were but little excited by the murder of their king, seemed glad to be free from the expenses of a distant and hopeless war. Their neighbours the Danes agreed with them in their resolution to avoid all participation in the French revolution wars.*

We return to France, and to Paris, the centre around which nearly everything seemed to revolve. We left the revolutionists in a most warlike attitude at the end of the year 1791. In the month of January in the present year they announced that the whole nation was eager to march into Germany and the Low Countries to attack the emigrants at Coblenz and elsewhere, and all the princes, whether an emperor or a little margrave, that harboured and assisted them. As early as the 1st of January the great Girondist orator Gensonné said in the Assembly that there was no use in attempting to disguise the fact that they were ready to attack all the despots in Europe. On the same day, and on the motion of the same orator, the Assembly launched an accusation of conspiracy and treason against the king's two brothers, against the Prince of Condé, against Calonne, and some others who were with the emigrant princes; and ordered a committee to make search for and prepare materials for their trials. On the 6th of January the minister for foreign affairs informed the Assembly that the elector of Treves had engaged to expel from his states within eight days everything that bore the name of a military corps, to punish severely all such as attempted to recruit

* De Bouillé, Mémoires.—Hist. de l'Assassinat de Gustave III., par un Témoin Oculaire.—Coxe and Clarke, Travels.—Appendix to Ann. Regis.

or enrol troops for a foreign service in his dominions, to prohibit, under severe penalties, the furnishing of munitions of war to the French emigrants, to hinder the transit of horses for mounting the cavalry regiments of the emigrants, to break up the cantonments of the emigrants near Treves within eight days and to prevent any such gatherings for the future, to treat the emigrants as the emperor ordered them to be treated, &c. Brissot declared that all this was a diplomatic farce, and that the war was more than ever necessary. On the 11th of January the war-minister, Narbonne, who had returned from his tour with the de Staël, presented his report on the state of the frontiers, describing the fortreffes, the corps d'armées, and all other things as being in a much better condition than had generally been believed, and assuring the Assembly that they had nothing to fear from an immediate war. He undertook to answer for the fidelity of Lafayette, and for his entire devotion to the cause of liberty and equality. The Girondists and the Robespierrists united in declaring that Narbonne had need of some one to answer for his own fidelity; that matters could not go well until the war-minister and the generals were all changed, &c. On the 14th of January Gensonné urged the necessity of preparing for a war with the emperor himself. He spoke furiously of Leopold's plan for calling a congress of all the princes of Europe, to modify the French constitution by surrounding France with a military cordon; he painted Leopold as the worst enemy of the revolution, and declared that it was time for the French nation to take vengeance on him for his astucious proceedings, his intrigues and correspondence in France, and his open acts of hostility and insult. The Assembly agreed to issue a decree declaring infamous and traitorous to their country every one that should attend the emperor's conference, or seek to modify the constitution, or have any connection or correspondence with the emigrants, or seek or agree to the restoration of their ancient feudal rights to the possessioned princes (princes possessionnés) whose quarrel the emperor had espoused; and they then called upon the king to hasten the preparations for war, and to demand from the emperor a satisfactory answer before the 11th of February, intimating to him that his silence would be regarded as a declaration of hostilities. A day or two later the Assembly agreed that there was reason to apprehend an immediate attack from the King of Spain, and that the French army at the foot of the Pyrenees ought to be reinforced. New rules were adopted for recruiting the troops of the line with more acility; and, when some economical deputies objected to the great expense which must attend this scheme, Lacombe exclaimed, "Do not be sparing of your money! With money we shall obtain troops and victory and conquests, and victory will bring us back plenty of money!" Thus early did the Jacobins adopt a principle which was destined to carry the French arms so far. Brissot was quite certain that England would remain neutral, or that,

if the government attempted to make a war upon liberty, the English Whigs would make a revolution; but Robespierre's party thought that the neutrality of England was a thing not to be counted upon, and that the king of Prussia would join King George and the emperor in a crusade against the French. Poor Louis passively submitted to all that was demanded of him; but reports were raised, and not without some foundation, that he was again attempting preparations for a flight beyond the frontiers. Prudhomme the printer pretended to a minute acquaintance with this plot, and announced in his newspaper that the royalists had collected within Paris sixty pieces of artillery, and intended at a favourable moment to break open the prisons, release all the aristocrats and priests confined within them, and fall upon the faubourgs and the patriot districts. Thus, as early as the month of January, the journalists began to prepare the people for the atrocities committed in the prisons in the month of September. Prudhomme, who never let the subject rest, ascertained a few days after that the court, the Monarchic Club, and the Barnaves and Lameths, were certainly going to assassinate all the patriots of the Assembly, and set up an execrable British constitution with two chambers; and he denounced as instigators and leaders in this dreadful plot the queen, her friend the Princess de Lamballe, who had recently ventured to return to Paris, Madame de Staël, and her lover Narbonne. Carra and



MADAME DE STAËL.

other journalists repeated these accusations day after day. Fresh émeutes broke out in Paris and the faubourgs on account of the dearness of bread and sugar: for, ever since Brissot and his friends had sent the Rights of Man to the negroes in St. Domingo and the other French West India islands, the planters had been able to send no more sugar to France; and through the same causes coffee and spices began to grow very dear in Paris, and this gave rise to fresh riots. The Faubourg St. Antoine rose and marched to the National Assembly on the evening of the 26th of January, and sent in a numerous deputation and an orator to demand that

bread, sugar, coffee, and spices should all be made cheaper, and that the vengeance of the laws should be hurled against all forestallers, monopolisers, and scoundrels who would not sell their goods at the people's price. "The citizens of the Faubourg St. Antoine," said the orator at the bar of the Assembly, "leave it to women and children to cry for sugar. The men of the 14th of July do not fight for sugar-plums (*ne se battent pas pour des bombons*). The wild and savage nature of our canton only loves iron and liberty. But we demand that these conspirators, these forestallers and monopolisers, who are forcing the people into insurrections which bring them under the bayonets of the national guards, be exterminated! These brigands speak of the rights of property; but is not their property a crime of high treason against the nation? Death to them all! Death to all the public functionaries who protect them! Death to all conspirators! Death to all the enemies of our patriotic mayor Pétion! Death to all who would again hoist the red flag, and do over what was done by Bailly and Lafayette in the Champ de Mars! Death, above all, to those bandits in the pay of the aristocrats, who, wearing the honourable livery of the people, insult the laws, in order to bring about massacres and civil war!"*

The Jacobin Club continued its labours. Lafayette on the 2nd of January was formally denounced as a traitor engaged in the most dangerous plots; and it was ordered that all the accusations which Danton had brought against him in the club in the month of June, 1791, should be printed and distributed throughout the kingdom. Robespierre, who was ten times more potent there than he would have been by keeping his seat in the Assembly, and who was now setting up a journal all his own, entitled 'The Defender of the Constitution' (a constitution which he had long since determined to destroy), seized this opportunity of repeating his former opinions about the danger of going to war so long as the executive and the aristocratic generals should have the management of that war. He now attacked face to face Brissot, whom he contemptuously compared to "that effervescent philanthropist Anacharsis Clootz!" He was seconded by Carra and by Danton; and neither Brissot nor any of his friends dared to enter the lists with him. A fortnight later, seeing Brissot in the club, Robespierre accused him of having inserted in his journal a pompous eulogium of Lafayette. Brissot excused himself by saying that the letter about Lafayette had been inserted by his co-editor without his knowledge. He said that Robespierre seemed to accuse him of absenting himself from the club, and of taking no part in its deliberations when he was present; but really he had so much to do elsewhere, in committees, in the Assembly, where yesterday he had delivered a long speech, that it was impossible for him to give a constant attendance; and the people who had heard him might judge whether he was abandoning their

* Hist. Parlement.

cause and the principles of liberty and equality. Faublas Louvet rashly rose to defend Brissot, and to accuse Robespierre of madness or treachery in opposing the immediate commencement of a war of attack upon the German princes. A few days after this, Brissot, who began to feel all that he and his party were losing in their combat with Robespierre, re-appeared in the Jacobin Club, and implored the great man and dictator of it to put an end to a quarrel which could only be advantageous to the enemies of the *chose publique*. He was backed by Dussault, who, after a very affecting speech, induced Robespierre and Brissot to embrace once more in the presence of all the club-bists, who were sensibly affected at the sight. But Robespierre, a day or two after, informed the public, through a newspaper, that, though he had embraced Brissot, he had not embraced his principles or his notions about the war; that he had satisfied his heart by fulfilling a duty of fraternity; but must continue to combat Brissot, and all those who would hurry the country into a war, in which it was sure to be betrayed. The Club deliberated and passed decrees upon the sugar question. Manuel announced that the Paris section of La Croix Rouge had come to the patriotic determination of doing without sugar. "If," said Manuel, "all other patriot citizens adopt the same noble resolution, the monopolists will be obliged to sell their sugar at a reasonable price." Faublas Louvet rose to second the proposition of Manuel, and lump coffee with sugar. After some sonorous sentences about Spartans and black broth, and the simplicity of living which became the French as a republican people, Louvet said, "I demand that we Jacobins take instantly a solemn engagement to use no more sugar and coffee, and that to-morrow the whole capital be informed of our engagement!" [This afforded an awkward parallel for Wilberforce's friends, the abolitionists, with their proposed associations for putting a stop to the consumption of colonial produce.] Manuel spoke again, to recommend that every Jacobin that did not conform to this self-denying ordinance should be deprived for one month of his carte or ticket, which gave him the right of being present in the club, and of ranking himself among the true patriots of France. Collot d'Herbois, who had been artist, actor, and poet, but who now prided himself most on his authorship, and considered himself one of the greatest men in Europe because he had written the 'Almanac du Père Gerard,' expressed his astonishment that a man of letters, like Louvet, should have been the author of a proposition to deprive littérateurs of their nightly cups of coffee, which lightened the fatigues of the closet and gave them inspiration. "Gentlemen," said he, no doubt with proper emphasis, "I cannot do without my coffee; but henceforward I will take it without any sugar!" Louvet said, complimentarily, that M. Collot d'Herbois ought to be allowed to infringe the law, and even to be thanked for so doing, as his nightly cups of coffee might

give birth to another Almanac du Père Gerard. The club, however, adopted the motion of Faublas Louvet in all its rigour, and solemnly renounced the use both of coffee and sugar, every mother's son of them standing up on his patriot feet, holding out his patriot right arm, and pronouncing, with his patriot voice, *Je le jure*.^{*} But we must pass from the monkey parts of the performance to the tiger tricks. A day or two after this scene, Manuël, the father of the sugar-motion, represented to the Jacobins that the king, who was in an understanding with the emigrant priests and nobles, and basely conspiring against the country, ought not to be allowed to reign—ought not to be allowed to live; and he followed up this exposition by writing a letter to the king himself, containing the same arguments and the same mortal conclusion.

In the Assembly, Brissot and the rest of the Girond continued their fierce war upon the king's ministers, who were sadly divided among themselves—some, like Narbonne the war-minister, and Cahier de Gerville the minister of the interior, pulling one way, or insisting that the constitution as established should be preserved and respected, and that the king should act frankly and decidedly according to its spirit and provisions, and in harmony with the côté droit of the Assembly; and others, like Bertrand de Molleville the minister of marine, and Delessart the minister for foreign affairs, pulling another way, or insisting that the king had no hope of salvation except in a gradual counter-revolution, and no party or support except in the aristocracy, the emigrants, and foreign princes, who must in time awake from their long lethargy and take up his cause as their own. These conflicting parties in the cabinet soon came to an open rupture, which ended in the king's dismissing Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville, and in the Girondists breaking up the whole ministry to seat themselves on its ruins. On the 8th of March, by the mouth of Herault de Sechelles, they accused Bertrand de Molleville of various crimes amounting to high treason, and called upon the king to dismiss him and to deliver him up to justice; and two days later, Brissot accused Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, of treason still more damnable. Bertrand de Molleville was fortunate enough to escape any further punishment than what was included in his prompt dismissal from office; but Delessart, whom his pursuer Brissot said he knew to be innocent of the crimes he imputed to him, was ordered by the Girondists and Jacobins of the Assembly to be brought before the high court of Orleans, and was committed in the meanwhile to the prison of Versailles, where he lay till the month of September, when he was massacred by the mob without any trial.

After the breaking up of this ministry the triumphant Girondists entered the cabinet by storm, and inundated all the places of government. The husband of Madame Roland became minister of the

^{*} Hist. Parlement.

interior; and that true chameleon, Dumouriez, minister for foreign affairs; de Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, got Narbonne's post as minister of war, and Lacoste was appointed minister of marine; the finances were confided to Clavière, a poor republican stockbroker and man of letters from Geneva, who had first signalled himself by attacking his compatriot Necker; and the important department of justice was given to Duranthon, a little lawyer from Bordeaux, after Roland the virtuous had failed in obtaining it for Faublas Louvet. Madame Roland, who had had much to do with the formation of this Girondist ministry, but who had not been able to appoint to all the places, and who had afterwards personal reasons to complain even of some who had obtained their posts with her good wishes and concurrence, speaks very slightly in her memoirs of most of these new statesmen, finding not one of them, save and except her own husband, who was but the double or echo of herself, precisely what he ought to have been. The court called this ministry, which was formed in the month of March, the Sans culotte ministry. Roland, and all the rest of them except Dumouriez, attached the greatest importance to what they thought a republican simplicity of manners, behaviour, and dress. The first time that Roland, who was a rigorist and pedant in these matters, presented himself at the Tuileries, he wore a round hat instead of the courtly chapeau bras, and had ribands to his shoes instead of buckles. These ribands will be remembered when all the rest of the man is forgotten. The master of the ceremonies, who had not yet seen anybody, much less a minister of state, come to court in that guise, made some difficulty about admitting him; but being compelled to let him enter, he pointed at the citizen-minister, and said to Dumouriez, who was going in after him, "Ah, sir! no buckles to his shoes!" "Ah, sir!" responded Dumouriez,



DUMOURIEZ.

"all is lost—*tout est perdu*!" But Roland and the rest of these Girondist, patriot, or sans culotte ministers, had scarcely been three days in office—had scarcely seen the king twice—before they

felt that he was a different man from what they had fancied, and that they could not prevent themselves from entertaining a kind of involuntary respect for him. Madame was positively afraid that they were all going to lose their republicanism and become downright royalists; and she assures us that she had some difficulty in keeping her husband in the right path, by constantly reminding him that Louis was not to be trusted. Dumouriez, who had no political conviction of any sort, who had only made himself a Jacobin and a Girondist in order to obtain employment, better his fortune, and gratify his ambition, who was a man of the world, and not unaccustomed to high society and the habits of courts, blushed at the Tuileries for his rude, unmannered, and awkward colleagues, who were constantly offering some little insult merely to make a parade of their republican independence. He was admitted to the Tuileries much more frequently than any of them; he often saw the queen, and presently agreed with her that his brother ministers not only had not the manners of gentlemen, but had not the talent necessary to manage any part of government. The sans culotte ministry was very soon split by jealousies and dissensions as violent as any that had raged in the cabinet which they had overthrown. Roland and Clavière hated and feared Dumouriez and Duranthon, whom Madame Roland characterises in no very gentle terms, describing Dumouriez as a profligate and swindler, and Duranthon as a mean hypocrite. In one thing they all agreed, and that was in the propriety and expediency of declaring war. Dumouriez, who loved war for its excitement, was scarcely more eager than that tranquil philosopher Roland. This war cry became louder when the young emperor Francis II. succeeded Leopold, and began to show that he was not so entirely wedded to congresses and pacific measures as his predecessor. When Robespierre and his party saw that a declaration of war was inevitable, and that they might risk their popularity by opposing it too long, they originated or promoted measures for arming and strengthening the people; and the Girondists, striving with them for popularity, and shutting their eyes to the inevitable consequences of arming the mob, encouraged the same system, which was gradually to destroy the present ascendancy of the middle classes, and erect on a broad basis the dominion of the multitude—of the most desperate and the neediest, the real sans culottes. Brissot was among the very first to recommend that pikes should be forged in every section of Paris, in every department, in every town of France; and that the hat should be thrown aside as a vile slavish thing introduced by priests and despots, and give place on every true French head to the *bonnets rouges*, or red night-caps, such as were worn by some of the lowest of the people. Brissot in his journal demonstrated that the bonnet rouge was the real Phrygian cap of antiquity, the proper cap of maintenance for the French people, the real cap of liberty; that such caps had been worn by the Greeks, the Romans,

the Gauls, and all the great nations and illustrious men of antiquity; that Rousseau was a great partisan of the red cap as the symbol of liberty, and that Voltaire was equally proud of it, and always wore it.

This essay from the pen of Brissot appeared in February, and within a month the bonnet rouge was in high vogue. Pikes were forged faster than red night-caps were made, patriots and patriotesses subscribing or clubbing together to keep the smiths going; and still Brissot kept saying in his newspaper—"Citizens and patriots, let us forge pikes from one end of the kingdom to the other. And Gorsas and other newspaper-men kept echoing in their journals, "Pikes! Pikes! Pikes! Nothing but pikes and bonnets rouges and tricolor cockades to put upon them." One of the heroes of the Bastille presented himself with a deputation in the Jacobin Club to make a patriotic donation of tricolor cockades and ribands. "This national cockade," said he, "must make the tour of the globe; it first took root on a worsted night-cap! Pikes, pikes, and bits of tricolor ribands! these are our means, and these will be enough to make traitors bite the dust, and overthrow the thrones of all despots!" A locksmith presented to the club four pikes of a peculiar make, which he had forged himself. This led to a discussion of what form of pike was the best; and the Jacobin Club, about the middle of February, appointed a committee to examine and report on the best way of making pikes. The Feuillants, or Lafayette party, took the alarm, and told the respectabilities of the national guards that these pikes were intended for butchering them all. The mob began to cry out in the streets, with many foul-mouthed oburgations, that if they had only had pikes—sharp, stiff pikes like those now a-making—Lafayette and his blue coats would have rued that black Sunday when they attacked the patriots on the altar of the country. A Feuillant journalist asked who commanded these pike-men, who had distributed the pikes, to what sort of people had they been delivered, and what would be the effect of this new weapon, and this sudden and universal arming of the lowest rabble in France? Brissot answered these queries in tranchant style. "While the enemies of the people," said he, "are preparing to destroy them, the people also are making their preparations; but frankly and openly. Pikes began the revolution, and pikes will finish it. This beautiful movement of a whole people, ready to rise with all their force, to put down the fatal division which is to precede or accompany our foreign war—this waking of the lion, no doubt, terrifies those who counted upon its sleeping. They ask whither will these pikes go? They will go wherever they are needed, wherever there are enemies of the people—into the chateau of the Tuileries, if need be! They ask who commands these pikes? Necessity.—Who is to distribute them? Patriotism.—To whom are they delivered? To men of courage.—What will be the effect of this new arming? The annihilation

of the "pillars of the people!" These were not the words of Robespierre, or Danton, or Marat, or of any one of the aims perdue of the revolution, but of Brissot the Girondist, of one of the leaders of a party who claimed to be considered as averse to blood, and as guiltless of any of the provocations and measures which led to the prolonged butcheries of the Reign of Terror. All the Girondist journals copied Brissot's article, while the ultra-Jacobin journalists, though certainly from no other motive than a desire that the Girondists should not have the merit of this patriotic pike scheme, passed over the article in silence. The king who could not look out from the Tuileries without seeing a gathering of these pikes, and without hearing from the mob the uses they intended to make of them if they should be provoked, sent for Mayor Pétion at a late hour one evening, re-nistrated with that potent magistrate, and demanded or implored of him to put an end to the dangerous practices that were going on. Pétion called his municipals in the Hôtel de Ville, and issued a decree or proclamation, which, instead of condemning this general pile-ument, seemed rather to approve and applaud it, assuming that such things were necessary to defend the country in days of danger. It only invited the patriotic citizens, who were not inscribed on the rolls of the national guards, and who had provided themselves with pikes, muskets, or other arms, to make a declaration to the committees of their respective sections of all such arms, &c., and told them that they must not go armed in the streets and public places, either by day or by night, or wear any other sign or cockade except the national one. The desire was as far from Pétion as was the power to stop this pike fever. In the course of a very few days the Dames de la Halle, or market-women, and other patrioticesses, appeared at the bar of the Assembly to demand permission to exercise in the Champ de Mars with their pikes, as they had formed themselves into a very strong Amazonian phalanx, and the faubourg St Antoine men appeared at the same place "to confound the calumniators who dared speak ill of them and their pikes." "Our civism," said their orator, "is engraved on the ruins of the walls of the Bastille, and on the iron of our pikes. These pikes are only to be feared by brigands and conspirators. The ministers, the civil list, the aristocrats shall perish, but the constitution and liberty shall flourish and triumph with the pikes." At nearly the same time, in the month of March, the merits of another great revolutionary instrument, the GUILLOTINE, were discussed both in the Jacobin Club and in the Assembly. The guillotine was quite a ministerial measure, for the humane and philanthropic Gironde, equally with the gentle Robespierre, had soon awakened from their pleasant vision of the abolition of all capital punishments. The Assembly had come to the conclusion that executions would be very necessary things, and that there ought to be but one process all over the kingdom,

and for all sorts of persons. A committee had been appointed, and the Academy of Surgery had been consulted as to the best method. The expert man that took the subject most to heart was Doctor Joseph Ignace Guillotin, a native of Nantes, and a member of the Assembly. His name will be immortal. A great living English writer, dividing the revolution into three parts, has properly made one part of it consist of the guillotine.* Doctor Joseph Ignace, described as a lively facetious little Frenchman, was uncommonly proud of having hit upon the falling, heavily loaded, sharp axe, and the fixed horizontal position of the patient, and he was accustomed to say to his friends and to the Assembly, "Gentlemen, with my little machine I can shave off your heads by dozens without any of you feeling a twitch of pain! Gentlemen, this is the practical invention of modern times." Mongolfier's balloon and Abbe Chappe's telegraph are nothing to it! Only conceive, gentlemen, the pleasure of dying with pain!" The thing, however, was a new invention at all, but the instrument, or something very like it, could boast of an antiquity as venerable as that of many established forms and customs.† On the 20th of March the committee presented to the Assembly a consultation of the Surgical Academy of Paris, signed by Antoine Louis, perpetual secretary, and a very eminent surgeon and anatomist. The learned faculty said the mode of decollation ought to be "one and uniform" in the whole French empire. "That the body of the criminal ought to be laid down horizontally, with his face towards the earth, between two strong posts connected above by a traverse or beam, from which should descend on his neck, by means of a stop, a broad axe of a convex form, that the back of this axe should be strong enough and heavy enough to act efficaciously, like the rams which serve to sink the piles for bridges, and the force of which augments in proportion to the height from which they fall." Such was the cool, mechanical description of Doctor Guillotin's machine, the universal use of which was voted by the Assembly on this same 20th day of March, 1792. The very next decree they voted was that men of colour, whether mulattoes or negroes, should, if free, enjoy, both in the colonies and in France, the same liberty and equality and civil rights as the

* Thomas Carlyle

† The instrument called the *Malleus* which the regent Morton brought into Scotland from the Continent in 1778 is exactly on the same principle as the guillotine. "A similar instrument had been in use for the punishment of felons committed with in the Forest of Hardwick as early as the time of our Edward III. But in Germany in 15th century and in other parts of Italy an instrument of the same kind was commonly used." In Germany Cassius Masing in 1590 described the instrument as being then ancient and superior to all the great ones—certainly a much more implement—*Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* art *Guillotine*. An engraving of the Hallifax guillotine may be seen in Gilson's Translation of Camden's Britannia (edit of 1722) vol. II. p. 284.

The tradition in Scotland is that the regent Morton was the first man that fell under the emblem of his Midden and a pendant has been made to this story by saying that Doctor Guillotin was one of the first victims of his guillotine. But this is not true for the doctor was alive and enjoyed a good many years after the reign of terror and did not die till 1814, when he died in his bed and of old age. He used to say, 'No doubt mistakes have been committed in our revolution, but my name will live in history!'

white people, should be admitted to the elective franchise, and be themselves eligible to all posts and places. [This, too, was rather unlucky for the English emancipationists, and gave a truly sharp point to the sally of Windham, who said to Lady Spencer, a warm advocate for emancipation, "Your friend Mr. Wilberforce will be very happy any morning to hand your ladyship to the guillotine."]

Every day brought frightful intelligence of riots and massacres in the south of France; for a large portion of the inhabitants of Avignon neither approved of the new revolutionary government established in their city, nor of its forcible annexation to France; and in Provence and Languedoc all the zealous Catholics continued hostile, not only to the constitutional clergy, but to nearly every part of the revolution; and the sans culottes, inflamed by a zeal fiercer than their own, fell upon them and butchered them wherever they could. The patriots of Marseilles particularly distinguished themselves in this campaign, which, though not expressly ordered by the Assembly, was assuredly encouraged by many of its members, including gentle Girondists, who were themselves natives of the south, and who were convinced that there was nothing very wrong in such massacres so long as they were confined to bigots and enemies of the revolution. It was in the south, in the country of these Girondists, that the republican fever raged the highest and earliest; and it was the Gironde that suggested that the greatest services might be rendered to liberty if some of the enthusiasts of the south would only march to Paris. As soon as the Parisians began to make their new pikes, the Jacobins of Marseilles, who maintained a very regular correspondence with the mother society, sent a deputation to the Rue St. Honoré, to make an offer of their services in the capital. This deputation was headed by Charles Barbaroux, a very young and very handsome man, described as being as beautiful as Antinous by Madame Roland, whose enemies accused her of being more sensible to his charms than she ought to have been. As early as the beginning of March Barbaroux announced in the great Jacobin club that the men of Marseilles were ready to march to Paris. "When," said he, "tyrants are trying to crush the people, the people must rise and crush the tyrants!" He was enthusiastically applauded at this his début in the capital; and the patrioteesses, scanning him with critical eyes, vowed and declared they had not seen so proper a man for many a day. Another Marseillais, who had come up from the provinces with le beau Barbaroux, after denouncing the executive and the majority of the present Assembly, told the Jacobins that they would always find the people of Marseilles ready to rise en masse, and that they only hoped to find the Parisians of 1792 the same brave people that they were in 1789, when they began the revolution and stormed the Bastille with a few pikes and muskets. The young Duke of Chartres (now Louis Philippe, King of the French, &c.), who had been intro-

duced to the club by his father, continued to visit the Jacobins occasionally, and even to speak in their hall. At this very moment we find him in the tribune, informing the patriot members of the mother-society that a lieutenant-colonel had been arrested in the north of France for recruiting or enrolling men for the emigrant army of Coblenz. On the very same evening that the Duke of Chartres made this speech, Mademoiselle Théroigne, that noted fille-de-joie from Luxembourg, made another speech.* Not many nights after this sitting, honoured by the presence of two such different personages, the Jacobins had a stormy discussion in their Hall as to the propriety of admitting the belief of a God, or of throwing off that belief altogether as a part and parcel of the degrading superstitions which the revolution and the lights of the new philosophy had exposed and overthrown. The materialists, who swarmed in the club and in the capital, and who were proselytising and increasing their numbers rapidly in most parts of the kingdom, were moved with an intolerant contempt for all spiritualists or believers, and were moreover intimately convinced that any kind of religious belief, embodying any part of the old national faith, was inimical to the new order of things. Robespierre, who was a deist, brought on the storm by a speech about the war with the emperor, in which he spoke of Almighty God, and of that Providence which watched over the salvation of the free French people. He had scarcely uttered these words when many voices, speaking or roaring all together, called him to order, and accused him of a design to reintroduce the old, exploded superstitions. Robespierre, who was not easily interrupted in that tribune, boldly and indignantly replied, "Am I to be accused of leading citizens into superstition! I, who have combated all sorts of despotism! It is true, superstition is one of the strongest props of tyranny, but to pronounce the name of the Divinity is surely not to wish to make citizens superstitious. I abhor, as much as any man, all those impious sects, which have spread themselves over the universe to favour ambition, fanaticism, and all the evil passions, in covering themselves with the sacred power of the Eternal, who created nature and man; but I am far from confounding them

* This common prostitute, who had acted so considerable a part in the attack on the palace of Versailles, in October, 1789, had fallen into trouble since that time. In 1790 she had enrolled herself among the Jacobin propagandists, and had been sent to Luxembourg and La Farge to work with Bonne-Carrère in exciting the people to insurrection against the Austrian government. She was disturbed in these functions, was arrested, and carried prisoner to Vienna, where, it is said, the Emperor Leopold had the curiosity to see her, and spoke with her for a considerable time. Whether this be true or not, it appears that whoever examined her were of opinion that she was crazed, and that no great profit or honour could be derived by keeping a girl of the town as a state prisoner. She was liberated in the month of November, 1791, and told never again to set her foot on Austrian territory. She re-appeared at Paris and in the Jacobin club in the month of February of the present year. The Jacobins received her with acclamations and honours—Lanthuens (Madame Roland's friend), who was presiding that evening for Guadet, calling her "one of the first Amazons of liberty," and "the presidentess of her sex," and demanding that she should have the honours of the senate, and be allowed to sit at his right hand, which was of course granted with lively emotion. Like Othello, the damsel related all the perils she had run, and told that august senate of Jacobins that she was going to publish her memoirs, which would contain terrible things against the emigrants, &c.

with those who believe in a God. I sustain the eternal principles on which the weakness of human nature rests in order to reach the higher virtues. It is no crime or vain language in my mouth, nor was it in men more illustrious and as moral as I, to say that I believe in the existence of a God!" Again many angry voices cried out, "Order! Order!" while others made a wild hullabalou. But Robespierre shook his head and continued:—"You shall not smother my voice! You have no order of the day that can smother this eternal truth!" He hoped that he, who had defended liberty in the Constituent Assembly, might have liberty of speech in the Jacobin Club, might be allowed to announce his principles to the friends of the constitution. He would never enter upon religious discussions which might bring disagreements and discord among the patriots; but he must repeat, that there was no political crime in naming a God or in invoking the protection of Providence, which visibly influenced the destinies of nations, and which, as he believed, watched with particular care over the French revolution. "This belief in a God," said he, "this sentiment of my heart is necessary to my existence, and is the support which has sustained me in all my labours and struggles for liberty. Alone with my soul, how could I have had strength for struggles which were above human force, if I had not raised my soul to God!" He dwelt for some time on this profession of faith, and then concluded by saying, that it was in order to establish morality and sound policy that he had written the address which he had delivered, and that he hoped the society would adopt his principles and order the discourse to be printed. An indescribable tumult followed his descent from the tribune; and, when the president attempted to put the question to the vote, Santhonax and others cried out, "None of your Capuchin tricks, Mr. President!" Finding the ringing of his hand-bell all in vain, the president put on his hat, the session closed, and the Jacobins quitted the hall cursing and foaming like maniacs that had broken out of a mad-house. Four days after Robespierre made a faint attempt to renew the motion for printing his discourse; but another terrible tumult arose, and, bending before it, he said that he would not be the cause of discord in the club, and that he would withdraw his address, having in his hands other means to produce the good effect he desired upon the public mind.* He meant his newspaper, 'The Defender of the Constitution.' In this war the Gironde Jacobins fought on the side of the materialists; but this no doubt arose not so much from Robespierre's mentioning his faith in a God and a Providence, as from his declaring that he put no faith in the Gironde ministry which had been established. At least the major part of the Girondists, in declaring a determined hostility to all established or revealed religion, pretended a reverence for natural religion, and a philosophical belief in a God. Their triumph

over Robespierre was of the shortest duration; but, such as it was, it no doubt tended to prepare many a scourge for their own backs, in after days, when the fanatic deist, and one of the most vindictive of men, had his feet upon their necks. All these things should be remembered. They will diminish our astonishment at seeing Robespierre hurrying these Girondists to the guillotine by scores at a time, although he had once lived with many of them on the most friendly, intimate terms. Within a few weeks, when Robespierre had resigned his office of public accuser, which, though seemingly so suitable to his nature, had not called forth the least activity on his part, Brissot and the Gironde found that he was gaining ground upon them at a tremendous rate, that he and his party in the Jacobin club were blighting the few laurels that remained to the Assembly, and that, unless they could bring about a reconciliation or conquer him in the club, he must conquer and utterly destroy them. They found that, although Robespierre, to captivate public opinion and add to that popularity which was already immense, was constantly talking about the necessity, the sacred duty of concord and unanimity among the friends of the revolution, he would only treat with them on his own terms, and was not to be really reconciled upon any conditions whatever. After sundry sharp conflicts in the newspapers, in the coffee-houses, and in the public places,* Brissot, Guadet, and Condorcet, who were more particularly attacked by Robespierre, resolved to denounce him as an enemy to liberty and the country at the Jacobin tribunal. They set to work some of their Gironde subalterns; but no sooner was Robespierre aware of their project of operation, than he made Collet d'Herbois denounce Roderer and Condorcet, and then he himself, aided by Tallien, denounced Brissot and Guadet, who at this time considered themselves as the real heads of the Gironde party. Tallien hinted that the Jacobin society wanted a new purification; that the sooner it got rid of the Girondists, as it had got rid of the Feuillants, the better; and he declared that, having unmasked the Lafayettes, the Barnaves, the Lameths, they ought to tear the mask from the faces of those worse traitors, the Brissots, the Guadets, the Condorcets. Robespierre began characteristically, by saying, "It is time for this society to adopt vigorous measures. I will not now develop what those strong measures ought to be. The moment for unmasking the traitors of this society will arrive. I do not wish that they should be unmasked to-day; at least, as far as I am concerned, I willingly postpone it for some time. Do not let people say that it is we that are sowing divisions among patriots! When the time comes it will be seen that what we, the true friends of liberty, wish for is a true union and

* In the coffee-houses and the streets the Demoiselle Thérèse, who since her return to Paris had declared herself the championess of the virtuous Girondists, harassed in their favour, and withdrew her confidence and esteem from the Robespierres; which conduct caused the chaste demoiselle, not long after, to be stripped by the dames de la Halle and other patriotesses, and whipped through the streets.

* Journal des Débats des Jacobins, as quoted in Hist. Parlement. VOL. III.

agreement: then it will be seen that those were the honest men who undertook to remove a part of the veil which covers the most frightful plots against liberty! I defer to some other day my explanations. The seed scattered to-day must germinate before I proceed farther. When the blow is to be struck it must be decisive. It must then be shown that there are only two parties in France, the party of liberty and the party of rogues. Would that all France could be present on the occasion, for then an end would be put to all plots and intrigues, and to all the enemies of the constitution who make them. Above all things I wish that Lafayette, that guilty leader, could be present, with his whole army. I would say to his soldiers, presenting my breast to them, If you are the soldiers of Lafayette, strike! If you are the soldiers of the country, hear me!—and that moment would be the last of Lafayette's life. For the present I will say no more. Perhaps I have said too much; perhaps I have caused too violent an alarm among good patriots; but I only meant to awaken honest people, to put them on the alert, to convince them that they ought to feel that liberty and the country are exposed to the greatest dangers, and will perish, unless honest citizens are prepared against the faction, against these men of plots and intrigues, who are seeking to raise themselves on the ruins of our liberty!" "Name them!" cried a tremendous voice in the hall; "only name them, and this day week not one of them shall exist!" This loud voice was that of Father Adam, the mad ex-Marquis de St. Huruge, who continued to be stirring and doing, and who had now exchanged his white hat for a red worsted nightcap. Robespierre, continuing his harangue, and throwing out his dark suspicions in all directions, demanded that a list should be published of the names of all the members of the club, with a view to its purification. Chabot, the ex-Capuchin, said he would make some of the scales drop from the eyes of the public; said that Narbonne, the ex-war-minister, was aiming at Cromwellism, being notably assisted by Madame de Staël, and also by Madame Condorcet, whom he had equally seduced; and that Madame de Staël had duped into her views that once energetic patriot Abbé Fauchet, now constitutional bishop of Calvados, and as great a traitor as any in France. On the 25th of April, while the Robespierrists were renewing their denunciations, and adroitly implicating, not merely the Gironde ministry, but the whole of their party, Brissot and Guadet appeared in the club to make a life-and-death struggle. Brissot spoke first, and, after justifying his own conduct and vaunting all that he had done for the revolution, and defending his friend Condorcet, he openly denounced Robespierre. Guadet followed him; but so strongly pronounced was the feeling of the majority, and so loud was the riot, that Guadet could not be heard, until Robespierre, with a show of magnanimity, implored the Jacobins to be silent and hear what

he had to say. Being thus allowed to speak, Guadet began with an injudicious acknowledgment of the popular omnipotence which the rival and deadly enemy of him and his party had obtained. He said, "I denounce M. Robespierre! I denounce a man who, for the love of liberty and of his country, ought to exile himself from France, ought to impose upon himself the pain of ostracism, and serve the people by removing himself from their idolatry!" Guadet was an eloquent man, but he appears to have been discouraged by the unsympathising hostile countenance of the club, and to have made but a weak and ineffectual speech. Encouraged by all that discouraged his adversary, Robespierre made a most triumphant reply: he described the Girondists as a set of babblers that were eternally talking about philanthropy and philosophy, and never doing; as a company of empirical orators that were strutting and haranguing upon a mountebank stage, wearing the mask of patriotism only to obtain office; and he told them that ostracism would be better applied to Brissot, who pretended to be so great a man, than it would be to a man like himself, who never pretended to be anything but one of the people. He was applauded most enthusiastically. Seeing how things were turning, feeling convinced that there was not only no chance of victory, but a certainty of a fatal defeat, several of the Gironde Jacobins endeavoured to stop the combat by proposing that a committee should be appointed by each party to examine the grounds of difference between Robespierre and Brissot and Guadet, and to endeavour to effect some reconciliation or compromise; but the conquering party rejected these propositions with disdain, and Robespierre swore he was the eternal enemy of all compromises of principles, and would never cease until he had proved that there were traitors in the Jacobin society who had been labouring to make that society the instrument of their intrigues and ambition, who were labouring conjointly with Lafayette and Narbonne, and the Barnaves and the Lameths, to make a civil war as soon as the country should be plunged into a foreign war. At a late hour Brissot, Guadet, and the rest of the Gironde sneaked out of the Jacobin Club, leaving Robespierre all glorious and triumphant, in a state little short of apotheosis. Three days after this signal victory the idol of the club and of the people, in completing his denunciation against the Gironde, gave a long laboured history of his own political life and a précis of his views and principles. He accused Brissot and Guadet of having sought this quarrel, and declared that he had had no part in the accusations brought against them by Chabot and others. He said Brissot had endeavoured to take him and the club by surprise, and had come down with a voluminous speech when he expected nothing of that kind. He described at some length the way in which he had managed, at the dawn of the revolution, the electoral assemblies of Artois, by means of

which he had secured his election to the States-General; and he related what he had done to amalgamate those States-General of the three orders into one body, and to convert it into the first National Constituent Assembly. "These Girondists," said he, "ask me, with a sneer, what I did in that National Assembly? I will tell them one little thing that I did;—I made these Brissots and Guadets legislators—it was I that gave these men to France! I said one day to that Constituent Assembly, that it ought to set the people a grand example of disinterestedness and magnanimity, by electing that none of their members could be re-elected to the second Assembly. This my proposition was received with enthusiasm. Without it, many of these Girondists might long have remained in obscurity, and who shall say that the people of Paris might not have elected me to the seat which is now occupied by Brissot or Condorcet? It is not for M. Brissot to speak slightly of what I did in the first Assembly. This one action of mine ought to procure me some indulgence from my adversaries! M. Brissot, in writing the eulogium of his friend Condorcet, speaks of his glories as an Academician, and reproaches us with temerity in daring to sit in judgment upon men whom he calls *our masters in patriotism and in liberty*. As for me, I should have thought that in these arts we wanted no masters or teachers but Nature. Our revolution has patched up (*rappelé*) many great men of the ancient régime: if the Academicians and geometricians, whom M. Brissot proposes to us as models, combated and ridiculed the priests before the revolution, they did not the less pay court to the aristocracy, and adoration to kings, from whom they got tolerably good profits; and who does not know with what ferocity they persecuted virtue and the true genius of liberty in the person of Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose sacred image I now see in this Hall, in the person of that true philosopher, who alone, in my opinion, of all the celebrated men of that time, merited the public honours which have been prostituted since to political charlatans and despicable heroes. Why are these insulting questions, of what I have done, asked me?—even in this society, whose very existence is a monument of what I have done. I defended it in times of difficulty and danger, when those who now come hither to insult me had abandoned it; and the very tribune from which they attack me is the evidence of my public service." He next complained that, after making it a crime in him to have deserted his post as public accuser, and, after charging him with *doing nothing*, they changed their note and accused him of having *done too much*, of having made himself a perpetual agitator—thus endeavouring to discredit him solely because he was striving to excite public opinion against the intrigue and treachery that stopped the march of the revolution. It was not he, he unctuously and pathetically protested, that had made the present fierce dissension in the Jacobin Hall:—he indulged in no per-

sonal malice—he had no personal resentments to gratify—he could embrace Brissot and Guadet and the whole Gironde, but only upon condition that they joined him and the real friends of the revolution, heart and hand, against the common enemy. "Hasten, then," exclaimed he, in his most terrible phraseology, "hasten to make the sword of the laws move horizontally, so as to strike off the heads of all the great conspirators at once! If you require more proofs of their crimes, come more frequently to the club, and I will furnish you with them!"* His speech, frequently interrupted by rounds of applause, was ordered to be printed and distributed all over France. On the next day (the 29th of April), Mayor Pétion appeared in the Jacobin Hall to recommend, with very questionable sincerity, a peace, or at least a truce, between the Robespierriests and the Girondists—a truce which the Girondists pretended to desire with earnestness. But at the very next meeting (on the 30th) Robespierre's friends accused the Gironde of having endeavoured to steal a march upon them; of having falsified, in their ex-parte accounts, a great deal of what had passed in the club; and of continuing, in Brissot's newspaper, to heap fresh calumnies on Robespierre, &c. The combat was therefore renewed with more ferocity than ever; and again victory seated herself on the crest of the little lawyer from Arras, who thus beat the Gironde, with all their ministerial power and influence—beat them when their power was greatest, and when they had, or believed that they had, the mass of the regular army and even the majority of the national guards on their side. The club, on the evening of the 30th, declared that they abided by Robespierre, and held Brissot and Guadet guilty of falsifying their debates—declared that the imputations they had directed against M. Robespierre were proved to be lies by public notoriety and his constant patriotic conduct.† Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Collot d'Herbois, and other journalists and speakers in coffee-houses and public places, continued the strife after it had ceased, for a time, in the Hall in the Rue St. Honoré. The mad Camille almost annihilated the philosophe Brissot in a pamphlet, entitled 'J. P. Brissot Unmasked by Camille Desmoulins.' The Gironde ministry began to discover that they were not sufficiently sans-culottic for the real sans-culottes: the worst motives, the grossest corruption, the vilest treachery, were imputed to all of them, without so much as an exception in favour of the virtuous Roland.

In the meanwhile the European war had been declared by the Assembly. Instead of clearing of troops such of his territories as bordered on France, and prohibiting the gatherings of the emigrants, as his predecessor Leopold had done, the young emperor, Francis II., it was said, collected troops, appointed generals, traced out camps, gave open

* Robespierre's speech, given in his own newspaper, 'Le Défenseur de la Constitution.'

† Hist. Parlement.

counenance to the expatriated French princes and noblesse, and declared that the court of Vienna must and would insist on the restoration of the possessioned princes to their rights in Alsace, &c., on the restoration of Avignon to the pope, on the cessation of that French propagandism which was seeking to undermine all the thrones and established governments of Europe, and finally, on the restoration of Louis XVI. to his liberty and royal dignity, or at least on some adequate guarantee that the peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring powers should not be disturbed through the present weakness of the internal government of France. Prince Kaunitz refused to treat any longer directly with French negotiators, or with the government now established in France; and the Baron de Cobenzel informed the ambassador whom Dumouriez and the Gironde had sent to Vienna, that Austria would on no account qualify or recede from this ultimatum. Dumouriez, who had obtained great influence over the mind of the king, who had formed in his own mind a grand plan of campaign, who intended, though now minister for foreign affairs and not war-minister, to direct and manage the whole of the war, was overjoyed at this termination to diplomacy; and he immediately carried poor Louis with him over to the Assembly, to give, in constitutional form, the note of war. It was the 20th of April, when Louis, with the confident and tricky Dumouriez by his side, and all the rest of his ministers at his back, rose to inform the National Assembly that he had come there for one of the most important objects that could possibly occupy the attention of the representatives of the nation; and that his minister for foreign affairs would read them a report which he had made in council on the actual situation of affairs. When this was done or said, Dumouriez, whose schemes of conquest fell but little short of those that were subsequently entertained by Napoleon Bonaparte, commenced reading his report, with a voice and manner full of hope and hilarity. By suppressing every allusion to the revolutionary propagandism, the open war which the Jacobins had long before this declared against thrones, the infectious nature of Rights of Man and Jacobin principles, the indisputable invasion of the rights of the possessioned princes, the barbarous treatment which the revolutionists had bestowed upon the queen, a daughter of Austria, it was not difficult for so brisk and adroit a man as Dumouriez to make out a terribly bad case against Austria, with its conferences at Mantua and Pilsnitz, its coalitions, completed or in progress, its open protection of the emigrants who were in arms to invade France, and its haughty, imperious tone towards a country at least as great in the European scale as itself. Dumouriez, as the conclusion of his spirit-stirring report, announced that there must be an immediate declaration of hostilities, and that the king, whose honour and good faith were indisputable—that Louis XVI., the constitutional King of the French, who was the deposi-

tary of the dignity and security of France—was quite ready to make this declaration of war.* When he had finished, the royal automaton stood up once more, and said, with a faltering voice which denied the sentiments it uttered, "You have just heard, gentlemen, from my minister for foreign affairs, the result of my negotiations with the court of Vienna. The conclusions come to in the report have been adopted by the unanimous advice of the members of my council; I have adopted them myself; they are conformable to the wish which the National Assembly has several times manifested, and to the sentiments which have been testified to me by a great number of citizens in divers parts of the kingdom, all agreed in preferring war to seeing any longer the dignity of the French people outraged. It was my duty, in the first place, to exhaust all the means of maintaining peace. To-day I come, according to the conditions of the constitution, to propose to the National Assembly war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."† There were a few cries of *Vive le Roi*, but they were faint and faltering, like the poor king's own voice; and the great majority of the Assembly and of the galleries were not only silent, but, apparently, sad. The crisis had arrived for which they had been so long calling, and yet it startled them when it came. The president told Louis that the Assembly would proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which had been made to them, and would let him know by message the result of their deliberation. As soon as the king had withdrawn, the Assembly adjourned till five o'clock in the evening. Then Lasource recommended that the great question should be submitted to the diplomatic committee, who might deliberate calmly during the night, and make their report on the morrow. He was seconded by Duverhoulst, who said that in this determination the courage and impetuosity of the national character ought to be allied with the prudence of the legislator; that he thought war ought to be decreed, but only after mature deliberation; that it was important that their decree should be preceded by the thorough conviction of the people that the war was become inevitable. An unnamed deputy rose to sustain the same opinion, observing that Dumouriez had affirmed that Austria had animated against France the successor of the immortal Frederic the Great, but that they knew nothing of the real disposition of the King of Prussia, or of the correspondence which Dumouriez had had with that court, and that this correspondence ought to be laid before a committee previously to any decision. This orator was assailed with loud murmurs and

* Dumouriez tells us that, if he had listened to his Gironde colleagues, this report would have been a very different sort of composition. "They wished him to draw up his report in union with their sentiments, and were desirous that he should enter into metaphysical discussions entirely foreign to the business in hand. In short, they were anxious that he should produce a rhetorical and logical composition. He however told them, in a decided tone, that this state paper was not intended for the French nation alone, but for all Europe; and that he wished it to be comprehended without the assistance of the new dictionary, which was not yet published. This pleasantry disconcerted them."—*Memoirs*.

† Francis II. had not yet been elected Emperor of Germany.

calls to order, and was obliged to descend from the tribune. He was succeeded in the speaking-place by Jean Mailhe, a Girondist, who had been a little lawyer before the revolution, and who now seemed full of military ardour. Mailhe proposed that the declaration of war should be decreed instantly and *unanimously*—that they should not lose another minute in vain discussions and doubts which might make people think they had not proper confidence in the spirit and courage of French soldiers. The galleries, who, during the adjournment, had been talked into the most martial humour, and who had excited one another so far as to forget the suspicions instilled by Robespierre and his Jacobins, supported Mailhe with all their lungs, shouting "War! war!" Some members observed, that the tumult was so great as to prevent them from taking any part in the deliberation: they hoped that at such a crisis they might be allowed to deliver their opinions. One of them hinted that he did not place implicit confidence in the veracity of Dumouriez's report; that war was a serious affair: that the people ought to see that their representatives proceeded with caution and prudence; and that it was scarcely decorous to rush to a conclusion, without debate or reflection, merely upon the report of a minister, and in an evening session. This orator was applauded by a small part of the Assembly; but he was hooted by the galleries; and Merlet angrily called him to order, and begged to let him know that the National Assembly was as much a National Assembly at six o'clock in the evening as at ten o'clock in the morning:—which last remark was loudly applauded. The orator he had called to order persisted, however, in adding, that enthusiasm might be a fine thing on the field of battle, but that prudence was a finer thing in council; that it was irregular, indecent, to reason by acclamations, and precipitate such a question as the present; that there had been absolutely no discussion at all, and that the loud tumult had prevented a great many members from taking any part in the deliberation. But the majority resolved that there should be no committee, no delay—that the decree should be issued on Dumouriez's report that very evening. At this moment Dumouriez and the rest of the Girond ministers entered the Assembly to hear what was going on, and to encourage by their presence the patriots that were shouting for war. Pastoret said, that the report presented by Dumouriez was a faithful picture of the bad faith of the House of Austria; that Francis II., and even his predecessor Leopold, had shamefully violated ancient treaties with France; that it was time to put an end to uncertainty, and send out the French to fight for the universal cause of the people—of the people of every country. "Yes," exclaimed he, "liberty must triumph or despotism must destroy us all. Never were the French people called to such high destinies! Victory will be faithful to the standard of liberty!" He concluded by moving that the Assembly should

decree that there was ground for declaring war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, and then order a deputation of twenty-four of their members to carry this decree to the king. This was welcomed with tremendous applauses; and there was a loud call for putting the question to the vote, and closing the debate. Becquy, a moderate man, and one who had obtained a reputation for ability and prudence, rose and said, that, if the Assembly would only hear him, he would demonstrate that the ministerial proposition ought not to be accepted—that war ought not to be declared at this moment. A number of voices cried, "Speak! let him speak!" And, a short silence being obtained, Becquy said that if ever there was a moment when France had need of calm and peace it was now, after the convulsions of a great revolution; that a nation which had just regenerated its institutions ought carefully to avoid war; that the constitution was not yet firmly established, nor was that respect paid to the laws which was necessary; that while the armies were employed abroad, it would be impossible to restrain the factions within; and that the state of the finances had need of a few years of repose and peace. Cambon interrupted him, telling him that he did not know the state of the finances; that France had more money than would be required. Becquy ventured to doubt the fact, and to say that, notwithstanding the prodigies which might be expected from French valour, the condition both of the army and navy was such as to excite some uneasiness, if they were to have a general war. Here he was interrupted, and called to order by the House and the galleries. Dumas hoped that in that land of liberty a member might be allowed to deliver his opinions; and after some bell-ringing, and some admonitions from the president, silence was restored, and Becquy was allowed to continue. He upset Brissot's theory about the non-intervention of the other European powers, and he even seemed to admit that that intervention would not only be inevitable, but justifiable by the principles of the law of nations, if France proceeded to make war in the manner now proposed. "You talk," said he, "of invading the Netherlands: if you do so, you provoke a general war!" The last dispatches of our ambassadors announce that Prussia is preparing to act in concert with Austria: the greatest part of Germany will immediately espouse the quarrel of these two powers, who are the supreme regulators of the other princes and electors of the German confederacy. But the power which ought principally to fix your attention is ENGLAND; you should not count too much on the assurances of neutrality given at present by her ministers,—above all, if you attack the Netherlands. For a very long time England has regarded that country as a barrier necessary to her own security, and to the prosperity of her commerce: it is a barrier she has bought at the price of her blood! . . . And again, England will fear for Holland, where any invasion or revolution would essentially injure her interests. *The party*

of the Stadtholder, for which she has lavished her money and succours, can scarcely at this moment keep down the democratic party attached to France. Every movement which shall make the balance incline in favour of France will be injurious to England; and she will unite with Prussia in supporting the Stadtholder and his party. You may now receive amicable assurances, for the English love the liberty which you have obtained; but their great commercial interests must be opposed to you in the system you meditate, and you will soon have against you both the English nation and the whole of Europe!" Though interrupted and hooted, Becquey continued his speech. He declared that there was still ground whereon to treat and negotiate without canons and bayonets; that the court of Vienna, in its very last dispatch, said it wished not for war, but peace; that Francis II. did indeed take a great interest in the reclamation of the possession of princes; but, if France would only give proper indemnities for what they lost in Alsace to those princes who were ready to enter into negotiations, there was no doubt that that affair might be amicably terminated. "The other point in the last dispatch from Vienna," said Becquey, "who, in a very few words, gave a better explanation of the spirit and motives of those who began this war, which was to last for a quarter of a century, than has been given by others in hundreds of pages,—the next point regards your taking possession of Avignon by force. It appears the pope has claimed the protection of Francis II.; but he has charged that king to propose indemnities; and, therefore, negotiations may easily be opened upon this point also. It is not to be believed that foreign powers will refuse amicable explanations and negotiations with us. Austria, who has the centre of her forces at the distance of two hundred leagues from Paris, cannot make war upon us without ruinous efforts; and do not believe that, instead of fixing her attention on the revolution in Poland, instead of concerting measures with the Empress Catherine and the King of Prussia for that distant object, she will consent to attack you unless you force her. In effect, Austria has hitherto taken none but defensive measures:—three formidable French armies are, and have been for some time, upon her Belgian frontiers, and she has only opposed to them a number of troops very inferior indeed. You know this, and, without doubt, you only wish to attack her at this moment because you are certain that you are better prepared for a war than she is!" Becquey might have added that the Assembly knew equally well that the Belgic revolutionists, who had only been put down in 1790, were very willing to rise again by the spring of 1792; that an incessant correspondence had been carried on between these revolutionists and the French Jacobins; that those who were stronger than diplomatists and ministers, or any established or tottering authority in France, had promised succour and co-operation, fraternity, and a democratic liberty of the widest extent; that other emis-

saries besides the demoiselle Théroigne and Bonne-Carrère had been sent, during the last two years, and were at this moment constantly going to Luxembourg, to Liege, to Brussels, to Bruges, to every town in Brabant and Flanders, to excite the people to rise and arm against the Austrians; and to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the chief towns in Holland and the other United Provinces, to induce the people there to take the same course against the Stadtholder and his party. But the enunciation of truths like these might have conducted Becquey from the tribune to the lanterne. Even as it was, he was assailed by rabid and abusive cries from the galleries and nearly all parts of the House, and was reduced for some time to a state of silence, if not of fear. When allowed to continue, he told them that, no doubt, they might have reason to complain of the concert between Austria and Prussia, of the coalition of kings against the French revolution; that, without doubt, the court of Vienna was not to be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of France; but that he could not consider a simple suspicion as to what the coalition might do hereafter capable of justifying a present declaration of hostilities. "Could we," said he, "exact or expect that, while all France was in so general and violent a fermentation, when the cry for war against kings was so frequently echoed even within these walls, these foreign kings should repose an entire confidence in our declaration that we had *for ever renounced conquests*, or should not have taken any defensive measures, at a time, too, when the ardour of our national guards near the frontiers seemed to threaten them with invasion?" He boldly predicted the evil reputation the French would acquire if they went to war thus hastily, and prosecuted the war, in the way proposed, by foreign invasions and conquests, and the propagandism of universal insurrection of peoples against their governments. "If," said he, "we attack Austria in this manner, we shall force all the kings of the earth to enter into a league against us, for they will see that we are shaking all their thrones! Can a free nation have the immorality to bring down all the calamities of war upon a neighbouring nation, merely to take its revenge for insults offered in a ministerial dispatch? Let us renounce these unjustifiable enterprises! Let us content ourselves with preparing resolutely to defend our own country; and then, in all probability, we shall have no war at all. If we begin the attack, we shall make our cause odious in the eyes of our neighbours. We shall obtain the character of aggressors; we shall be represented as a restless, turbulent people, disturbing the repose of Europe, in contempt of old treaties, and of our new laws, which forbid us to aim at conquests. You will have to combat, in the end, not only the kings of Europe, but the peoples of Europe, who will fight you with that natural animosity felt by every man against those who go to disturb the repose and well-being of his country! I conclude that the National Assembly

ought to decree that there is no ground for deliberating on the question of war; that the executive power be charged to defend the kingdom against every attack, and that the king be invited to recommence negotiations." As soon as Becquey had descended from the tribune, Lasource said he would follow him through every part of his discourse, if the Assembly thought his sophisms deserving of an answer. Apparently the majority testified that they were not worth refuting, for Lasource said no more. Guadet treated Becquey's opinions with sovereign contempt, and laughed at his financial and other calculations. If the finances of France were not in the best condition, those of Austria and Prussia were in a still worse state; there was no power in Europe that could call into existence by a single word, as regenerated France had done, 200,000 national guards; there was no country in Europe that contained four millions of free citizens armed or ready to arm, except regenerated France; and therefore, according to this gentle, philanthropic Girondist, France ought to go to war at once, without the Assembly saying anything more about it. Guadet concluded his speech by calling for an immediate division. Buzire, who was acting with Robespierre's party, said that he was astonished, that France and the whole universe would be as much astonished as himself, to see so grave a question discussed with so much haste and frivolity. "You are going," said he, "to make blood flow in torrents, you are going to create enormous expenses, you are going to take a determination which may commit your own liberty and that of all mankind, and yet you will not hear the various opinions of your members, the *pour et contre*. If we are to undertake a war, let us first be sure that we shall not be betrayed by our own armies or generals. I demand that every member who wishes to speak be heard before you divide upon this grand question. I demand that three days at least be employed in this discussion." Buzire was treated as rudely as Becquey, and the thundering majority decided that there should be no delay—no, not for one day—not for one hour! Brissot, who hitherto had sat silent, who had not even attempted to defend his theory about the political state of Europe when Becquey was knocking it to pieces, now demanded that the war decree should be drawn up before they adjourned. Dumas attempted to speak against this indecent hurry; but a loud voice exclaimed, "President, spare us these miserable debates; put the question to the vote!" Dumas cried out, "President, take the sense of the Assembly whether I am to be heard or not!" The president put this question, which, in a twinkling, was decided in the negative. Then Merlin, another of the friends of Robespierre, mounted to the speaking-place; but his discourse was cut short, not in the middle, but in the beginning, by a chorus of voices that called upon the president to close the discussion. The president then

put that question of form, and the Assembly voted that the debate was ended, and that no more could be said. "I only wanted to say," quoth Merlin, as he quitted the tribune, "that we ought to declare war to kings, and peace to their people." The president then put it to the vote, whether the king's proposition for war should be accepted or not. The war party, the overwhelming and intolérant majority, had called for a unanimous vote, the mob in the galleries were ready to set down as traitors to their country all such as opposed the general wish, and in the excited humour of the moment there might have been imminent danger in voting in opposition to the galleries: only Theodore Lameth, Dumas, Becquey, and four other members had the courage to stand up as a minority; all the rest, who disapproved of this precipitating of hostilities, remained seated and silent; and the question was declared to be carried in the affirmative, with a shouting and a noise as loud as could have been made if House and galleries had been in the act of charging the Austrian army. As soon as the "Vive la Guerre!" "Vive la Liberté!" "Mort aux Tyrans!" &c. had somewhat subsided, Condorcet rose to state that it became the National Assembly to publish a declaration of the political principles which had led them to their present resolution, and that he had such a declaration ready written for them. The Assembly agreed that the philosopher and master in politics should be heard; and thereupon Condorcet began to read a long paper, the scope of which was to prove that the French people were forced into this war by the iniquity of despots, and that they had given no provocation whatever. According to Condorcet, nothing was so clear as that the French nation had a right to do whatever they chose with Alsace and Avignon. He was indignant at the thought that any foreign court should pretend that Louis XVI. was in a state of bondage and coercion; for, was not Louis as free as he ought to be? Was he under any subjection except that of the laws which had been made by the sovereign people? There might be contrary opinions emitted even in France, but these were only the voices of factions contemptible in number and undeserving of the smallest attention! The Assembly ordered that this declaration of Condorcet should be printed. Then Vergniaud improvised a Tyrtæan address to excite that warlike ardour which needed no further excitement. In the opinion of this great Girondist, orator, statesman, philosopher, nothing could be more efficacious in securing success to the war they had declared, than the getting up of some more processions and patriotic festivals in the Champ de Mars. "Recall to your minds," exclaimed this fiery man of the south, "that festival of the federation, where all the French devoted their lives to the defence of liberty and of the constitution! Remember your own oaths to bury yourselves under the ruins of this edifice, rather than consent to the least capitulation, rather than suffer the least modification of your constitution! Well then! Give again to France, to Europe, the

imposing spectacle of these national fêtes! Reanimate that energy before which the Bastille fell prostrate! Give a new activity to the burning sentiment which attaches the people to liberty and the country. Make every part of this empire re-echo with the sublime words, 'Liberty or Death!' 'The Constitution entire and without any modification, or Death!' Let these cries be heard round the thrones that have coalesced against us! . . . Let us all swear! Let us decree that the national guards and the troops of the line shall all take, on the 10th of next month, the oath which we took on the 14th of January last!" Here some men, who thought there had already been swearing enough, cried out, "No more oaths! No more oaths! The order of the day!"—and that extinguisher was put upon the rest of Vergniaud's fire. Then his friend Gensonné, who had been working with a committee appointed to draw up the decree of war, stepped forward with that decree written and finished; and forthwith the Assembly adopted it unanimously, and appointed a deputation of twenty-four to carry it to the Tuileries for the king's signature and sanction.*

This first of so many declarations of war, which were to proceed from the same quarter, merits a full insertion. It was to this effect:—"The National Assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and security of the French nation:—That Francis II., King of Hungary and Bohemia, has, by his notes of the 18th of March and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert; that, notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of the 11th of March, to reduce on both sides to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparations; that he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the possessed German princes, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications; that he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the malcontents in the concert of the powers; considering, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the King of the French leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, decrees that there exists a case of urgency:—The National Assembly declares that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people, only take up arms in the

defence of their liberty and their independence; that the war into which they are compelled to enter is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people against the unjust oppression of a monarch; that the French will never confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war, to preserve their property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, and to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty all the evils inseparable from war; that France adopts all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall join its standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France. Deliberating on the formal propositions of the king, and after having decreed the case of urgency, the National Assembly decrees war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

When Vergniaud was recommending fresh festivals and celebrations in the Champ de Mars, a grand scene in that place was quite fresh in the Parisian mind. As this business of the Fête of Liberty is connected with other lively and significant demonstrations, a few words must be devoted to the subject. It has been mentioned how the present Assembly liberated the Swiss soldiers of the regiment of Château Vieux, who, under the previous Assembly, had been condemned by their own officers to the galleys for their mutiny at Nancy. Not satisfied with their liberation, which in itself proved that what was vice under the Constituent became virtue under the Legislative Assembly, the friends of the progress of the revolution determined that these Swiss mercenaries should be received in Paris with the highest honours, and should have a fête to their own proper account on Sunday the 15th of April. Mayor Pétion took the lead in this affair, and, backed by his municipality, issued a decree importing that the patriots ought to be allowed to get up this festival; that all friends of liberty ought to be present at it, provided that they did not carry arms; that the national guards and no other armed force ought to interfere with this celebration; and that from ten o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock in the evening no carriages should be allowed to drive in Paris. The directory of the department, the national guards, with the exception of those of the Faubourg St. Antoine and the ultra-revolutionary and sans culottic districts, strongly opposed this decree of the mayor and municipality, and the festival to the liberated mutineers, representing that it would be a bad example, and lead, in all probability, to some immediate excesses. Mayor Pétion replied that the law permitted the citizens to assemble in any numbers, provided they did it peaceably and without arms, and that no authority could hinder them from making use of this right. "I tell you, gentlemen," said he, "that it will be a thousand times more dangerous to attempt to hinder this festival which the patriots are preparing than to let it run its natural course." *Leut*

* Hist. Parliament

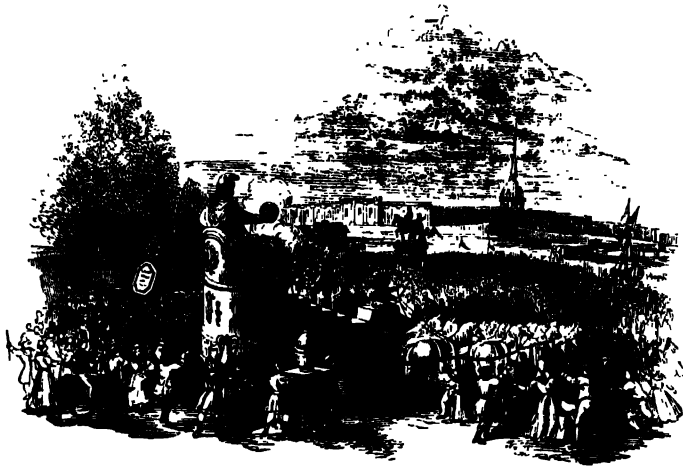
the municipality should not be strong enough to resist the respectabilities, the Jacobin Club took the festival under its special protection. Tallien announced in the club that he was one of the stewards or regulators of the ceremony, and that the fête was not to be considered so much as a tribute offered to the Swiss, the victims of de Bouillé, as a tribute to Liberty. Collot d'Herbois seized Tallien's word, and said he had a proposition to make which would reconcile all opinions, and convince everybody of the propriety of the grand celebration in the Champ de Mars: it was that the festival should be dedicated to liberty, and be called the Fête of Liberty. The club accepted the proposition with acclamations; and then Robespierre ascended the Jacobin tribune to launch a terrible philippic against all who had attempted to prevent the celebration, and especially against Lafayette, who was at this moment in Paris expecting the declaration of war against Austria, which, he confidently hoped, was to give him the means of eclipsing every military reputation that had hitherto existed in Europe. In his most vehement and most popular style Robespierre accused the hero of two worlds of being the meanest of plotters, of being the real source of all the opposition which had been made to the popular festival by some of the battalions of the national guards, by the departmental authorities, &c. "If that hypocrite," said he, "had never existed, we should have no divisions among us! It is Lafayette that is the most dangerous of all the enemies of liberty, because he still wears a mask of patriotism, sufficient to dupe and to keep under his banners a considerable number of citizens who have more money than wit, and who are miserably shortsighted! It is Lafayette that we have to fight! It is Lafayette who duped the national guards, and made them fight under de Bouillé against the soldiers of Château-Vieux and the patriot regiments at Nancy, &c." He represented that the present festival might be truly useful to liberty, and become the real triumph of the people, who would remember, on this Sunday in the Champ de Mars, what had happened on *that* Sunday when Lafayette and Bailly had made the national guards fire upon the people! And, in concluding his address, he called for the immediate execution of a previous decree or resolution of the Jacobin Club, that every member should individually send a petition to the municipality, demanding the removal of the busts of Lafayette and Bailly from the Hôtel de Ville. All that he proposed was adopted by the club. The departmental authorities forthwith gave up their opposition to this Fête of Liberty, only taking care to throw all the responsibility of any émeute, commotion, or bloodshed that might happen, upon Mayor Pétion and his municipals. The liberated galieriens, who had received their lesson, and who at this stage of the revolution represented what the Gardes Français had been at an earlier stage, requested to be admitted to the Assembly to express

their gratitude; and the Girondists joined with the Jacobins in demanding that they should be honourably admitted to the bar of the House. Gouvion, the aide-de-camp of Lafayette, and several others passionately represented that this would be dishonouring the brave men who had marched under the banner of the law against mutiny and insurrection, and many of whom had fallen victims to their duty at Nancy; that this would be passing a censure upon the patriots who had sat in the first Assembly and made the constitution; that this would confound all notions of right and wrong, of military obedience and disobedience, and produce the worst effect upon the army. But their voices were drowned by the galleries and by the majority of the Assembly, who determined not only that the liberated Swiss soldiers should be admitted to the bar, but also that they should have the honours of la séance. There was, however, a narrower division than had been seen for a long time, the numbers being 281 against 265. The galleries shouted, the deputies almost fought—it appears to have been one of the greatest storms that ever raged even in that region of storms and hurricanes. As soon as these votes were passed, the president announced that the national guards, who had escorted the Swiss, demanded permission to defile before the Assembly; and, this being agreed to by the majority, the doors of the Hall were thrown wide open, and Swiss and national guards began to march in. As the forty Swiss of the regiment of Château Vieux had not an orator amongst them, Collot d'Herbois, who had been their most passionate advocate in the debate which had just ended, undertook to deliver an harangue for them. This hissed strolling actor, become, by the grace of the revolution and the Rights of Man, a representative of the sovereign people and a lawgiver, told the Assembly that this was a *beau spectacle*—that here were forty brave soldiers of Château-Vieux, whose chains they had broken, &c.—that these sons of liberty, who had been so iniquitously condemned, had now put on the uniform of the national guards, and were ready to renew their oaths to be true to the constitution. The Assembly ordered that Collot d'Herbois's speech should be printed. Then the national guards, who had escorted the forty Swiss from Versailles, defiled through the Hall, with drums beating and with shouts of "Vive la Nation!" "Vive la Liberté!" being followed by a numerous procession of citizens and citizenesses, carrying tricolor flags, pikes, "and other emblems of liberty," the march being closed by deputations from various popular clubs, who carried the flags which had been given to the liberated Swiss by the different departments they had traversed on their way from the galleys. As soon as they had all retired over the way to the Jacobin Club, where an ample dinner was provided for the forty Swiss, an orator from the faubourg St. Antoine presented himself at the bar, with the cap of liberty (a red worsted

night-cap) fixed on a lance, and had the pleasure to inform the Assembly that the conquerors of the Bastille, the men of the 14th of July, the heroes of the faubourg, were forging 10,000 more pikes for the service of liberty and the destruction of its enemies.

On the appointed Sunday the Feast of Liberty was celebrated, and once more all Paris poured out to the Champ de Mars. The interminable procession set out from the Barrière du Trône, marched through the Faubourg St. Antoine, and made a halt at the spot where the Bastille had

stood. The first division consisted of citizens and citizenesses, who marched eight abreast, and carried the Declaration of the Rights of Man, "inscribed upon two tables resembling the tables of the law which are placed before the figure of the legislator Moses." The second group, composed also of citizens and citizenesses, carried the arms and instruments which had been used at the conquest of the Bastille, &c. The third division carried the flags of England, America, and France, united together by tricolor ribands; and they also carried the busts of Algernon Sidney, Dr.



FETE OF LIBERTY. FROM A PRINT AFTER DUPLESSIS-BERTAUX

Franklin, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, which were surrounded by boys and girls from the boarding-schools and other houses of education. The fourth division consisted of husbands and fathers, wives and mothers, with their offspring; and these carried the book of the constitution, to denote that it was they who had the greatest interest in preserving intact that inestimable treasure. Then followed Pétion and the officers of the municipality, the judges of the new tribunals, the employés of Paris, deputies of the National Assembly, many of whom honoured the fête with their presence, men and women dressed to represent the victims of despotism, who carried the model of a galley, and branches of trees studded with flowers and tricolor cockades, while, close in their rear, young women carried fragments of the galley-chains of the forty Swiss, and a sarcophagus of antique form, on which were inscribed the names of all the soldiers of the Château-Vieux regiment that had been hanged for mutiny, and another sarcophagus, consecrated to the memory of the national guards who had been killed at

Nancy in obeying the orders of de Bouillé, the two sarcophagi being united by a festoon on which was inscribed in large letters, "The tyrants alone were guilty of this blood." After this division marched the bands of the national guards and troops of chorus-singers, who immediately preceded the car of liberty, the grand object and cynosure of the procession. This car had been designed by the classical republican painter David, who, with his sister or cousin, Mademoiselle David, a *marchande de mode*, and a very enthusiastic republicanism, appears to have been the principal deviser of all this *bullet d'action*, as of nearly all the processions and celebrations that took place at this time. On the summit of this car was a colossal figure of Liberty, in a sitting posture, holding in one hand a globe, and in the other a mighty club: the figure was eighteen feet high, and was painted and varnished to imitate bronze; it was so tall that it reached the second-floor of the houses, and could not pass through the streets until the patriots had removed their street lamps, which it was the fashion to suspend by strong

ropes over the middle of the streets. At the foot of this colossal figure of Liberty incense (no longer needed in the churches) was burning in antique vases, such as were used by the Greeks and Romans in their worship of the gods. The sides of the enormous car were covered with paintings in dis-temper to look like bas-reliefs; and the subjects of these paintings were—Brutus sacrificing his own sons to liberty, William Tell bending the bow which was to kill the tyrant of Switzerland; and allegorical scenes, such as Liberty crushing Despotism, Aristocracy, Feudality, Superstition, and Fanaticism, and Reason and Philosophy triumphing over all things. In the front of the car seats rising one above the other, to the height of the base, on which sat the statue of Liberty, were destined to receive eighty-three children of both sexes allegorically dressed to represent the eighty-three departments; "but this interesting part of the decorations of the car" was missing, for the mothers of the children, fearing accidents, as that they might tumble and be crushed under the wheels, would not let them go.* Around the car, which was drawn by twenty horses, and which ran upon the same wheels as those that had carried Voltaire's apotheosis machine, marched the forty liberated Swiss of Château-Vieux, and the eighty-three emblematical boys and girls that ought to have ridden on the seats, with some of the ex-Gardes Français, deputies from the town of Brest, and Collot d'Herbois, who had been the advocate and orator of the forty Swiss. Close in the wake of the car there was a man ridiculously dressed and mounted upon an ass, to represent the ignorance and folly which disgraced former times, but from which liberty and philosophy had now so gloriously freed the French nation. Besides stopping at the site of the Bastille, these Parisians, who really imagined that it was all "classical and Greek," halted in sundry other places to sing 'Ça Ira,' and patriotic hymns and choruses to Liberty which had been composed for the occasion. From the Faubourg St. Antoine they moved slowly, and with all the solemnity they could muster, along the boulevards to the Place Vendôme, to the Place Louis XV., to the Pont Neuf, where more deputies of the Assembly joined them, and where other busy patriots had Jacobinized the old equestrian statue of Henry IV., having clapped a big red nightcap on the head of that bronze king, and converted the sceptre in his hand into a tricolor flag, besides decorating the mane and the tail, the poutrel and the crupper, of his bronze horse with tricolor streamers and cockades.† "But," says a patriot journalist of the day, "it was when this immense procession reached the Champ de Mars

that the festival assumed its sublimest character and made all the children of Liberty experience their most lively and most delicious sensations! The field and the altar of the country were covered with citizens and citizenesses impatiently expecting the arrival of the cortège. Anon shouts of applause announced its arrival, and it advanced majestically towards the august altar, on which was sworn the fraternal pact which unites all Frenchmen. The table of the Declaration of the Rights of Man was deposited on that altar, in the front and on the flanks of which were presently collected all the signs, emblems, flags, and trophies which had embellished the march, and incense was burnt on the altar with patriotic profusion; and then the grand car of Liberty was dragged all round the altar, the air resounding with praises and thanksgivings to Liberty, that only divinity of the French!"* When they had done singing to that mock bronze statue, their only god, the citizens and citizenesses, old and young, clad in rags or clad in scarlet gowns, set to dancing to the tune of 'Ça Ira,' and, with dancing and singing, shouting and promenading, mixed with the ordinary quantum of gallantry, coquetting, love-making, and assignation-making, they passed the sabbath-day very happily until the sun went down, and the darkness and coolness of night warned them to go homewards. There was no rioting or bloodshedding, because the patriots had it all their own way, none of the blue-coats, of the national guards, or at least none of Lafayette's respectabilities, daring to show themselves. "Ah!" exclaims a journalist, "there is nothing like these fêtes for uniting, improving, and raising the souls of the French! These popular fêtes form the best political education that can be given to the people! . . . And you, O wise administrators! give these fêtes often to the people: repeat this one every 15th of April, let this first Fête of Liberty be our great spring holiday, and let other civic solemnities signalize the return of the other seasons of the year."†

As this Fête of Liberty was entirely republican, the Feuillants and Constitutional-monarchy men—as they continued to call themselves—determined to try the effect of a counter-fête or procession, which should be wholly emblematic of constitutional monarchism, and a tribute to one who had not broken the laws like the forty Swiss, but who had died in defending them. The republicans of Marseilles, of Blois, and other places in the south and in the centre of the kingdom, were pillaging and destroying all the châteaux of the gentry, whether they had emigrated or not; and they had for some time come to the conclusion that it was very republican and proper that the sovereign people should fix the price of the bread they consumed. Some of the magistrates in those parts endeavoured to show that when corn was scarce bread must be dear; and that to fix an arbitrary maximum price would only scare away those who had corn to sell, and thus, and by increasing consumption, make bread

* Dulaure, who is as minute as an old chronicler in those particulars, says, however, the absence of the interesting children from the seats on the car was attributed by some to a struggle of generosity between the little girls and the soldiers of Château-Vieux:—"The little girls wanted to go on foot, in order that the Swiss soldiers might ride; the Swiss refused, and so the car remained empty." We suspect the real cause of its being empty was in its being considered unsafe. These machines were made of very fragile materials—of deal boards, some-cloth, plaster of Paris, &c.

† Dulaure, Esquisses.

• Journal Universel.

still scarcer and dearer. Among these spirited magistrates—for it now required spirit, and courage, and fortitude to oppose even the slightest wish of the *sans-culottes*—was Henri Simonneau, mayor of Etampes, and a tanner by trade. In spite of his remonstrances, the *sans-culottes* of Etampes, joined by other *sans-culottes* from the neighbourhood, rushed into the market-place, armed with guns, sabres, pikes, and scythes, put their own price upon the wheat, divided among them according to that fixed price all the wheat that was there, and butchered the poor mayor for attempting to resist them. It was reported that Simonneau had said, when under the pikes and the bayonets of the ruffians who murdered him, that he willingly sacrificed his life to his duty and the laws. The *Feuillants*, on the 3rd of June, got up a procession in his honour, and in honour of the laws and the constitution as established, showing, by all manner of ingenious devices, allegories, and inscriptions, that the French, having got the best of possible constitutions, ought to be quiet and happy, and never think of changing it. Instead of a colossal figure of Liberty they carried a colossal figure of the Law, made, like the other, of wood, paper, and plaster, and painted and varnished like it into the resemblance of bronze. Lafayette's respectabilities, who had not shown their faces in the Liberty fête, marched in full force in this procession, which, like the other, terminated in the Champ de Mars, at the altar of the country. Instead of burning incense and singing odes to Liberty, these friends of law and order, and of the constitution as it was, burned incense and sang an ode to a bust of the defunct mayor of Etampes—things which seemed eminently ridiculous in the eyes of the *sans-culottes*, who had found everything proper and sublime in the Liberty affair. The thing was a complete failure, tending only to show how weak and unpopular was the party that got it up.

At the moment when war was declared the vast frontier of the kingdom from Dunkirk to Huningen was divided into three great military commands; and was watched, besides, by numerous corps of national guards, and a whole people more or less armed. On the left of this long line, from Dunkirk to Philippeville, was the army of the North, commanded by old Rochambeau, and consisting of 40,000 men and 8000 horses. Between Philippeville and the lines of Wissembourg was the army of the Centre, commanded by Lafayette, and counting at least 45,000 men and 7000 horses; and to the right of this Centre, and stretching away from the lines of Wissembourg as far as Basle, was the army of the Rhine, commanded by Luckner, and consisting of 35,000 men and 8000 horses. The frontier of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where attacks were expected from the King of Sardinia and the King of Spain, was watched by General Montesquiou with another army, which, for the present, had nothing to do, as the Italian and Spanish courts were not yet ready to act in concert with the emperor. Of the three generals

on the northern frontier, where the war was to commence, Lafayette was the best stationed; and, as he was also the youngest, it was expected that he would be the most active of the three. He had spoken loudly of the great things he would perform, but he was destined soon to find that he could do little or nothing, that he was suspected by his own troops, and that the widest differences of opinion prevailed between him and Rochambeau and Luckner, and again between all three of them and Dumouriez, who, though minister for foreign affairs, acted as war minister and took upon himself the entire direction of the campaign, the Girondist de Grave, the nominal war minister, being a young man, and equally without experience and ability. Dumouriez insisted from the beginning that they ought to commence operations by making a dash upon Belgium, where the people were ready to rise and join them. "The number of the discontented in that country," says Dumouriez himself, "was so very encouraging! The dismantling of the fortifications, and the rupture of the Barrier treaty, caused by the late Emperor Joseph, had prepared the Belgic provinces to receive the law from France, because there was nothing to protect them from invasion. The people appeared to solicit our assistance. In short, whether friendly or unfriendly, it was wise to select this as the first theatre of the war, in order to anticipate the House of Austria. . . . Besides, but little preparation was needful for the attack. The Austrians had not more than 30,000 men there. The country was rich and fertile and everywhere open, and the people expected us with impatience: as a proof of which, it is to be recollected that they received us with joy six months after, notwithstanding the shameful disasters that accompanied our first ill-managed attempts at invasion."* But Rochambeau, when this plan was opened to him at Paris, had strongly disapproved of it, had recommended remaining on the defensive, had called Dumouriez a fool, and had set out for his head-quarters on the frontiers in a pet. Lafayette, who had been so eager to assist the Belgian revolutionists two years before when the Emperor Leopold was reducing them to order, and when Austria had given no provocation whatever to France, not only approved of the plan of invasion, but endeavoured to appropriate to himself the original conception of it. He not only attempted to deprive Dumouriez of his glory, but, according to that brilliant adventurer, the most trickish and intriguing of men, he tried to trick him and dupe him in other matters, and set forth ambitious claims, which could not have been listened to without disgusting Rochambeau and Luckner, and giving to him (Lafayette) more power than any party was disposed to intrust him with. Dumouriez, who modestly writes his memoirs in the third person, says, "Whether from ambition or dissimulation, Lafayette readily acquiesced in the plan of the campaign chalked out by Du-

mouriez; they concerted measures together with the utmost cordiality, and agreed on the time and manner of the execution; but he proposed to this minister, as Rochambeau was not only chagrined, but in a bad state of health, that he himself should be intrusted, as commander-in-chief, with the execution of the project; he accordingly demanded 50,000 men, with whom he was to enter the Low Countries by Namur, and descend along the banks of the Meuse as far as Liege, which would render him completely master of the Netherlands. This plan was a good one, and Dumouriez really thought that Lafayette would have succeeded in carrying it into effect; but the conduct pursued by this general since his return to Paris, his unnatural connection with the court after having been so long its scourge, his sudden coalition with the party of the Lameths, which had formerly ruined him in the opinion of the nation, but at that moment looked up to him as its leader,—all this had rendered him equally suspected by the National Assembly and the Jacobins. The latter (the Jacobins) already deemed it improper that he should be intrusted with the command of any body of troops; and, if he had been intrusted, as he wished to be, with the whole military authority on the frontiers, Dumouriez must have passed for a Feuillant, and the Assembly would have proceeded to extremities against the king, against Lafayette, and against the Gironde ministry, rather than have permitted such a thing. Besides, there were two marshals of France, two officers superior in rank to Lafayette, on the frontiers. If Rochambeau were really too feeble and too sickly to act, there was not the same objection with regard to Luckner. In short, Dumouriez himself had not so great an opinion of the character and talents of Lafayette as to run such desperate risks in his behalf. He had always shown himself indecisive, versatile, and rather cunning than able, when he acted the principal character during the three first years of the revolution. He possessed some talent and instruction, but he was destitute of that genius which hurries mankind along with it; and, whatever might be his ambition, nature had condemned him to mediocrity." In refusing him the chief command, Dumouriez gave Lafayette reasons to hope that he would really have the principal management of the campaign; and he says that Lafayette assumed an air of content, and dissembled his resentment till another opportunity. According to Dumouriez's plan there were to be two real and two false attacks. Lafayette, with a detachment of 10,000 men, which was to be followed by the rest of his army, was to file off by Givet, and take possession of Namur, where at the time the Austrians had only a single battalion of Wallons, *more than the half of which had entered into a conspiracy to desert on the first appearance of the French.* From Namur Lafayette was to march for Brussels or for Liege, just as he might find best. At the same time Lieutenant-general Biron was to strike off from Valenciennes with another 10,000 men, and march straight upon Mons,

where the Austrian general Beaulieu was posted with only 2500 men. Another general officer was to be dispatched on the very same day from Lille with 3600 men, who were to follow the road leading to Tournay, and, in conjunction with the Belgian inhabitants, to surprise that place: but, if the Belgians were not found so friendly or so active as they had promised to be, then this column was to halt on the frontier line, and merely make a false attack. Also, on the very same day, a major-general was to issue from Dunkirk with 1200 men, and march towards Furnes, to feel the pulse of the Flemings. "This general attack," says the planner of it, "was to be followed up and to be made altogether with about 40,000 men, who were certainly sufficient, for war had only been declared ten days, and neither orders nor troops had arrived from Vienna for defending the country, which was so extremely well disposed in our favour. Had the execution been confided to a general of genius, able, active, and willing, the success would have been infallible. This army was to have been quickly reinforced by more than 30,000 infantry, consisting of national battalions raised during the preceding summer in the northern and western departments of France. A second levy was ordered; and in the mean time the central departments of the kingdom had furnished several regiments of cavalry, which were now approaching Flanders. Thus, when the emperor would have assembled an army in June or July for reconquering the Low Countries, he would have found Lafayette at the head of 75,000 Frenchmen, and the whole country completely revolutionised." * As this plan met with the approbation of the Gironde ministry, Rochambeau and Luckner were obliged to give up their objections, and to promise to co-operate to the best of their ability. A part of the invading force, which was all to be concentrated under the command of Lafayette, was drawn from Rochambeau's army of the North, and a part from Luckner's army of the Rhine. By the 1st of May Lafayette got all his heavy artillery as far as Givet; but, instead of pressing forward for Namur, which he might have taken on the 2nd of May, he began making a fixed position of Givet. General Biron, setting out from Valenciennes, crossed the Belgian frontiers on the 29th of April, and on the 30th pressed onward for Mons. But scarcely had his people caught sight of some Austrian light troops which General Beaulieu had sent out of Mons, when they set up a terrible shout that they were betrayed, and this was presently followed by the cry of *Sauve qui peut*. Two regiments of dragoons, who are said not even to have seen the enemy, galloped back into the ranks of the infantry swearing that they were surrounded and betrayed; and the infantry, thrown into perfect disorder by this unsoldierlike movement, took them at their word, and followed them in their mad flight. In vain Biron, young Rochambeau, and other officers, conjured them to stop: there was no rallying them;

* Dumouriez, Mémoires.

and they never stopped till they reached Valenciennes, where they threatened to massacre all their general officers. These 10,000 fuyards were pursued by only 500 or 600 Austrian light horse, who captured Biron's baggage and military chest. On the very same day and hour Major-general Theobald Dillon's division of 3000 men, which had left Lille and advanced as far as Bessieux, manifested the same panic at the apparition of 800 or 900 Austrians who had sallied out of Tournay; and they fled back to Lille without ever looking behind them, abandoning artillery, baggage, and almost everything else. Theobald Dillon, who entered Lille after the fugitives, was massacred by his own men, as well as a lieutenant-colonel of engineers. The bodies of these two victims, together with that of an unworn priest, were hung up on a gallows; and, the populace joining the soldiery, all kinds of excesses were committed, including the butchery of some Austrian prisoners of war, who had been surprised and taken near the frontier at the first irruption.* No one dared to hint that brave men ought to have stayed to see how they were betrayed before they fled; all joined in crying that their superior officers were all aristocrats and engaged in a plot against liberty. Thus bad beginning completely disheartened the Belgians, who had promised to join the tricolor banner, and who now displayed their prudence and their fears by remaining perfectly quiet, and by dropping for a time all communication with the French camp. Lafayette would no longer venture to move from the position he had chosen at Givet, and he stayed there, doubting of his troops and complaining of Dumouriez and the rest of the Gironde ministry, till his provisions began to fail him. Although they agreed on no other point, old Rochambeau united with Lafayette in writing letters to the king and to the National Assembly, to throw all the blame of what had happened upon Dumouriez and his plan of campaign, and at last to declare that they could no longer obey the orders of an ignorant Gironde council and a presumptuous minister. The Assembly for a time turned their backs upon Dumouriez, and insisted on his confining himself within his own department of foreign affairs. The defensive system was now resorted to—and out of necessity, for the army of invasion had lost a principal part of their baggage and equipments, and seemed to be thoroughly disorganised and incapable of discipline. Rochambeau resigned his command in disgust and despair; and de Grave, the nominal war minister, who had connected himself with Madame de Staël, whom Dumouriez describes as "the Circe of the Feuillants," threw up his place in a fright, and was succeeded by Servan, who, though recommended by de Grave to office, blackened the conduct of his predecessor, and set himself in direct opposition to Dumouriez. "This Servan," says Dumouriez, "had long been very intimate with

the celebrated Madame Roland, and was said, whether truly or falsely, to have acted in the capacity of her lover." From the friends of Madame Dumouriez could have little to hope; for just at this critical juncture he quarrelled outright with the virtuous Roland and his friend Clavières, whom he had always eclipsed in the king's council, and despised in his own heart as a set of formalists and pedants, who knew nothing of business, nothing of war or politics, nothing of human nature.

When the news of the double flight and disgrace was spread in Paris, and the subject was taken up by the Jacobin Club, there was a terrible war of words, but unaccompanied for the moment by the violent and atrocious acts which might have been expected. Everybody seemed to be accusing everybody else of treachery. Old Rochambeau, who now found what it was to serve militarily under the sovereign people, under a democracy broke loose, told the king that he had lost the confidence of the army through an "infernal plot," and that all the generals were in the same predicament. The patriots of Paris accused Rochambeau and Lafayette who were alive, and Theobald Dillon who had been murdered, and Biron and all the generals, of being in a damnable plot against liberty, for, without treachery and a plot, how could brave Frenchmen ever run away? The Feuillants accused the Girondists of having madly preferred a war of attack to a war of defence—a *revolutionary* war to a *constitutional* one (which, like a good deal more of their phraseology, we do not pretend to understand); and in clearer language, and with arguments more intelligible, they accused the Jacobins of having made sure beforehand of the verification of their own dark prophecies as to the result of a war of attack—of having, by their constant preaching of doubt, suspicion, indiscipline, and insubordination, rendered it utterly impossible for the generals and superior officers to do anything with their soldiers, who were predetermined to look upon them all as traitors. The Girondists, with some subdued reflections on the tendency of the Jacobin preaching, the doctrines of which they had themselves aided in promulgating, accused Rochambeau of being the principal cause of the disasters and dishonour; *because* that old general, who had always opposed the war of attack, who was obstinate and wedded to his own opinions, was no friend to the present Gironde ministry, but attached to the principles of the ministers they had displaced. The hottest of this party—the *enfants perdus* of Girondism—men like Carra, the journalist, went farther, and openly accused Rochambeau of treachery. The Jacobins, putting aside for a season their accusations of treason against all the commanders, laboured to show that all that had happened might easily be explained by the incompetence, hurry, and triviality of the Girondists, who, so far from being fit to be ministers of state, were scarcely qualified to fill the most subordinate offices of Government. These men of the Gironde,

* The reader will look in vain for this horrible fact in M. Thiers and the French writers of history. We derive it from a letter addressed by Lafayette to the minister at war, dated Givet, the 2nd of May.

reasoned the Jacobins, who were already aspiring to their places, are only revolutionists in appearance or by halves: they have confided a patriot army to chiefs who are not patriots; they have obstinately persisted in pursuing an object emanating from the sovereignty of the people with generals and lieutenant-generals that are all ex-nobles, all Feuillants, all brought up under the old court, and holding to a counter-revolution by their hatred to the sovereignty of the people, and by the antipathies they have so often manifested to liberty and equality! In the Assembly the Girondists now united for a brief season with the Feuillants, and this union was strong enough to repress *there* some demonstrations which were made by the Cordelier Club—which club, as we have seen, included in the number of its members all the ultra or excessive Jacobins. These Cordeliers sent a deputation—consisting of Momoro (a working printer, who had been arrested by Lafayette, in 1791, for going too far), Vincent (the son of a Paris gaoler), and other patriots of the same colour—to the bar of the Assembly, to represent that the army had been betrayed, and the lives of many brave men sacrificed by the generals. In simple truth, there had been no fighting whatever, for, except a few stragglers, none of the French had got within reach even of an Austrian rifle: if they had stopped in their panic flight, and had formed, the Austrians must have run back without fighting, for they were solely light troops, without artillery or anything whatever to support them; but the journalists and popular haranguers had always been talking about Thermopylæ, and the orator of the Cordelier deputation was determined that a Thermopylæ there should be, or should have been, with a perfect parity of numbers to the ancient one. “Three hundred of our brethren,” said they, “have perished! They have had the fate of the Spartans at Thermopylæ! The public voice, always truer than the ministerial voice, makes us believe that they have been the victims of treachery and treason!” Here a hundred Gironde and Feuillant voices exclaimed, “Turn these blackguards out! Drive them out!—*Chassez ces coquins, chassez!*” These cries were prolonged until Momoro and Vincent, who will soon re-appear, and in a condition to take a bloody revenge for this insult, retreated from the bar and vanished through the doors of the hall. Through the same temporary union the Girondists and Feuillants felt themselves bold enough and strong enough to attack Marat, who had recently resumed his editorial functions, in order to call down vengeance on the aristocrat officers, and tell the sansculotte soldiers the line of conduct they ought to pursue. In his horse-doctoring days Marat had never drawn up a more simple or concise prescription. “People and soldiers,” said he, in his paper of the 3rd of May, “I told you six months ago that our generals, all varlets of the court, would betray the nation and deliver up our frontiers. My hope now is, that the army will open their eyes, and

feel that the first thing they have to do is to massacre *all* their generals!” Beugnot, who was half Feuillant, half Girondist, denounced Marat the very next day in the Assembly, and followed up his denunciation by another against Carra, who, though a professed Girondist, had given advice in his newspaper not a bit less atrocious than Marat’s prescription. But the Girondists, though ready and willing to bring down the vengeance of the laws upon the ex-horse-leech, were anxious to preserve the ex-secretary of the hospodar of Moldavia, and by their management Carra was passed over. To balance matters, Lasource proposed that the decree of accusation against Marat or L’Ami du Peuple should be accompanied by a similar decree against Royou, the editor of L’Ami du Roi, who had been recommending in his paper that the sansculottes and Jacobins should be treated as they proposed treating the aristocrats and royalists. Guadet, the great Gironde orator, supported this double motion, which was carried by a great majority. These little facts seem to prove that, if the Feuillants and Girondists could only have continued to agree and act together, they might yet have kept down the Mountain or ultra-Jacobin party, at least in the Assembly—that they might yet have had a chance against the Robespierres, Dantons, and Marats—a faint chance, indeed, *because* the Jacobin club continued to be a great deal stronger than the Assembly, and Robespierre and the Mountain, after the defeat of Brissot, were more than ever absolute in the club.

Carra, left to pursue his editorial career, denounced to popular vengeance, which was something more powerful and terrible than any existing law in France, the two ex-ministers, Montmorin and Bertrand de Molleville. These two ex-ministers immediately cited Carra before the juge-de-paix, Larivière. Carra, whose capital accusation was that the two ex-ministers were active members of what was called the Austrian committee, which was said to meet sometimes in the Tuileries, and sometimes in the house of the Princess of Lamballe, to concert with the queen the means of betraying the country to Austria, declared that he had received his information from three members of the Assembly, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, who were also members of the Committee of Research or Surveillance, and prepotent both in the Cordelier and Jacobin club. The inviolability of this trio as members of the legislature did not deter the juge-de-paix from proceeding against them, calling witnesses and taking their depositions, and even applying to the Assembly for copies of papers said to have been presented in its Committee of Research. Saladin rose to declare that a juge-de-paix had no right to demand any such papers. Fauchet represented how dangerous it would be to make public private and confidential declarations which had been made to the committee by *individuals in the king’s service*. Dumolard thought that the best thing the Assembly could do would be to pass to the order of the day, and leave La-

riviere, the juge-de-*paix*, to do whatever he might think best. Larivière, with uncommon boldness but with lamentable rashness, issued a warrant to arrest the three deputies, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot. "Unluckily," says Bertrand de Molleville, "Larivière was carried away by the desire of acting a great part, and of making himself remarkable; and, in defiance of every consideration of prudence, he drew down upon himself the indignation of the Assembly by executing the law in the most disrespectful manner against these popular members, whom he caused to be raised out of their beds and brought before his tribunal at five o'clock in the morning. His pretext for this inconsiderate conduct was, that he wished to avoid interfering with their attendance on the Assembly, and summoned them at that early hour in order that they might be at liberty by the time the Assembly met." Larivière had been selected by the court as the best disposed of all the magistrates; but, unhappily, whenever anything was to be done for the court, zeal and good intention were almost certain to be accompanied by folly and extravagance. The three Jacobin-Cordelier members quoted the constitution, which forbade any such proceedings against men who had seats in the national representation, declared that they would answer none of Larivière's questions, and entered a solemn protest against the whole procedure. The juge-de-*paix* was obliged to let them go, and, as soon as the Assembly met, they went thither to proclaim how they had been treated, how the dignity of the nation had been insulted and outraged in their persons, how each of them had been torn out of his bed by three rascally gendarmes. Larivière, by letter, requested to be admitted to the bar of the House to give his own account of his motives and proceedings. Some debate followed as to whether he should be admitted or not; but Vergniaud said that they ought to lose no time in hearing what he had to say touching an infraction of the laws and a daring outrage, which in itself was quite enough to prove the existence of that Austrian committee which had for so long a time alarmed the patriots; and upon this great Girondist's recommendation Larivière was admitted to the bar. Larivière justified his proceedings by an appeal to the constitution, which had not established any distinction in the manner of summoning persons in different situations, and therefore he had not presumed to introduce any new form, but had brought the three deputies before him just as he would have done with any other individuals. This seeming tribute to the doctrine of equality conciliated the galleries and a portion of the Assembly; but, when he proceeded to speak contemptuously of the rumours that were raised about this Austrian committee, he excited the galleries and a good portion of the Assembly into exceeding wrath. He stated that he had examined Madame de Lamballe and other persons, and was thoroughly convinced there was not the least proof of the existence of that Austrian committee, or of any of

the infernal plots which Carra talked and wrote about. Brissot, who is accused of being the original inventor of this chimera, and Gensonné, who had employed the rumour of the Austrian committee very successfully against the court, could not bear to hear it treated as a ridiculous dream. They asserted that Larivière's pretended examination of the Princess of Lamballe, &c., was a tissue of lies; and they engaged to bring before the Assembly the most convincing proofs of the reality of the Austrian committee, and of the dark plots which were planning in it. It is one of the most favourable points in the character of Louis XVI. that he never abandoned those who attempted to serve him without making some efforts to save them, although all such efforts were full of danger to himself. Affected at the danger which the ill-judged, though well meant, zeal of Larivière had exposed him to, he tried to cover and assist him by all the means in his power: he commissioned the minister of justice, Duranthon, to order the Public Accuser to prosecute the inventors and propagators of the calumny regarding the Austrian committee, and he informed the Assembly by letter of what he had done. In his letter Louis expressed a hope that the papers which were said to exist in the secret committee might be made public. But this generous interference did not prevent the Assembly from passing a decree of accusation against Larivière, who was accordingly sent to the prison at Orleans, to be tried by the High Court of Orleans for having failed in respect to the nation in the person of its representatives. He shared the fate of the rest of those state prisoners, who were all massacred by the mob in September, except a few servants, and an officer of artillery who bore the unlucky name of M. Loyauté, and who was grievously, but not mortally, wounded. On the 23rd of May Gensonné and Brissot fulfilled their engagement, or produced what they held to be convincing proofs. Gensonné dwelt more on generalities; but Brissot, who had got hold of some of the diplomatic correspondence, and who prided himself on his ability and finesse in detecting and exposing diplomatic manœuvres, descended to particular imputations, and again invoked the vengeance of the laws against those two ex-ministers, Delessart and Montmorin, taking no heed at first of Bertrand de Molleville, who had been minister of marine, and never minister of foreign affairs, as the two others had been. "I have denounced the existence of the Austrian committee," said Brissot, "and I will prove that it has existed and that it still exists. In the first place, we must fix the character of this Austrian committee. What is understood by the terms? The Austrian committee is a faction of the enemies of liberty, who, at times governing in the name of the king, and at times directing his ministry, have constantly betrayed the people and sacrificed the interests of the nation to the interests of a family. The entire subjection of this committee to the House of Austria is its principal characteristic....

... Would you know the leading principles of this detestable committee? They are these:—1. An absolute devotion to what people call the royal prerogative; 2. An absolute devotion to the interests of the House of Austria; 3. No alliances with Prussia or with England; 4. Indulgence towards the rebel emigrants, without adhering, however, to all their views; 5. Opposition to the war against the House of Austria, after having provoked us to declare it; 6. The old project to establish two chambers, as in England." After reminding the Assembly that it was Montmorin who had given the queen a passport in the name of the Russian baroness at the time of the flight to Varennes, &c., Brissot said that it was after the return of the king from that flight that Montmorin became most active and most successful, having found out the secret of winning over to the court Barnave and other members of the first Assembly, who, down to that moment, had been the most energetic champions of the rights of the people. He quoted part of a letter written by Montmorin in the month of August, 1791, to the French ambassador at Vienna, in which he informed that functionary that the best minds in the National Assembly, and those who had had the greatest influence on public opinion, had united themselves with the true servants of the king, and were concerting with them measures proper to sustain the monarchy, and restore to his majesty the power and authority necessary to govern. Brissot detected a vast deal of iniquity and slavishness in the expression "true servants of the king," and insisted that Montmorin could have meant nothing less than the restoration of the old absolute power of royalty. Selecting detached sentences and even fragments of sentences from two or three of Montmorin's dispatches, he made it appear that this minister for foreign affairs was always talking of the king, and never of the people, except to condemn their impatience and violence. In one dispatch Montmorin said, "The people are subject to fits of fury; this is a state of violence; but with time the king may recover some authority." This Brissot thought was monstrous. In another letter Montmorin said, "The constitution will march; nobody must hope to be able to destroy it." But Brissot thought this passage as monstrous as the preceding one. This vain presumptuous man did the whole of his spiriting so clumsily that any auditory less passionate and less prejudiced would have absolved Montmorin on his own showing. Among other crimes, this journalist by profession, this writer of all manner of libels, this Brissot, who was constantly feeding the Paris press with the most violent and exciting attacks and denunciations, accused Montmorin and the Austrian committee of having been guilty of horrible attempts to captivate public opinion and delude the people by means of placards, newspapers, and libels! Among Montmorin's accomplices, he denounced as being as guilty as himself the ex-minister Duport, who, he said, had a slavish ado-

ration for the English constitution with its system of two chambers, by means of which the King of England was enabled to dispose arbitrarily and capriciously of the blood and the lives of his people. He then fell upon Bertrand de Molleville, accusing him of having purposely disorganised the French navy, which had been notoriously disorganised by the Jacobin clubs and publications, and by the declaration of the Rights of Man, and of having caused the black insurrection and the massacres in St. Domingo, which, as was equally notorious, had been brought about by the same causes, aided by the direct intermeddling, systematising, and preaching of Brissot himself. He had promised proofs—proofs of the most convincing nature—but he produced absolutely nothing of the kind, and made up for the want of them by loud, vague declamations, such as had already been worn threadbare by being applied to all manner of persons. He concluded by demanding a decree of accusation against Montmorin, Duport, and Bertrand de Molleville; but, before this decree could be drawn up, the attention of the Assembly was called to more lively matters.

The patriot municipality of St. Cloud informed the committee of research and surveillance that there had been strange suspicious doings in their neighbourhood, at Sèvres, where the king had a manufactory of china or porcelain ware, and a good number of workmen, whose civism was thought doubtful. They announced that, early on the morning of the 26th of May, M. Laporte, who had charge of the civil list, repaired to the china manufactory, without its being known by the workmen why he had come; that in the afternoon of the same day two carriages arrived at the same place, loaded with fifty-two bales of paper, square and carefully packed; that on the next day the furnace used for burning the china was lit, but without any china in it; that the fifty-two bales of paper were thrown into the furnace, under the superintendence of M. Regnier, the director of the works, and of an abbé, whose name was unknown, but who looked as if he had not taken the serment civique; that this burning of paper lasted five hours; and that they themselves (the patriot municipals of St. Cloud) had seen a terrible smoke issuing from the chimney of the oven aforesaid. The Assembly was greatly excited at the reading of this letter. Merlin, whose humour had not been improved by the visit of Larivière's gendarmes, said that the Assembly ought to command the minister of justice to examine into this matter, as there was good reason to believe that the papers thus burnt were the archives and correspondence of the Austrian committee. Isnard, the great Girondist, thought that M. Laporte ought instantly to be called to the bar, and strictly examined by the House itself; and that greater Girondist, Guadet, seconded the proposition, which was forthwith adopted. The poor treasurer of the civil list, being brought in, confessed that he had been at Sèvres, and that bales of paper had been

carried there to be burned—not fifty-two bales, however, but only thirty. When asked what those papers were, he said they were a new edition of a French work which had lately been printed in London, and which he had withdrawn from the Paris bookseller who held it. "What work was it?" demanded the Assembly. "It was no work that had anything to do with liberty," said poor Laporte, who well knew the danger of being suspected of having burned patriotic Jacobin books. "It was the *mémoires* of a woman who has been but too notorious. Every copy was to be signed by her, but she is now dead. That woman was Madame de la Mothe, who wrote about the diamond necklace.* I never saw the book. I only charged two persons to buy up all the copies, and see it burned. The bookseller himself went to the furnace with the bales." "But who was that abbé that went with you?" demanded the august Assembly. "There was no abbé with me," said Laporte: "I went alone." He was told he might withdraw. Merlin then demanded that M. Regnier, the director of the Sèvres works, should be brought up and interrogated instantly, *before he could have time or opportunity to advise or speak with any person whatever*. In the end it was agreed that the workmen who had burned the bales should be brought to the bar, as well as the director. While the messengers went in search of the director, the journeymen, and the bookseller, the Assembly came to one very important resolution. Bazire, one of the trio who, under Robespierre, had undertaken to be high priests of terror and suspicion, rose and said that to-morrow he would prove the indispensable necessity of dissolving the constitutional guard which had been allowed to the king by the Assembly; that he would prove that in the regiments of that guard there had been admitted unsworn priests, men who had been at Coblenz with the emigrants, servants of the expelled aristocrats, and so great a number of enemies to the revolution that nothing could be expected from them but some sanguinary attempt to make a counter-revolution. He added that he knew for certain there had been a project for carrying off the king on that happy Sunday when the patriots were enjoying themselves in the Champ de Mars at the Fête of Liberty. He promised to be ready with his papers and proofs on the morrow; and in the mean time he thought the Assembly ought to decree that the civic guard of Paris should be doubled from that very night, in order to keep down fermentation in the capital. The Assembly forthwith not only adopted this bright scheme, but also came to the resolution that Mayor Pétion should be ordered to present every morning a report on the state of Paris. Then Carnot the younger, brother of the extraordinary man who was soon to organise the disorderly armies of the republic, rose to demand that the Assembly should not adjourn at all, but declare themselves in

permanent session, as they had done in the time of the flight to Varennes. When this proposition had been adopted, almost unanimously, an unnamed deputy recommended that, in imitation of the consuls of ancient Rome, they should issue a proclamation in these terms:—"Citizens, the republic is in danger. Take up your arms, and stand on your guard!" For the present, this proposition was negatived. But all this, which passed on the 28th of May, was an audible prelude to what was to happen at the Tuileries on the 20th of June. In the evening the Paris bookseller, the director of the china manufactory at Sèvres, and three of his workmen, were brought to the bar, and sharply examined touching those suspicious bales. The bookseller declared that they consisted of nothing but impressions of the *mémoires* of Madame de la Mothe, which he had received from London from Mr. Robinson, with instructions to sell them on commission. When M. Regnier, the director, was asked whether he knew what the bales contained, he said he did not, as he had not permitted himself to look into them. The first workman said that all he knew about it was that the paper pulled out of the bales to be burned was printed on both sides like a book or pamphlet. When asked whether the burning was a long operation, he said it lasted from half-past five till half-past eleven o'clock. When asked whether he had not seen the title of the book, he said that he had not, and that he had not any ambition to see it. When asked whether he had not seen any manuscripts, he declared that he had not. After a few other questions, this witness was told he might retire. The next journeyman could only say that a great deal of paper had been burned. When asked what paper, he said he could not tell, as he did not know how to read. The third workman examined said that he had thrown the paper into the furnace, being told so to do by his chief, but he could not say what paper it was, as he could not read. Like the first workman, he declared that he did not know the gentleman who brought the paper to Sèvres, and attended while it was burning. Nothing more could be made of these witnesses; no more light could be obtained from the great conflagration of printed paper; but it was easy for the trio, Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, to keep up the suspicion or belief that manuscripts had been burned, besides printed sheets, and that those manuscripts would have afforded ample proofs of all the accusations they had brought against the Austrian committee; and out of doors, in the clubs, coffee-houses, and all public and private places, a great deal was made of that fire and smoke at Sèvres. Bertrand de Molleville says that Brissot joined the whole Jacobin party in maintaining, with as much effrontery as vehemence, that the papers burned so secretly were and could not be anything else than the registers and parts of the correspondence of the Austrian committee. The same minister, who continued to be a confidential servant of the court after he was driven out of the ministry by the Girondists,

* The story of the Diamond Necklace, that remarkable passage in the life of Marie Antoinette, will be afterwards taken up when we come to look back upon the whole history of the unhappy queen from its bloody end.

declares that the papers were nothing but the memoirs and libels of that notorious woman who had long before done such incalculable mischief to the reputation of the queen. He says that M de Laporte, by the king's orders, had bought up the entire impression (the rogue of a bookseller must have kept some of them back, or Mr Robinson of London must have sent more copies over, for in a very short time the terrible libel was circulating in Paris), and that de Laporte, instead of destroying the sheets immediately, kept them for a considerable time in his own house, that the alarming and rapid progress of the revolution, the audacity and arrogance of that swarm of ruffians who directed and in good part composed, the populace of Paris, and the excesses daily committed by them, made the treasurer of the civil list dread that his house might be attacked and broken open, and that then he decided on sending the dangerous sheets to be burnt. Bertrand adds that the secret was betrayed by one Ruston, who was employed by one of the employés of de Laporte to see the papers burned, and who was a dangerous intriguer, a man of the very worst character, formerly a lawyer of Nancy, where only one year before he had escaped from the gallows, by favour of the new principles, and the patriotism of the new tribunals, although convicted of enormous forgeries, including a falsification of the great seal of France. Madame Campan says that she was the first in the Tuileries to hear of the terrible storm in the Assembly about the burning of these papers, and that she went immediately to tell her royal mistress of it. "While," she adds, "I was giving this account to the queen, the king blushed and hid down his head. The queen said to him,

Sir, have you any knowledge of this? The king made no reply. Madame Elizabeth begged him to explain what this meant, but still the same silence on the part of the king. I instantly withdrew. A few minutes after, the queen came to me, and told me that it was the king who, out of fear for her, had caused the entire edition to be bought up, and that M de Laporte had not found a more secret manner of destroying the impression than getting it burnt at Sevre, in the midst of two hundred workmen, of whom one hundred and eighty must be Jacobins. She told me that she had concealed her grief and mortification from the king, as he was in a consternation at what had happened, and as she could say nothing, seeing it was his tenderness for her that had caused this new misfortune."

On the following morning, the 29th of May, mayor Petion very briskly made the first of his daily reports on the state of Paris. He declared that the capital was in a dreadful state of fermentation, which he attributed not so much to what had happened on the frontiers as to plots carrying on in its own centre, and efforts made by unpatriotic men to deprave public opinion and corrupt public spirit. "You must," said he, after a great deal of more declamation, "incessantly intimidate your enemies, and keep them bent under the yoke of the law, for, at the least neglect on your part, they

will raise their audacious heads, and defy you." The mayor was honoured with long applause, and the Assembly ordered that his discourse should be printed and distributed. He had scarcely withdrawn when the citizens of one of the lowest sections of Paris entered the Assembly, to swear to sacrifice their lives for its defence. They defiled through the hall, with drums beating and flags flying, and red worsted nightcaps stuck upon pikes, they were fifteen or sixteen hundred strong, and all armed with pikes of the new fabric. After doing their swearing, most of them sat themselves down in the body of the House behind the members. Bazzre then rose to fulfil his promise of proving the danger of allowing the king to keep his constitutional guard. He declared that that guard was rotten with aristocracy and anti-revolutionism, and that liberty and equality could not be safe until it was disbanded. Was not the Duke of Brissac, its commander, a determined aristocrat and royalist? Had he not put upon the hilts of the men's swords a cock and a royal crown? Had not anti-revolutionary principles, and heresies against liberty and equality, and all the rights of man, been propagated among these guardsmen, and then by these guardsmen among some of the people? Was this to be borne by men who had the power to prevent it?—who could dismiss these guards, and the king along with them, if so they chose? Was it not true that, while ex-députés nobles, and their base valets, were admitted into the guards, patriots, with all the qualifications, and of undisputed civism, had been rejected? Had not men ex-députés nobles that belonged to that execrable body the *gardes du corps*, been enrolled in this constitutional guard, wherein there were unsworn priests who had thrown off their cassocks to put on grenadier coats? Were there not some of these anti-revolutionists in this guard who still dared to insult the national equality by making use of their old titles, and speaking contemptuously of the bourgeoisie—of the whole sovereign people? Continuing his discourse, Bazzre affirmed that a serjeant of the constitutional guard, who had formerly been of the body guard, had said aloud to some of his comrades that the three hundred patriots who had perished in the affair of Mons were so many beggarly rascals, and that there were plenty more of them in France to be destroyed, that on another occasion some of these royalist guardsmen had cried out, when on guard at the Tuileries, 'The Austrians have taken Valenciennes. In fifteen days they will be in Paris!' Bravo! bravo! We will march out twenty leagues to meet them, with the white flag, the king's own colour!" that these guardsmen had taken an oath to accompany Louis XVI. wherever he might choose to go, that M Sombreuil, one of the sons of the governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, had said among these guardsmen that he had got a good sword, with which he intended to rip up the bellie of the rascally sansculottes, &c &c He declared that he had been informed of most of these facts by

various patriots, who were serving, or had been serving until they could bear it no longer, in the king's guard. He said that many efforts had been made to induce soldiers to enlist for the emigrant army at Coblenz; and here he named a young soldier—JOACHIM MURAT, the son of a postmaster and innkeeper of La Bustide, near Cahors, but who was destined, by the fate of revolution and wars, to wear a kingly crown before he died—who had recently retired from the king's guard, in which he had been a serjeant or corporal. Bazire said that the lieutenant-colonel of the guard, at the moment when *Monsieur Murat* gave in his resignation, invited that patriotic citizen to join the emigrants, telling him, in order to tempt him, that he had just sent forty louis-d'ors to the son of the postmaster of Cahors, who had joined the emigrants at Coblenz. Bazire declared that the ancient gardes du corps, whose aristocratic sallies in a moment of drunkenness had forced the people to awake, and provoked the famous day of the 6th of October, 1789, had never abused the patience of good citizens so much as this new guard, and had never been half so dangerous to liberty, because they had never been one-fourth so numerous; and he concluded by moving that the Assembly should take it upon itself to decree that this new guard should be instantly cashiered, and that the king needed no other guard than the patriotic national guards of Paris and a regiment of Swiss. Just at this moment some soldiers from the Invalides came to the bar to acquaint the House with some very suspicious circumstances which had occurred the preceding night, and which made them believe that the king's guards were going to butcher the patriots. [These royal or constitutional guards were under two thousand men, and at least one-third of them were supposed to be patriots; the armed national guards of Paris and the towns in the neighbourhood, without counting the pikemen and the pikewomen for anything, exceeded one hundred thousand, and they were well provided with artillery and all the materials of war; and they had the whole populace of the capital and banlieue—at least half a million of sansculottes—to back them; and yet nothing is more clear than that the frenzy of fear, that real cause of nearly all the monstrous excesses of this revolution, was impelling the people, and the guides and instructors of the people, at this moment.] These invalid soldiers said that on the preceding evening an order was sent to all the commanders of posts round the Hôtel des Invalides to cede their posts to any troops that might present themselves during the night, whether they were national guards or king's guards. "Surprised at this order," said their spokesman, "we consulted the decrees of the Assembly, and there found that the king's guard does not form a part of the forces of the empire, and that in consequence the order was very suspicious. It is for you, O! honourable deputies, to maintain the law and support our patriotism. To our last breath we will repeat, 'Liberty or death!' &c." The Assembly thanked these cautious pa-

triot, and gave them the honours of the sitting (*les honneurs de la séance*). The Assembly then determined to summon to their bar M. de Sombreuil, the governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, and several of his officers. The interval that elapsed before they came was principally filled up by Cato-Couthon, who was uncommonly anxious for an attack on the royal palace, guards and all. "The moment," exclaimed he, "is come in which the Assembly ought to display a grand character! There exists a great conspiracy, the centre of which, as we all know, is in the château of the Tuileries, that source of all the conspiracies against the people!" At these words not only the people in the galleries, but a considerable portion of the Assembly, applauded and shouted, and made a noise so terrible and so long that it seemed as if it would never end. A côté-droit man begged to observe that he thought the noise in the galleries very indecent; that he thought the solemn deliberations of the Assembly were not to be interrupted either by applauses or by murmurs. The president rang his bell, and reminded the galleries that this was the law, and that they ought to be quiet. As soon as some degree of calm was restored, the Jacobin Cato went on with his speech, but in a manner which soon made a greater storm than before. He could add a few astounding facts to those mentioned by M. Bazire. A young citizen had presented himself for enrolment in the king's guard, with a certificate of civisme signed by the department, and the *Jacobin Club*, to which he belonged; and, instead of being received, he had been told that they had no need of factious men of his kind. Another young man, still serving in that accursed guard, announced that about a week ago a concubulum of these guardsmen were discussing the question of the dissolution of the Assembly, when a quartermaster had said, "If they will only leave that matter to me, I will undertake to blow the Salle de Manège into the air within a month from this time." "I demand, therefore," cried Cato-Couthon, "that the Assembly, adopting a measure of general security to purge the capital of this troop of brigands conspiring against liberty, pronounce the dissolution and discharge of the king's guard before we adjourn this day!" Here the applauding and shouting became tremendous, a part of the Assembly again joining the vociferous, hard-fisted galleries. A member of the right side—a side which seemed all struck with paralysis, and to be hardly capable of giving a sign of life at this critical moment—ventured to tell the president that he ought to insist on the rules of the House being respected by the people in the galleries, who, not satisfied with clapping with their hands, were thumping and beating with their feet to make the more noise and dust. [As the most active of these gallery patriots wore sabots or wooden shoes, and as the streets of Paris were many degrees more dirty and dusty than they now are, and as the galleries were chiefly constructed of deal planks, the effect of the latter operation must have been truly

tremendous.] The president, thus called upon, did what he could; and in process of time there was silence enough to allow Couthon to be heard once more. "I have proposed," said he, "the discharge of this king's guard as a measure of general police, because such matters belong exclusively to the legislative body, and cannot be stopped or interfered with by the king's veto." Here Dumas called him to order, and reminded him that, by the constitution and their own laws and decrees, the Assembly had nothing whatever to do with the king's guard, and therefore could not discharge it without violating the constitution, and invading the very limited prerogative. "We are here," exclaimed Dumas, "to cause constituted authorities to be respected, and not to obey the will of a factious mob." "I say," resumed Couthon, "that our decree must not be stopped by the fatal veto. I also beg the Assembly to reflect whether, after what has just passed at Neuilly, it would be prudent to allow the king a Swiss regiment, as M. Bazire proposes." "Oh!" quoth Bazire, "I beg to withdraw that part of my proposed decree. Upon reflection, I think that the king ought to have no guard but national guardsmen—no guard but the patriots of Paris!" Mazurier, or Mazuyer (the immortality of many of these men is put in jeopardy by the slovenly way in which their names are written), thought that the king's guardsmen were mere machines in the hands of their chiefs, and that the first thing the Assembly ought to do was to impeach or prosecute Brissac, their commander, with all those who resembled him.

Sombreuil, the governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, and two of his officers, were brought to the bar and sharply interrogated in presence of their patriot men, who had denounced the suspicious order, and who were now seated in the Assembly like honourable members. The officers merely deposed that they had received orders to fall back from their posts and retire into the hôtel in case any armed force, whether national guard or king's guard, should present itself in the night. Sombreuil, a man of rank, a lieutenant-general, one whose person, name, and quality must have been known to all Paris, was examined like a vagabond or a cutpurse at a common police-office. After being asked what was his name, what his employment, where he had been last night, &c., the president of the Assembly, who was the interrogator, demanded to know why he had put guards round the hôtel, and why he had given that strange order for their retiring. Sombreuil's answer to these last questions contained a word or two that say a great deal as to the state of morals and religion to which the revolution and the philosophes before it had brought the people of France. "The night before last," said he, "some people broke into the sacristy of our church (which is detached from the hôtel), stole the sacred vases, and scattered their contents and the host upon the altar. It was my duty to prevent a repetition of such a visit; and, besides, I heard that there were

troubles and émeutes in Paris. I thought myself obliged to take extraordinary precautions. I told my officers to place some additional sentries, and to be more than usually vigilant; but I also told them that, if there should be any fighting in the night, they were to retire, and consider our house as an asylum for all, since it was but a military hospital, and in no state to offer resistance to any party whatsoever. In short, I told my officers that every part of the nation ought to be the same in our eyes, and that, whether it were gendarmerie, national guard, or king's guard, we had nothing for it but to leave our posts and our gates open to them, having no means of offering any opposition." Being asked why he had put sentinels round the church without any orders from his superiors, the old soldier replied with some naïveté, "If I had placed them a little sooner, perhaps my sacristy would not have been robbed." Another Jacobin, with an ambiguous name, was exceedingly disgusted at this talk about sacristies and hosts and sacred vases. "Mr. President," said he, "I can bear this no longer! I demand to be heard, if it is permitted to a patriot to defend the dignity of the nation and reclaim its rights. M. Sombreuil has been talking for an hour about *My sacristy, my sacred vases*; now M. Sombreuil ought to know that the sacristy and the sacred vases of the Invalides belong to the nation, and that, besides, if these vases had been stolen, that gave him no right to admit into the hôtel every sort of armed corps that might present itself." The president chose rather to seem to doubt whether the said vases had been stolen at all. He asked the governor whether the theft had been proved and made public. Sombreuil replied, that not only the *juge-de-peace* of the section, but also Pétion, mayor of Paris, had been acquainted in form with the robbery; and he assured the president, in addition, that for some time past a great deal of roguery (*beaucoup de friponnerie*) had been committed in the interior of the hôtel, as discipline could not now be kept up as it formerly was (*at- tentu que la discipline n'a plus le même nerf qu'autrefois*). Here he was hastily told that he might withdraw. The House then returned to Bazire's motion for cashiering the unpopular guard. Some of the *côté droit* had by this time (there had been the usual dinner adjournment, and Feuillants, Girondists, and ultra-Jacobins had all dined) got courage enough to rise and speak against the proposition and the unconstitutional mode recommended by Couthon for carrying it into execution. Ramond made a long and excellent speech to show that the Assembly could not dissolve the guard without invading a part of the constitution; that the constitution recognised different constituted powers, which ought to respect one another; that the king had his powers and the Assembly theirs, and that no invasion could be made by one power upon the other without bringing about a new revolution. If improper persons had been admitted into the guard—if such men were guilty of com-

spiry or of any other crime, there were laws to punish them, and there was nothing to do but to bring them to trial. It would surely be infamous to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to proceed to an unconstitutional extremity before the guilt of any part of that guard was proved. Guadet rudely interrupted Ramond, saying that there could be no doubt whatever that the king's guard had been illegally organised. Frondières, one of Ramond's friends, irritated at this rudeness, and dreading a long flowery speech from the Girondist orator, cried out, "Before M. Guadet goes any farther, I beg him to speak as a logician, and not as a declaimer (*un declamateur*).'" This provoked a tremendous hurricane, in the midst of which Guadet descended from the speaking-place, while his friends vociferated that the member who had interrupted him ought to be sent to the Abbaye prison. Lasource, when the tumult had somewhat subsided, said he hoped M. Guadet would treat the indecent sallies of those gentlemen of the coté-droit with sovereign contempt, and resume his speech. Jean Debry, who was at this time the fiercest of Jacobins and republicans, moved in form that M. Frondières should be committed to the Abbaye for having insulted M. Guadet by name in treating him as a *declamateur*. This was followed by loud cries of "To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye with him!" but some members demanded that M. Frondières should be heard first; and that gentleman, who appears hitherto to have been a silent member, rushed to the tribune. He had scarcely opened his lips ere he was assailed by fresh cries of "To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye!" "Mr. President," said he, "I beg you to send to the Abbaye all those who interrupt me!" Lacombe-Saint-Michel begged to say that, unless Frondières apologised for what he had said to M. Guadet, he ought to be sent to the Abbaye forthwith. "Gentlemen," said Frondières, "I have had the patience to listen to you for six months; have the patience to listen to me for six minutes!" Ducos thought the Assembly ought to pass to the order of the day; but the majority decided that they would do no such thing. A great many members then insisted that Frondières should be at once condemned to three days' imprisonment in the Abbaye; but the Assembly again dividing, it was voted by the majority that Frondières should be heard. But, as the galleries were with the minority, this was no easy matter. Before he could finish a sentence he was loudly called to order, and again threatened with the Abbaye. "If, in calling me to order," said Frondières, "you could re-establish some order in the eighty-three departments, I would vote with you for my own censure. But what have I done to be called to order? What is the crime imputed to me? I merely begged M. Guadet to speak as a logician and not as a declaimer. And what better advice could I give a member than to tell him not to lose time in declamations, but to present his ideas in a few words. It is a fine talent this oratory—it is a beautiful talent that of

deceiving the people by force of words. (The tumult recommenced.) Gentlemen of the left, it is your duty to hear severe truths, and it is our duty to tell them. I have told M. Guadet; for six months I have heard you and your like declaiming in the tribune, and I have seen the agitators of the people Here his voice was completely drowned, and nothing more could be heard from him except a few disjointed words. He was obliged to descend from the tribune; and then, with a tumult like that of Pandemonium, he was voted a lodging for three days in the Abbaye. This over, Guadet continued his speech, which made the red coats of the king's guards blacker than Buzire had made them, and which ended in recommending a decree of accusation against M. de Brissac, and a decree abolishing the guard *in toto* without any care about the king's veto. Daverhoul, an expatriated Dutchman, who had been elected a member of this Assembly because he had been a revolutionist in his own country, though his notions of revolution and democracy really differed from those now in vogue in France, boldly and eloquently opposed both propositions. "As for M. Brissac," said he, "there is nothing against him but simple suspicions. M. Guadet has just said that *suspicions are enough to justify a decree of accusation against any citizen*; but only conceive whether this monstrous system of tyranny will lead us? [Within thirteen months Guadet found that it was leading him to proscription and a bloody grave.] Every man that knows the organization and the natural movements of great popular assemblies, and who has reflected on the history of all the peoples that have been governed by public assemblies, knows very well that in all such bodies of men there are formed the things called *parties*. What will become of the individual liberty of citizens, if the dominant party, upon simple suspicions, shall issue decrees of accusation against all those who oppose or displease them? and if the different parties, overthrowing one another and domineering by turns, shall, by this unlimited right of accusation, lay prostrate all ministers, all public functionaries, and all opposing citizens? You will then see the proscriptions of Marius and of Sulla!" This, in a few words, was the real history of the sequel and end of the revolution, and this system of accusation was the deep fountain from which flowed all the blood that deluged the kingdom. But who introduced this atrocious system? As French histories are written, it was not introduced until the revolution was demoralised, and from a beautiful object made hideous by the baleful ascendancy of the Robespierres and the Marats. But it is time that this flimsy texture of sophisms, equivocations, suppressions, and downright lies should be torn to shreds, and sent to the proper dwelling-place of all falsehoods and monstrous humbugs;—it is time that these philosophic, gentle Girondists should be exhibited to the world in their true colours. It was *they* that brought the system into full play; and if they did not

carry it out in operation to its fullest extent, it was only because they were undermined by their own handiwork and swallowed up like blunderers and blockheads in the abyss they had themselves made.* It was Guadet, whom the high-priestess of the Gironde describes as the tender husband, good father, excellent citizen, virtuous man, sincere republican, but only rendered weak by an excess of sensibility, that enunciated the detestable principle in this debate; and it was Vergniaud, that other Divus Apollo of the Girondists, "whose soul was devoured by the love of the public good," that seconded Guadet, and that said nearly everything was justifiable in men who feared a plot against liberty! Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Saint-Just, never used any other argument; and this argument was considered by the French people as justification enough for every murder or wholesale massacre they afterwards committed. As soon as Vergniaud had finished a long argumentative speech, in which he rode his logic and metaphysics to death, the Assembly divided, and decreed by a large majority that the king's guard should be dismissed, and that, until a new guard could be formed more conformable to the laws, the national guard of Paris should do duty at the Tuileries, &c. Merlin then implored the Assembly not to adjourn before launching the decret of accusation against Brissac, the commander of the guard, which had been proposed by Bazire, and afterwards by that man of excessive sensibility, Guadet. Becquey opposed this proposition with all his might. He spoke of the danger of receiving anonymous accusations, and of acting upon them precipitately. He reminded the House that their own Committee of Research had often been deceived, and had at least on one occasion discovered that the signature put to a sweeping denunciation was forged. He mentioned an instance in which Chabot had made use of a document of this kind, which the Assembly subsequently proved to be false. He mentioned another instance in which Bazire had committed the same mistake; and he asked who had examined the accusations brought against Brissac except Bazire? Chabot, the ex-capuchin, replied that these papers had been seen by several of the committees of the Paris sections, by several municipals and police-officers, and by the Committee of Research; and that, if none of the papers had been presented to the five members who had recently been balloted into the committee, it was because none of those five gentlemen inspired confidence in the patriot citizens who made the depositions. Calvet, one of the five new members of the committee, who, unfortunately for himself, had been a garde-du-corps before the revolution, re-

sponded in a passion, that he and his friends were very happy not to have the confidence of those blackguards, *de cette canaille-là*. This sally provoked a universal shouting of "Order! Order! To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye!" "Let me explain," said Calvet: "indignant at the inculpations brought by M. Chabot against some of the members of the committee, I said that none but scoundrels could give in depositions not signed with their names!" An honourable deputy cried out, "Mr. President, he is seeking to sow divisions, and to deprive the nation of the accusations and depositions of good citizens. That is the object of the insults of all those gentlemen on the right." "How!" exclaimed Calvet; "are those not scoundrels who give in anonymous denunciations such as we read of in the Inquisition?" Lacroix, the bosom friend of Danton, insisted that the president ought to call Calvet to order, with a censure proportionate to the gravity of his offence against the sovereign people. "The citizens, whom he has insulted," said Lacroix, "ought to find their avengers in the National Assembly! (Thunders of applause from the galleries.) The object of these insults is to keep away from our committees all good citizens by treating them as canaille, a word that can only come from the mouth of a çà-devant noble. As for me, I know no canaille, for we are all equal. I demand, therefore, that we render for once a proper homage in this Assembly to that doctrine of equality to which some men cannot accustom themselves, by giving some striking satisfaction to the citizens who have been insulted." "I had not the misfortune to be born in the privileged class," said Calvet, "nor do I know what is meant by saying that I have insulted the people. I am one of the people myself; I form an integral part of the people; I know no other distinctions than those which the constitution has established; they were in me before the constitution was made; I have never drawn any distinction except between honest men and rogues. But upon this principle I repeat that I despise and abhor an informer that has not the courage to sign his accusation. An accuser who acts openly may be the most virtuous of men, that sacrifices himself for the good of his country. Thus Cato made three hundred denunciations in the Roman Senate. But the secret informer or spy is a mean villain that uses his dagger without showing himself, and such men were known at Rome in the time of Tiberius and Sejanus, a time, gentlemen—for I must be frank—which your proceedings too often call to my mind!" He could say no more, for the galleries and all the left side were transported into their most vociferous frenzy, and for some minutes no word was heard except the name of the state prison to which they had just committed M. Frondières. When the uproar subsided, the generous and over-sensitive Guadet formally moved that Calvet should be sent for three days to the Abbaye for having dared to say that the representatives of the French people recalled

* A little later—on the 24th of July—Gensonné presented a project of decree authorising the municipalites (which were all then roughly Jacobinised long before this) to arrest upon suspicion and to interrogate all such citizens as might be accused of plots; and Brissot read a long pedantic discourse in support of the measure, which was soon adopted, and which filled all the prisons of France with victims who were either butchered by the mob, or sentenced, with scarcely more form of law, by revolutionary tribunals, to the guillotine.

to his mind the times of Tiberius and Sejanus. "Gentlemen," said Calvet, "if you will hear me, perhaps you will change your opinion." Some thousands of rabid voices shrieked or roared "No! No! To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye!" and, the president putting it to the vote whether they would hear him or send him to the Abbaye at once, the majority determined that he should go to the Abbaye without a hearing. As soon as this was decided, ex-capuchin Chabot complained that Jaucourt, another member of the *côté droit* and one of the five new members of the Committee of Research, had threatened to cudgel him. One of Chabot's confrères hereupon demanded that Jaucourt should be sent to the Abbaye to join his two colleagues. Jaucourt begged to say that what had passed had been in a private conversation; that he had been whispering in Chabot's ear *confidentially*, and not addressing him as a representative of the nation; that Chabot, talking in the same private confidential manner, had made use of two or three equivocal expressions, and that thereupon he had replied that he would "Stop," cried deputy Reboul, "I demand that the order of the day put an end to this scandalous scene, which M. Chabot might very well have spared us." "I might, indeed, have spared you this scene," quoth Chabot in his old conventual tone, "but I thought it very cowardly for a colonel of dragoons like Jaucourt to propose cudgelling to a capuchin like me." The august Assembly then passed to the order of the day, and with very little discussion, and without any opposition—which it appeared was only to be made at the risk of being sent to the Abbaye—they launched their decree of accusation against Colonel Brissac, ordering that all his papers should be instantly seized.* Louis XVI. wept like a child when this faithful servant and brave old officer took his leave of him to go to the state prison of Orleans, all the inmates of which were to be massacred by the mob, without even a mob trial, in the bloody month of September. Dragged with the rest from Orleans to Versailles, the old soldier (he was in the sixtieth year of his age, and weakened by imprisonment and mental and bodily sufferings), when assailed by his dastardly assassins, boldly resisted them, and did not fall until they had cut off two of his fingers, split his jaw, and pierced his body with several wounds. Could Guadet forget this death when the Robespierriests, after hunting him like a wild beast, and forcing him to hide in forests and caves, brought him to the scaffold at Bordeaux? Could Vergniaud forget it when he threw away his poison in the Conciergerie, and made up his mind to die with Genoué and three other friends—Girondists and perfectibilians all—under the guillotine?

At the same time, other persons, struck by decrees of accusation, were hurried off to Orleans; and, as this was attended with a good deal of noise and éclat, and as all informers, whether anonymous

or not, had been declared by the Assembly to be the best of patriots, fresh accusations poured in day by day and hour by hour. The Faubourg St. Antoine, and the men of the most patriotic sections, fancying that some opposition might be made to the decree against the king's guard, thought fit to superintend its execution. Armed with muskets or with pikes, they assembled round the Tuileries, shouting and menacing, singing 'Ça Ira,' and dancing 'la Carmagnole.' Mayor Pétion gave them every encouragement, and told the Assembly, in his daily report, that nothing could be more patriotic than their conduct. "The citizens," said he, "made the air re-echo with that famous song which rejoices the hearts of patriots, and makes their enemies tremble. It looked like the picture of the first days of the revolution!" On the evening of the 30th of May, when the king's guard had been dissolved without the least opposition, Faublas Louvet, at the head of an immense deputation from one of the most Jacobinised of the sections, appeared at the bar of the Assembly to congratulate them on what had been done, but also to demand "still stronger measures of surveillance and suppression." "Several of our Catilines," said Louvet, "are departed, or are going to depart, for Orleans, and already their gladiators are dissolved. Nevertheless a great many members of that corrupt body (the king's guard) are scattered through this immense city, where they are uniting with those swarms of conspirators that for some weeks past have been flocking hither from all parts of the kingdom, to await the opportunity of striking some deadly blow." Thus there was no end to these suspicions and fears: the guard was as much an object of dread when cashiered and dispersed, as it was when embodied. The writer of romances fit only for the stews finished his discourse with the threat that the impious race should be swept from the face of the earth—should be exterminated by the sacred sword of liberty. On the 31st of May the Assembly terminated their *séance permanente*. During its continuance they passed a terrible decree to prevent desertion, treachery, and cowardice in the army; and another decree almost equally terrible against all such persons as should take up their abode in Paris without showing their passports, and declaring, before the sectional committees, their names, conditions, ordinary domiciles, &c. In this last decree every housekeeper and door-porter was bound to declare the name of every stranger that took up his lodging in the house; every housekeeper, innkeeper, letter of lodgings, &c., was forbidden to lodge any person that was not provided with a passport, and that had not conformed with the other regulations.

During all these days, or from the arrival of the news of the disgraceful flight of the troops on the frontier at the beginning of May, down to the dissolution of the king's guard at the end of that month, many significant debates and proceedings had taken place in the great Jacobin Club; and it may be imagined whether the teeming Jacobin press lay

* Hist. Parlement.

unproductive or silent. After Chabot had declared that not only Dillon, who had been massacred, but that all the other generals were rank traitors and conspirators, Robespierre undertook to explain the results which might be expected in future, if the whole army was not put under true sansculotte generals. He also delivered a discourse, and printed it afterwards in his own newspaper, "On the means of making war usefully." In this discourse he said that the idea had often been emphatically announced that the French printing-press would be as terrible an engine as French artillery in prostrating kings and tyrants; yet, under a corrupt administration, no life and activity had been put into this revolutionary press. Why had there not been printed manifestos and short essays to develop the doctrines of the rights of man, and the true principles of democratic liberty? Why had not such papers been translated, under the eye of the French government, into the German language and the Belgic patois? Why had not such translations been distributed, by tens of thousands, among the people and the soldiers of the Austrian army, before the French columns attempted to move into Belgium? This was a monstrous omission. Everybody knew that in Belgium there were three factions: that of the Austrian government; that of the nobility, clergy, and rich bourgeoisie; and that of the common people. The last was the only party which the principles and the interests of the French constitution permitted Frenchmen to protect; and it was certainly the only party from whom they had anything to hope. But what could the sansculottes of Belgium think when they saw the army on the frontiers commanded by the caste of noblesse, the natural enemies of equality, whose chiefs were known to entertain the project of giving the French constitution an aristocratic character, like that of England? What confidence could they have in an army that was subjected to the control of a king and court? They could only believe that the victories of such an army would establish, in their own country, the odious faction of the aristocrats. If the French really wished for victories, and the destruction of kingships and aristocracies, they must thoroughly convert the common people, the popular masses, in the countries which were to be the seat of their wars; they must indoctrinate and revolutionise the standing armies of all the despots; and in working in this sense the French press would be indeed more terrible than French artillery. But before they could carry on the war usefully abroad, there was one general measure that was absolutely indispensable: this was to make war at home upon aristocracy, perfidy, and tyranny! If they struck down the enemies to the people, if they thoroughly worked out the glorious principle of the rights of man within France, they might expect victory and every advantage without, but not otherwise. After warning the people to beware of Lafayette, and of every other commander, Robespierre concluded by saying, "Frenchmen, if you would conquer, be patient, intrepid, cautious, proud,

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cool, and distrustful!" An unnamed Jacobin announced in the club that Lafayette had effaced some patriotic devices and inscriptions in the barracks of one of his regiments. Ex-capuchin Chabot took up this terrible charge. "This act," said he, "is a national crime; for in our manifesto we declare 'war to tyrants and peace to cottages,' and it is therefore infringing a decree to prevent soldiers from sticking up that device wherever they may go." Camille Desmoulins said that Lafayette had committed so many great crimes, that it would be ridiculous to make an act like this the sole subject of a denunciation. He was interrupted by loud murmurs, for the Jacobins dearly loved denunciations against Lafayette. "Gentlemen," said Camille, with happy promptitude, "permit me to explain my idea. To charge Lafayette with this offence, would be like accusing a parricide of having stolen a penny!" The club determined that the letter denouncing the fact imputed to Lafayette should be submitted to *their* committee of research and surveillance, and that all the patriot journalists should be invited to print it in their newspapers. Tallien brought a terrible accusation against citizen minister Roland. He told the club that that Girondist in place was sending, under his official covers, the printed discourses of Brissot to the Paris sections and to the departments. This, he said, was contrary to those measures of peace and reconciliation which had been proposed by Pétion; and he demanded that M. Roland should be invited to circulate and enclose in his ministerial packets, Robespierre's answers to Brissot. Robespierre opposed this motion as illusory and useless. The Abbé d'Anjou, who, like many other abbés, was a member of the club, proposed what he called 'an emetic,' which was to be applied in case the king should desert his post, or again attempt to fly: it was to pronounce the extinction of the reigning dynasty, and to call to the throne an *English prince, one of the sons of George III.* Incredible and insane as a part of this notion may appear, there were certainly men in France mad enough to entertain it for a moment. Robespierre fell upon the poor abbé, calling him a maniac and a Feuillant, and demanding his instant expulsion from the club; but Bazire and Chabot, for some private reasons, defended the abbé, or at least pleaded in mitigation of punishment, and he was let off with a reprimand. Ex-marquis St. Huruge announced that there were no fewer than fifty aristocratic societies in the capital, who had the audacity to affiliate and correspond with one another. "Gentlemen," said he, "you feel how dangerous this is to public tranquillity. I demand, in consequence, permission to go with all the strong market-porters to the places of their meeting, in order to interrupt their discussions with scourges." The president thought this proposition scarcely admissible, and censured St. Huruge for addressing himself to the galleries, rather than to the chair or the society. Robespierre, and his friends discovered that, though their power in the mother society was

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well assured, the Girondists, by means of their ministerial faculty of giving places and dispensing public money, were gaining ground upon them in some of the affiliated clubs in the departments, and even in the corresponding committees in the capital. Robespierre instantly acted with a boldness and decision of which the Girondists were never capable. He rose in the club, exposed the system, and called for a suspension of the affiliation and correspondence with the provincial societies. He told the committee of correspondence that they had sold themselves to Brissot and his party—that nearly every one of their members had received ministerial favours; and, though he told them this and more to their faces, not one of those committee-men durst rise to contradict him. "When," said he, "I see men adhere to this society, without deriving any other fruit than calumny and persecution, I can conceive that those men only think of the public good; but, when I see members of our committees suddenly obtaining lucrative employments, I can only consider such Jacobins as ambitious men that are betraying liberty and the people. What has happened in our own bosom? Of the members composing our committee of correspondence there are scarcely six but have sought and obtained government places! Paid patriotism is to me always suspect." The Girondists had mustered in full force, and an obstinate opposition was made to the great Jacobin dictator; but it was all in vain, and his proposition was voted by the immense majority of the club, who had obtained no places or profits, and who very cordially hated those who had. The club took into consideration the readiest and best methods of disposing of the refractory or unsworn priests, bitterly condemning the Assembly for being so dilatory, so treacherous, or so soft-hearted. If the guillotine was not to be set a-going, where was the use of the learned doctor's invention, and of the Assembly's decree? Legendre, who had been a sailor, and who was now a butcher, and a maker of émeutes by profession—the sworn friend, and at times the host, of Marat—made use of some of his maritime information to recommend an expeditious method of getting rid of the pestiferous priests. He said there existed at Brest certain broad, flat-bottomed boats, used for cleaning the port, and which, when filled with filth, floated out of themselves to the roadstead, and there discharged their foul cargoes. "Only load these boats with priests," said he, "altering the machinery so that they may be sunk, not in the roadstead, but far out at sea." Thus there was little originality in the plan which was shortly afterwards adopted of drowning priests and others in flat-bottomed boats on the Rhône and the Loire. Robespierre concluded his labours for the present month of May by publishing in his paper an essay 'On the principal Causes of the Misfortunes of our Revolution.' No longer preserving any measures with the Girondists, he told the French people that that corrupt, vacillating, incompetent party was now the greatest curse of

France; and, that there might be no possibility of mistake as to the worst individuals in this execrable party, he named Brissot, Condorcet, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, and the rest. He traced the history of their public conduct; he examined facts, and he derived from these facts three great conclusions:—1. That, as members of the legislative body, these Girondists had violated the rights of the nation, and powerfully laboured to put liberty in jeopardy; 2. That they had employed pernicious manœuvres to deprave the public mind, and turn it back to principles of despotism and aristocracy; 3. That they had done everything in their power to corrupt the clubs and patriotic societies, in order to turn those excellent channels of public instruction into instruments of intrigue and faction. He declared that the Girondists had done more injury to the revolution, and the real cause of the people, than all the royalists put together,—that Brissot and Condorcet were far worse men than Abbé Maury and Cazalès; and the Girondists were soon to find that the people adopted the same opinion.

On the 4th of June, or only five days after the dissolution of the king's guard, which, having been done on the sole authority of the Assembly, had brought the prerogative and the veto into complete contempt, Servan, the new war-minister, who acted heart and hand with Roland and the thorough Girondists, presented a plan to the Assembly for forming a camp of 20,000 men under the walls of the capital. These men were to be chosen among the warmest patriots in the departments; and with such a force Servan calculated that the most jealous and apprehensive of the friends of liberty might sleep quietly in their beds. He alluded to the first festival of federation, which had done great things for liberty, when in its infancy; he reminded them that a law had been passed by which the national guards were to assemble on the 14th of July of every year to renew the civic oath. And why should they not recommend every canton in the kingdom to send up to the Champ de Mars, on the 14th of July next, five federates dressed and equipped, to remain at Paris after the fête, and to form a camp a little to the north of the capital? Five federates per canton would give a total of 20,000, or thereabout; and these warm patriots from every part of France would be the very force on which the friends of liberty could rely. While these federates guarded the capital, the national volunteers and the troops of the line might all march to the frontiers. The plan was received with enthusiastic applause: the Jacobins joined the Girondists in recommending its immediate adoption. Merlin demanded that the Assembly should instantly decree this new federation, and submit the details of it to the military committee. On the 6th of June, when the committee presented their report, which adopted in *toto* Servan's propositions, several of the côté droit offered a strong opposition. Lemoiney said that this federated corps would become infinitely dangerous; that, joining with the Paris mob and the men of the faubourgs, they would oppress all man-

ner of citizens. Calvet said that the real object of this federated camp was to overawe and subjugate all those battalions of the Paris national guards that wished the revolution to go no farther, and that were the only defenders of law and order, and of the constitution as now established. Daverhoul declared that the plan was contrary to every military notion; and Ramond said that, if there was to be such a federation, it ought to assemble, not at Paris, but on the frontier. But Jean Debrie, or Debray, and others of the ultra-Jacobins said that there was more danger in the capital than on the frontiers; that Paris contained 40,000 conspirators, who must be watched and kept down by the true sons of liberty from the departments. The Girondists used similar arguments; and, after some insignificant alterations made by Vergniaud, the decree was passed, and the 20,000 federates were called up from the provinces.

At this critical moment Antoine François, a member of the Assembly, and a native of Nantes, where, before the revolution, he had exercised the double calling of lawyer and officer of customs, a thrifty, shifty man, who was now a hot republican, but who, like so many others, became an imperialist under Napoleon, and a royalist under the restored Bourbons, announced that the great Dr. Priestley had confided his son William to his care, in order that he might make a good Frenchman, or citizen of the world and republican, of him. Priestley himself, in a farewell address which he, or his friends, took care to print, said to his son, "Go and live among a brave and hospitable people! Go and learn from them to detest tyranny, and to love liberty!" François of Nantes, after reading a long eulogium on the science and exalted liberalism of the English father, demanded letters of naturalization for the son. Laccépède, the naturalist, who had acquired fame, before the revolution began, by a treatise upon reptiles, seconded the motion; and the letters of naturalization were granted unanimously. This being done, William Priestley presented himself at the bar of the Assembly to express his gratitude for that national adoption which had admitted him into the number of free French citizens, &c.

As soon as the decree calling up the 20,000 federates was passed, some of the most sansculotte sections, including the Faubourg St. Antoine, sent deputations to congratulate the Assembly on that patriotic measure; but other sections, whose politics were of a different colour, petitioned against the decree—some of them going so far as to say that war-minister Servan ought to be impeached for having proposed it. Servan, who had not entered the council to play the part of an automaton, like de Grave, had presented his plan to the Assembly not merely without the king's permission, but even without consulting Dumouriez, who was certainly the only man that had kept this sansculotte ministry together. But, if Servan had kept the whole matter a profound secret from Dumouriez and from Duranton, it had certainly been no secret

to Roland and Clavières, and the other thorough citizen or republican ministers; and the plan appears to have been originally concocted in Roland's dinner-giving house, between Madame, Servan, and le beau Barbaroux, who was eternally talking about the excellent spirit of the departments, and especially of the republican energy of his countrymen of the south. As soon as the secret became known to Dumouriez, and to all the world, by the war-minister's submitting his plan to the Assembly, Dumouriez asked Servan whether he had ever received any orders from the king on this subject—whether he had ever consulted his colleagues in council upon an affair which must be productive of the most serious consequences? Servan acknowledged that he had not; and then endeavoured to show that it was in his quality of a private individual and citizen that he had submitted to the Assembly a plan which he thought was very necessary and might be very useful. Dumouriez asked why, then, he had annexed to his signature his official title of minister of war? Not knowing what to answer, Servan fell into a passion; and the minister at war and the minister for foreign affairs became so furious in the council chamber, that Dumouriez himself says that but for the presence of the king blood would have been spilt between them. Roland and Clavières, who had been for some time striving to drive Dumouriez from his post, seem scarcely to have been sensible of any impropriety in Servan's strange proceeding. Clavières proposed a perfidious accommodation, which was that Servan should withdraw his motion and his plan, which, at the time of this violent scene, was not yet decreed. Dumouriez says he perceived the atrocity of this snare, which would have thrown a fresh odium upon the king, and have rendered the Assembly still more eager to adopt Servan's proposition. As the Assembly had received the plan with transports, and had submitted it to their military committee, it could hardly have been possible for Servan or any one else to withdraw it and undo its effects. Dumouriez strongly advised the king not only not to sanction any attempt to withdraw the project, but also not to think of opposing his veto to it when it was passed by the Assembly. Louis, however, seemed resolved to exercise his veto on this occasion, although, as Dumouriez himself says, he made him perceive that, destitute as he was of any force, exposed to the violent suspicions of the greater part of the nation, to the rage of the Jacobins, and to the deep policy of the republican party, he must be left without any resource or help; and that the republicans, in reality, were only waiting for such a step on his side to declare open war against him. The perplexed Louis kept the decree in his closet after it was sent up to him for his sanction by the Assembly; and four councils were held without its being produced for deliberation. The Assembly, backed by the clamours of the entire Jacobin party, became very urgent for an answer and at length the king presented

the decree to his ministers in council, to take their opinions upon it. Dumouriez, who, as eldest member of the council, spoke first, declared, *sans phrases*, that those who had proposed this decree were equally the enemies of their country and of their king—that the measure could produce nothing but mischief—that the minister at war was very culpable in having solicited in assemblage of 20,000 men in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, at a time when the frontiers were not well defended, and when there was not money enough to pay the troops already in arms, that in the present temper of the nation this minister had also been exceedingly imprudent in proposing the reunion of an undisciplined multitude in the immediate neighbourhood of the National Assembly and the king, &c. After mentioning the two parties of Girondists and Jacobins Dumouriez said there was a third party, which though at present playing only a subordinate part, would soon annihilate the two others, because the Jacobins were not only the most active and turbulent, but by far the most numerous, because their branches extended throughout the kingdom, and because, in short, out of these 20,000 federates whom Servan would bring to Paris, 10,000 at least, would be Jacobins. “This the promoters of this decree will be ruined and destroyed by it,” said Dumouriez, looking at his brother ministers, Servan, Clavières, and Roland, whom their eagerness to find a short road to a republic, had found for themselves the shortest road to the guillotine. Dumouriez, however, added that, since the decree had been passed, there was no resisting it by the veto. “It has been provoked,” said he, “by perfidy and malice, it has been debated with great bitterness, it has been carried with enthusiasm, and all France is now blinded and enchanted by it. In spite of your veto, that measure will be carried into effect. Instead of 20,000 men assembled by virtue of a decree, and who may consequently be subjected to some regulations, 10,000 men will arrive from the provinces, and these men may overturn the constitution, the throne, and the Assembly itself.” The three republican ministers, and more especially Servan, were terrified at this prediction, and they communicated their fears to the whole Girondist party, but it was too late to retract—they had run their necks into a noose like fools, and, after some brief vicissitudes of failure and triumph, like fools they must perish. The king, pressed equally by all his ministers to sign the decree, said he would take a few days to consider the matter—and there appears to be no doubt but that he would have signed it if the Assembly had not precipitated upon him another decree, which his religious conscience could not brook. In the course of this very week they presented to him the terrible law they had passed awarding transportation or imprisonment to all priests who had refused to take the serment civique. “This prince,” says Dumouriez, “was not only scrupulous, but courageous, when religion was concerned.” He laid the decree

upon the council-table, and declared that nobody should ever prevail upon him to sanction it. Many good arguments were made use of by Dumouriez to convince him that it would be far better for all parties to sign the decree than to put his veto upon it, and Dumouriez told him that, far from saving the priests by his veto, he would expose them to the danger of being massacred, and the French people to the guilt and disgrace of being their murderers. Dumouriez knew the character and the temper of his own countrymen, and nothing could be clearer than his prediction of the atrocities of September. Still Louis said he could not authorize a decree which would send conscientious men and ministers of his religion to perish in the pestiferous regions of French Guiana. Dumouriez, who had had frequent opportunities to marvel at his patient placidity, and seeming impassiveness, says that this was the only day on which he ever saw the temper of “this pure and mild monarch” a little ruffled. To complete the king’s chagrin, Roland obstinately persisted in reading a long letter at the council-table which he had addressed some two or three days before to his majesty. This precious piece of political pedantry and republican insolence was written, not by citizen Roland, but by the citizeness his wife, who was in the habit of drawing up nearly all his plans and writing nearly all his papers, and who unanimously declares in her Memoirs that for her husband she could even have ended with writing homilies and sermons! Madame Roland not only wrote the letter, but forced her husband to present it in his own name, after Servan and Clavières had refused to have anything to do with it, and after Duranton had told her that the tone of her letter would provoke the king to upset the Girondist ministry. This Girondist lecture to a royal, like nearly all the productions of that school, is long and tediously verbose—it has been printed in many places, and may be found entire in the book of M. Thiers, who calls it “that famous letter,” but the substance of it was that, through various iniquitous means, the constitution had got ruined and could not march—that the king had been guilty of perjury, &c., and that nothing could make the constitution go except the rigorous execution of the new decree against the priests, and the immediate assembling of the patriotic camp of 20,000 men. After telling the king that it was vain for him to think of drawing back or of temporizing, this amiable republicanism, who soon saw blood enough, and whose own veins soon went to swell the red torrent, said in this letter which her husband read to the king’s face—“The revolution is in the minds of the people, it must be purchased at the price of blood, and be cemented by blood, if wisdom does not prevent it by adopting measures which are still possible.” “Monsieur Roland,” said Louis, “it is now three days since you transmitted a copy of this letter to me: it was, therefore, useless to read it to me before my council, and, besides, you told me it was to remain an

eternal secret between you and me." The king then withdrew. On the next morning he summoned Dumouriez to his closet in the Tuileries. The queen was with him, and spoke for him, as she usually did when anything energetic was to be said or done. "Do you think," said she, "that the king ought any longer to endure the insolence and threats of Roland, and the impostures of Servan and Clavières?" Dumouriez, who as eagerly wished to be rid of them as they wished to be quit of him, said that their insolence filled him with indignation, and was not to be borne; that the king had better change the whole administration at once. "No," said Louis, "I wish that you, Lacoste, and Duranton should remain; but ease me of those other three factious and insolent men, for my patience is completely exhausted!" Dumouriez said that, though the thing was dangerous, he would attempt it upon certain conditions, the chief of which was that the king should instantly sanction the two decrees. It appears that the king thought most about the priests, and the queen most about the federated camp. "Think, Sir," said she, "how hard it is for the king to sanction a decree which will bring 20,000 rogues to Paris, perhaps to massacre him!" Dumouriez, who was about equally quick and dexterous with sword, pen, or tongue, reasoned so well that the queen's doubts were almost removed, and the king all but determined to sanction this decree upon the understanding and condition that Dumouriez would take the war-office into his own hands, and appoint proper generals to take the command of the 20,000 federates. But when they came to discuss the priests' decree, though the queen seconded him, Dumouriez found he could make no impression on the king. "Sire," said he, "if you do not sanction this decree, you will put the knife to the throat of these unhappy priests!" The queen said that Dumouriez was right. Louis was dreadfully agitated; and, assailed and pressed both by his wife and his minister, he seemed for a moment to waver. Another council was held that very night, at which Roland, Servan, and Clavières were more insolent than ever: they roughly pressed the king either to give or to refuse his sanction, threatening, in the latter case, to resign instantly. Louis very soon dissolved this council, but he did it with temper and dignity. In the course of the same night he wrote a note to Dumouriez, intreating him to propose three new ministers. This adventurous man, whose real eagerness to retain power oftentimes made him overleap himself, hurried the next morning to the palace, and proposed that Roland should be replaced as minister of the home department by Morgues, a protestant of Montpellier; that Maulde, who belonged to no party, should be made minister for foreign affairs; and that the finance department should be intrusted to Vergennes, nephew to the former minister of that name. Though not very partial to protestants, who for the most part had been very enthusiastic revolu-

tionists, Louis agreed to accept Morgues; but for the office of foreign affairs, he preferred Naillac to Maulde. Dumouriez himself doubted whether Vergennes would encounter the perils of office; and, when the king sent for that gentleman, he with tears in his eyes begged to be excused. Several other moderate and considerate men, who well knew that the dangers were greater, and the risks more terrible, than those of shipwreck, war, or pestilence, declined in the same manner, with protestations of the greatest respect and attachment to Louis. As a finance minister could not be found, it was at length agreed that Morgues, the minister of the home department, should, *pro tempore*, take charge of the finances. It is quite certain that the Girondists were not taken by surprise: nothing could be kept secret in the palace; and, within six hours after Roland had read his wife's letter to the king, it was whispered all over Paris that Dumouriez had changed sides, and that more than twenty Feuillants had waited at his door to solicit office under him. On the morning of the 13th of June, Roland, Clavières, and Servan received their official dismission, and with a bitterness and violence of feeling which little became philosophers of such high pretension. Madame was of opinion that that "rogue and hypocrite" Duranton had co-operated with Dumouriez in betraying her husband. It was by her advice that her good man, who never did anything without her, wrote a letter to the Assembly, and basely enclosed in it the letter to the king which he had solemnly declared should never be known except to Louis and himself. In his own letter Roland made a pompous display about the pure patriotism which alone could have induced him ever to accept office in such stormy times; he declared that his hope of success had been founded on the belief that there was a conformity of principles in all the members of the cabinet; that he had done everything it was possible to do, and yet had been dismissed; that he retired with an approving conscience, and tranquilly leaning upon it for support, &c. This was nothing: it was the letter which his wife had written for him to the king, which the Assembly heard read with enthusiastic applause, and which they forthwith ordered to be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments, that contained the poison and the dagger. The menaces and sinister prophecies it contained insured in a manner their own fulfilment; and his telling the king all that he had to fear from the people was, indeed, suggesting to the people all that they had to do against the king.* Servan and Clavières informed the Assembly, at the same time as Roland, that they had been abruptly dismissed only on account of their patriotism. The Assembly decreed that they all three carried with them the regrets of the nation. While this was doing, Dumouriez, as the war-minister, entered the House, and, as soon as he was able, he boldly presented himself at the bar amidst the murmurs

* Dumont.

and hootings of the Girondists and Jacobins. He read a dispatch from Lafayette, dated from his intrenched camp at Maubeuge, and giving an account of some skirmishes of the pettiest description, in which he claimed the advantage. After reading this despatch, Dumouriez read a long memorial, which he had hastily drawn up, on the state of the war department, and on the best mode of conducting hostilities. In this paper he spared neither the ex-war-minister Servan nor the Assembly itself; and he resolutely set himself against any sudden arming of the popular masses, which he thought might bring anarchy upon France, without securing her victory on the frontiers. He told them that the levies of troops which had already been ordered were enormous in number, and that no sufficient care had been taken to provide them with proper arms and equipments and a sure and regular pay. He reproached the Assembly for having, in the course of a single fortnight, voted the levy of 240,000 men, but in such a manner that it was found impossible to execute their decree. He terminated his memorial, as he had begun it, with sharp strictures on the prevailing factions, which made it almost impossible for any ministry to act with effect and consistency; and bold and bitter were the remarks he made upon the spirit of insubordination and mutiny which existed not merely in the army, but everywhere else, and which was not so much the fault of the soldiers as of their superiors, and of the Assembly itself. We need not say that he was frequently interrupted—the marvel is how he should ever have been able to read all that long lecture to such impatient, peppery men, who had the gods and the thunders of the galleries on their side. At one point orator Guadet cried out, “Only hear him! he is giving us lessons!” “And why not?” said Dumouriez, with perfect coolness. As soon as he had finished reading it, he folded up his paper as if to be gone. “He is running away with it,” cried several voices. “No, he is not,” said the cool little man, laying the paper upon the table, and putting his signature to it in perfect composure. He then made his bow, and traversed the Hall with the same calm air with which he would have performed any manœuvre in the field. A number of deputies cried out to him, “You will be sent to Orleans.” “So much the better,” responded Dumouriez, who was as witty as he was brave; “I shall take the mineral baths there, and the milk diet, of which I stand in need, and I shall rest myself!” Any trepidation or hesitation, almost any other line of conduct than that which he followed, and the adroit, spirited little man must assuredly have been sent to that terrible state prison, to which commitments were quite as arbitrary as ever commitments to the Bastille had been. In the course of the preceding evening the Girondists and Jacobins had repeatedly menaced him in the Assembly with that High National Court, whose business was all to be done beforehand by the sanguinary Septemberizers. It is im-

possible to convey in a few words and extracts an adequate notion of the fury and spite of the gentle, philosophical, perfectibilian Gironde. On first accepting office Dumouriez had insisted that a sum of money, which sounds very large in French—six millions of livres—should be placed at his disposal for secret services, and for other things for which no provision had been made. He asserts that this affair had been regularly and minutely debated in presence of all the Girondists, who concurred in it—only attempting to play him a trick which might have left him at their merry, if he had not discovered it in time; and Madame Roland herself admits that the Gironde ministers had agreed that the money should be placed at Dumouriez’s disposal. Dumouriez adds that he had offended the Girondists by depositing the six millions in the hands of M. Amelot, the keeper of the national treasury, instead of placing it in the bank of Bidermann, as Pétion and Clavières warmly recommended him to do. Bidermann, he says, was a zealous revolutionist, and actually in *partnership* with his compatriot finance minister Clavières. They now accused him of lavishing this money on his creatures, his mistress, and his personal extravagancies. Dumouriez smartly replied that the far greater part of the money was still untouched; and that what had been spent had been chiefly paid to the virtuous Roland, who published, or caused to be written in his own house, several republican newspapers, whose main drift had all along been to cry down the king, Dumouriez himself, Lacoste, and Duranton. Brissot, who was even more considerable as a journalist than as a deputy of the Assembly, and who fancied he could journalize Dumouriez to death, or to the prison of Orleans, which signified the same thing, kept up the attack in his ‘*Patriote Français*,’ and, not satisfied with exposing the personal immorality of Dumouriez, who, like so many other married men, lived with another man’s wife, he brought forward his mistress, Madame Beauvert, who was sister to the ex-count Rivarol, a man of letters, who, at the beginning of the revolution, had associated himself with Pétier, the noted royalist journalist, and who, like all that class of writers, was supposed to be in the pay of the court. “This Madame Beauvert,” says the Roland, “sister of Rivarol, who enjoyed so bad a reputation, was constantly surrounded by the creatures of the aristocracy.” Rivarol, who was a man of wit, and who must have known how Brissot and other journalists had been paid in the happy days of the Gironde ministry, made no secret of his connexion with the aristocracy, though afterwards he was accustomed to change the point of a fine phrase of Mirabeau, and to say that, though he had sold himself to the court, he had never been paid.* As for the reputation of his sister, Rivarol was not that rare Frenchman who would have felt any concern about it. Dumouriez, however, was sen-

* Mirabeau’s wit was, that a man like him might be paid, but not bought.

sibly piqued; and when Brissot proceeded to declare in print that Madame de Beauvert had had a large part of the secret-service money, Dumouriez placarded the streets of Paris with a printed affiche, in which he clearly gave the people to understand that Brissot and his friends were only complaining because they had not been able to devour the whole of that secret fund; and in which, moreover, he intimated that in a very short time he would publish a list of the dividends, with the proper names of those who had received the money. Brissot, who could scarcely have been so absurd as to take any of this secret-service money in his own name, defied Dumouriez to produce any proof against him. There the matter remained. "It is quite clear," said an ultra-Jacobin journalist, "that each party dreads the disclosures that might be made by the other."* The members

* The day after Dumouriez's visit to the Assembly there was a terrible fracas there. Jousseau, a member of the *côté droit* and an ex-hutnant of gentlemanry, had repeatedly quarrelled in the Assembly and in committees with Grangeneuve, a Girondist member, and into a lawyer in his array. The French were the most difficult-fighting people in Europe, but since the revolution the practice seemed almost to have gone out, in part, probably, because on one occasion, when a royalist deputy went out with a revolutionary one and accosted him, the Paris mob broke open his house, and destroyed everything in it, and would have destroyed him if they had been able to catch him at the moment. The coarse, hard words which the deputies gave one another, and the imputations of fear and cowardice which so many of them bore day after day without any appeal to arms, must excite some surprise. Jousseau, who had been beset by Grangeneuve, and had been at a meeting the *Bois de Boulogne*, and that the stakes might be more equal, he proposed to the lawyer that they should fight, with pistols, weapons rarely used at this time in France. Grangeneuve said he would rather meet him in the Assembly, which was the proper place for orators to fight in. Jousseau called him a coward, upon which Grangeneuve told him a coarser name. The ex-advocate then threatened to slap him, and the ex-advocate slapped on the face in the French manner. Grangeneuve (the scene of this conflict was on the terrace of the Feuillants outside the Tuileries) picked up a big stone, threw it at the head of Jousseau, but missed him. Jousseau then fell upon him with his cane, and was raising him and kicking him soundly, when a crowd of patriots, headed by ex-marquis St. Huruge and le beau Barbaroux, fell upon him, and were almost killing him when Calvet, the constitutionalist, and some of the *spécialités* of the national guard, rushed to his rescue. This desert scene, carried almost at the door of the Assembly, took place in the dusk of the evening, so that some slight contradictions were to be expected in the reports of the eye witnesses. But the spirit of party made a greater darkness and confusion than could have proceeded merely from the uncertain twilight. Oroux Gudet, on the morning of the 15th of June informed the Assembly that Jousseau had attempted to assassinate Grangeneuve, Jacobins and Girondists uniting, the Assembly appointed a deputation to wait upon Grangeneuve, and take his deposition at his own bedside. Grangeneuve made out a good case for himself, and named, as innominate witnesses, that could verify his deposition. St. Huruge, Barbaroux, to collect both Jacobins and a Madame Patignont, wife of the upholder to the Assembly. The deputies immediately called in these witnesses. St. Huruge who had the voice of a bull and almost the strength of that quadruped, said he was sitting quietly in a coffee-house hard by, "with several good patriots like himself," when he heard some one say out loud that thereupon he flew to the spot, and found that it was M. Grangeneuve, to whom M. Jousseau had just been giving a hundred kicks and a hundred blows with a cane; and that Jousseau had, in his presence, given a hundred more blows with his cane to M. Grangeneuve. Barbaroux, the upholder's wife, and the two other witnesses, deposed that they had seen Jousseau cruelly beat Grangeneuve, &c., and that they had raised Grangeneuve in their arms to his lodging, where he lay senseless for three-quarters of an hour. But Jousseau's friends of the *côté droit* insisted that witnesses ought also to be heard on his side, and these witnesses, consisting entirely of members of the Assembly, deposed that Grangeneuve had repeatedly used most gross and provoking language to the committee; that they had heard him call Jousseau a and seen him provoke that honourable member by menacing attitudes and gestures. As for the actual fight on the terrace, M. Fresnel declared that he had seen M. Jousseau knocked down against a railing, and Messrs. Barbaroux and St. Huruge, with their fists on his face maltreating him cruelly. M. Sage said that he had seen St. Huruge seizing Jousseau by behind, *par derrière*, while M. Grangeneuve held him by one of his legs. Calvet said that he had released Jousseau from the grip of St. Huruge, who had his hand at his throat, and who loaded him (Calvet) with terrible abuse, because he would not allow him to strangle Jousseau. M. Cazadi deposed that, seeing St. Huruge fighting or struggling with M. Calvet, who was striving to separate Grangeneuve and Jousseau, he said to

of the military committee accused Dumouriez of publishing a severe satire on his predecessor Servan and themselves, because he had denounced in his memorial various abuses and malpractices, and had exposed the deplorable state of the French fortresses, which they had always described to the Assembly as being in admirable condition; and they also accused him of culpable imprudence, and almost of treason, for discovering the weakness of the armies and garrisons at a time when invasion was daily expected. He excused himself by stating that the greatest danger lay in lulling the nation into a false security; that the enemies of France were already as well acquainted with their weakness as they could be themselves, and that the proof they were not in a condition to profit by it was the fact itself that they had not yet done so—that they had not yet touched the frontier, though invited thither by the shameful and cowardly manner in which the disorganised French troops had begun the war. He said that there was yet time to repair the evil by a wise and methodical application of the resources of France; and it can hardly be denied by his worst enemies that, during the three or four days he managed the war department, he adopted several admirable measures for making the most of the time which the ill-organised, wavering coalition of kings allowed the revolutionists. In the course of these three or four days he wrote, dictated, or signed upwards of fifteen hundred official papers; he laid down good rules for reviving discipline; he marched all regiments in the neighbourhood of Paris to the frontiers; and he exhorted Luckner, who had joined Rochambeau's command to his own, to prepare for the invasion of all Belgium with the utmost vigour. And all this time Dumouriez was in the greatest state of uneasiness and uncertainty. When he returned triumphantly from the Assembly to the Tuileries, the king applauded his boldness, and told him that it had completely disconcerted the Gironde faction; but when he asked the king to sanction the two sus-

him that this was a combat which did not concern him, a dispute between two members of the Assembly, which one of them colleagues was endeavouring to terminate, and that St. Huruge, instead of heeding him, excited the people to an insurrection by shouting out that they were beginning to murder the patriot deputies. The Girondists, however, being backed by the Jacobins, declared that the testimony of M. St. Huruge, le beau Barbaroux, and the upholder's wife was entitled to more credit than that of the *côté droit* deputies; and Gudet, thenceforth from the tribune, called for signal vengeance on Jousseau, who wanted nothing less than to murder the patriot Grangeneuve. The Gironde demanded nothing less than a decree of accusation for a capital crime. The *côté droit* and other members, not quite so eager for blood, said that at most Jousseau had been guilty of an assault, which might very well be punished by the correctional police. A tremendous uproar ensued, the galleries shouting with the humane Girondists that Jousseau had intended to murder Grangeneuve, and ought to be capitally accused, and tried by the Assembly as guilty of a national crime. The president rang his hand bell, requested the galleries to be silent, and put on his hat twice. At last, however, it was voted that Jousseau should be committed to the Abbaye for three days, without prejudice to any action at law which Grangeneuve might choose to bring against him before the ordinary tribunals.—*Fin. Parlement.*

Grangeneuve, who apparently was not so much hurt in the scuffle as Jousseau, was exceedingly anxious to throw upon his political opponents the horrible odium of an assassination. If we are to believe Madame Boland—which we confess we do not, either in this or in several other particulars—Grangeneuve bravely sought death, and afterwards arranged to get himself assassinated in downright earnest, in order to throw the blame on the court, and so hasten the republican Avenger. We shall have to return to this strange story.

pending decrees about the federate camp and the priests, Louis declared, that, though ready to agree to the camp, he was now fully determined to put his veto upon the other decree. Dumouriez said that this would ruin the king and everything, and that in agreeing to take office he had understood the king would sanction both decrees. Louis was immovable: he even said that Dumouriez, or one of his colleagues in the new ministry, must countersign a letter to the president, in which he announced his resolution, and that they must go to the Assembly in a body. "Never," says Dumouriez, "did Louis speak in so imperative a tone before." On the next morning all the new ministers sent in a request to be permitted to resign. In the mean time the Jacobins and the Girondists, and mayor Pétion, were agitating the people of the Faubourg St. Antoine—the mayor and the Girondists, at least, expecting that a well-timed émeute would force the king to recall the virtuous Roland and his colleagues. Dumouriez announced this coming storm to Louis, who seems to have been induced to suspect that the reports about the dreadful faubourg were not quite correct, and that it was Dumouriez who wished to terrify him for his own ends and purposes. He declares that he no longer recognised a single trace of the mild and confiding character of Louis XVI., who said to him, "Do not think, sir, that I am to be terrified by menaces: my resolution is fixed." On the 17th of June the king accepted the resignations of Dumouriez and the friends he had brought into the cabinet, retaining by force of entreaties, or by their desperate love of place, Duranton and Lacoste. To fill up the vacated posts, Louis had once more recourse to the Feuillants; and he chose from among that party Lagard, Chambonas, and Terrier de Mont-Ciel—men who had scarcely any other recommendation except that of being personal friends of Lafayette and partakers of his views in politics. Dumouriez insinuates that the intrigues of Lafayette and his party had not been idle during these rapid ministerial changes; and there seems abundant proof to show that there was a perfect understanding and active correspondence between the general in his fortified camp at Maubeuge and his party in Paris; and, as for proofs of Lafayette's hatred and jealousy of Dumouriez, they meet us in all directions. On the 18th of June, the very next day after the formation of the new Feuillant ministry, who came into office just in time to witness the horrible insults offered to the king in his own apartments, a letter was presented and read in the Assembly from Lafayette, who, from his fortified camp, threatened the Jacobins and all other factions; and called upon the Assembly, in his own name, and in that of his army, and of all the true friends of liberty, to respect the constitution and the written law. He told them that there was no possibility of bearing any longer the tyranny of clubs and mobs, that had scarcely left the shadow of liberty at Paris or in any other part of France—an indisputable fact, and the inevitable result of

the monstrous follies and imbecilities of Lafayette himself, and of those who had begun revolution-making with him. Terrible was the tempest which this letter excited. The writer of it was called a Cromwell, and Dr. Guillotin's invention was invoked for his behoof. Vergniaud mounted the tribune to demonstrate, logically and rhetorically, that no general in the command of an army could possibly be permitted to address the legislative body in such a style; that counsel and advice from such a quarter must be regarded as dictation and menace. Guadet, that other great Girondist (for the Gironde was quite as furious as the ultra-Jacobin section), declared that the letter could hardly have been written by Lafayette, as it spoke of the dismissal of Dumouriez, which could not have been known on the frontiers at the time the letter was dated; that it must be supposed that Lafayette had left his signature in Paris on a blank sheet, and that the paper must have been filled up and presented by a faction; that, when Cromwell had dared to hold such language in England . . . "He was interrupted by several voices crying out, "Sir, this is abominable." From the other side of the House he was applauded; and another scene of riot took place. The president, after some vain efforts to be heard, said, "I call the National Assembly to order." Le Josne called the president to order for daring to call the Assembly to order, and was backed by all the Jacobin deputies and the entire forces of the galleries. The president threatened to leave the chair and the hall. He was pacified by the order of the day being carried against a regular motion for calling him to order, and then the tumult subsided. A Jacobin begged Guadet to get on with his discourse, reminding him that he had stopped short at Cromwell. "I was going to say," resumed the Girondist orator, "that, when Cromwell held language like this letter, liberty was lost in England, and I cannot persuade myself that the emulor of Washington is wishing to imitate the conduct of this protector! [Loud applause.] If such be the power of the party that aim at killing liberty in France, that Lafayette might believe himself empowered to write this letter, which I am far from thinking he has done, then I say the Assembly ought to bestow the most solemn consideration on this step. I demand, therefore, that the letter be submitted to our new committee of twelve, in order that the Assembly may avenge M. Lafayette on the coward that has covered himself with his name; and in order that the Assembly may prove to the French people, by a novel and terrible example, that they have not taken a vain oath in swearing to maintain the constitution. . . . For we have no longer a constitution, if a general at the head of an army can dictate laws to us!" Dayerhoul begged to say that the letter did not speak of the actual dismissal of Dumouriez, but only mentioned it as something that must happen. Dumas attested that the signature at the foot of the letter was certainly Lafayette's. The House decided unanimously that

the letter should be sent to the committee of twelve. Even the Feuillants were now convinced that a capital mistake had been committed in sending such a letter to the Assembly at such a time. It hastened on those terrible explosions which had been for some time preparing. Robespierre was in ecstasies at Lafayette's faux pas; and, instantly taking up the pen, he addressed a terrible letter to the general, and published it in his own journal. He called Lafayette traitor, tyrant, and dictator; telling him that he had been more successful in making war upon the liberties of his country, and upon a plain honest citizen like Robespierre, than in fighting the enemies of the French. He accused him of all manner of mean and dastardly intrigues; and, after relating his whole public history in his own way, which was the way best suited to exasperate the people, he concluded his very long epistle by declaring that the Assembly must either destroy Lafayette or be destroyed by him. Brissot, in his journal, preached very nearly to the same text; and Condorcet excused Lafayette of treachery and of enmity to liberty by accusing him of imbecility and a passive submission to the intriguers and traitors into whose hands he had thrown himself. But, if Lafayette's blunder hurried on what was coming, it is quite certain that it would have come a little sooner or later if his letter had never been written. The publication of Roland's letter to the king, which, as Dumouriez says, actually pointed daggers at the breast of that unhappy prince, would have produced some terrible émeute without any other agency, public or secret. But there were secret and most powerful agencies that had been most actively employed ever since the moment that Louis turned out the Girondist ministers; and nothing was more true than the intelligence Dumouriez gave the king, that the Girondists, united with the Jacobins, and aided by mayor Pétion and the municipality, were agitating the Faubourg St. Antoine. Pétion—*Virtue* Pétion, as he was now styled by the sansculottes, who in little more than a year drove him away to perish by famine or by poison, and to be devoured by wolves—had all the necessary knowledge of persons and places. He called upon the brewer Santerre, the butcher Legendre, the ex-capuchin Chabot, the ex-marquis St. Huruge, and other men of that stamp: he held several meetings with them, and urged them to make a demonstration with their Parisian pikes, which by this time were counted at some thirty or forty thousand.* Pétion even made up matters for the nonce with Robespierre, whose esteem he had lost by identifying himself with the Gironde party; and the immense popular influence of the Incorruptible was added to that of the mayor of Paris. On the 16th of June, two days before Lafayette's letter reached the Assembly, the citizens of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel made a formal demand

to the council-general of the commune for permission to meet in arms on the 20th, to draw up and present a petition to the Assembly, and a petition to the king, to plant a Mai, or May-pole, or Tree of Liberty, on the terrace of the Feuillants, and otherwise celebrate the anniversary of the Jeu de Paume. The commune communicated this demand not to the Assembly, but to the mayor; and the mayor did not communicate it to anybody till the 18th. It was then made known to the departmental directory, who took it upon themselves to prohibit any such armed meeting, and to enjoin the commandant of the national guards and mayor Pétion to do all in their power to prevent it. On the 19th the decisions of the departmental directory were reported to the Assembly, where many men not in the secret heard, for the first time, of the storm that had been fully prepared ever since the 16th. But it was not only in the faubourgs and in the sections of Paris that Pétion and the Girondists had been busy: they had concerted measures with Barbaroux, who had repeatedly promised the Jacobin Club to bring up patriots and true republicans from Marseilles and all the south; and, before the report of the department was presented, a numerous deputation of Marseilles citizens, with beau Barbaroux at their head, were admitted to the bar of the Assembly. Barbaroux, who did nothing without consulting Madame Roland, was of course the orator of the deputation; and terrible and sanguinary was the speech he delivered. "French liberty," said he, "is in danger! The free men of the south are ready to march for its defence. The day of the wrath of the people is at length arrived. This people, whom the traitors have always tried to slaughter or enchain, is tired of parrying blows: it will now give blows of its own, and annihilate the conspirators! Legislators! the popular force constitutes your strength. Employ it then, and give no quarter to your enemies, as you have none to expect from them! The French people demand from you a decree authorising them to march with all their imposing forces. Only give the order, and they will march to the capital and to the frontiers. The people are absolutely determined to finish this revolution!" Long and loud were the applauses which hailed Barbaroux. A great many voices demanded in a breath that his discourse should be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments; and, after a fruitless struggle on the part of those who were terrified at the certain effect of this resolution, it was agreed to by the Assembly. A deputation from the Jacobin Club of Aix presented some patriotic gifts; and then, late in the evening of the 19th, the letter of the departmental directory was presented. The leading Girondists joined the Jacobins in insisting that this letter ought not to be read, and in calling for the order of the day. Becquey, who understood what this meant, said that to-morrow was going to be a stormy day, and that surely the Assembly ought to read the letter, and take measures of pre-

* Roderer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*. In this curious book, which was not published till 1859, Roderer gives the depositions of witnesses as taken before the departmental directory, to which, at the time of the insurrection, he was procureur syndic.

caution. Vergniaud, beginning with a lie, said he did not know that there was to be a storm to-morrow; and that it would be very unconstitutional for the Assembly to occupy itself about mere measures of police. In order, however, to stop a discussion which might possibly have led to the disclosure of startling facts, the Girondists and Jacobins withdrew their opposition, and the letter was read; but then, instead of deliberating upon it, or of taking any measures to avert the tempest which was to burst within a very few hours, the Assembly passed to the order of the day. Surely this conduct justified Chabot in saying to the mobs of the faubourgs, "The National Assembly expects you to-morrow morning, and with open arms." That night a grand conciliabulum was held in the Faubourg St. Antoine, at brewer Santerre's. It began about midnight; and Pétion, Robespierre, Manuel, Alexandre, commandant of one of the Parisian battalions, and Sillery, the husband of the Genlis, and the creature of Orleans, were present at it. The meeting was also attended by a number of desperate Jacobins, whom Santerre had called in from the neighbouring towns and villages. Some of the pikemen were uneasy at the orders issued by the departmental directory, and thought it would be better to meet in the morning without arms, as the national guards of the more opulent sections of Paris might possibly fire upon them, and make a worse slaughter than that of the black Sunday in the Champ de Mars; but Santerre assured them that the national guards could not fire without an order from the municipality, that no such order would be given, and that mayor Pétion would be there to see that all went well for the patriots. In the course of the night Pétion sent a letter to the departmental directory, proposing what he called "a means at once simple, legal, and analogous to circumstances," which was, that the directory should order the national guards to receive the pike-armed citizens of the faubourgs into their ranks on the morrow, and authorise all such as chose to march to do so. The departmental authorities rejected this strange, bold proposition as dangerous, and as contrary to the official oath they had taken to preserve tranquillity and execute the laws; and for this answer Pétion afterwards threw all the blame upon them.* He pretends that he doubled the guards at the Tuileries; but, if he adopted any such measure, he must have taken good care that the national guardsmen sent thither would be thoroughly sansculotte, and such as should offer no opposition to the sovereign mob he had set in motion. As soon as day dawned this mob began to assemble in the Faubourg St. Antoine and St. Marcel to beat of drum. About eight o'clock they began to form themselves into marching columns; but it was not until nearly eleven o'clock that brewer Santerre, at the head of a strong detachment of invalids and other old soldiers, joined them, that they began their march towards the

Tuileries. Nothing could be more terribly clear than their emblems and devices. Their standard, par excellence, was a pair of old black silk breeches extended on a tall cross-staff, with these words underneath:—"Tremble, tyrants! the sansculottes are coming!" On another tall staff they carried a bullock's heart, pierced through with the steel head of a pike, and having inscribed beneath—"Aristocrat's heart." Women and children marched in column with the men; and all were armed with pikes and iron-shod clubs. From the pike-heads streamed tricolor ribands; and banners were distributed along the line of march, with inscriptions like these:—"Without breeches, but free;" "Down with the veto;" "Long live liberty;" "Death to all tyrants;" "Advice to Louis XVI.," "When the country is in danger, all sansculottes rise;" "The people are tired of suffering, and will have an entire liberty or death;" "We only want union, liberty, and equality;" &c. Santerre, who directed all the movements, who was the real general of this sansculotte army, had taken care to flank the Mai, or tree of liberty, with two or three loaded cannon, which were dragged along by nervous arms. Before they reached the Assembly, which they were to visit before visiting the palace, Roderer, the procureur syndic of the department, announced to that august body that an extraordinary number of armed citizens, contrary to law, and in spite of divers injunctions, were coming to present petitions, and to make an émeute, under the pretence of celebrating the anniversary of the Jeu de Paume. He implored the deputies not to admit them; but to execute the law, which prohibited a greater number than twenty citizens from presenting petitions, &c. "It is true," said he, "that these armed citizens come hither to-day for a civic object; but to-morrow other men may come for a different object, and then what will you have to say to them?" All the côté droit who had courage enough to express their opinion declared that the Assembly ought not to admit this armed multitude; but the Jacobins and the Girondists, with louder and bolder voices, declared that the citizens, who only wanted to present a petition, ought to be received by the representatives of the people with civility, respect, and a welcome. Vergniaud, "the most eloquent orator of the Assembly, whose soul was devoured with the love of the public good," mounted to the speaking-place, and told the Assembly that these were not times to be too particular; that they had already received petitioners, and in great numbers; and that they must receive them again, or worse would follow. Dumolard said that everybody knew that that shameful abuse had been established, but that it was now time to put an end to it, if they did not wish the Assembly and the king to appear equally, in the eyes of all Europe, the merest slaves of an insolent mob. But, while he was speaking, the lumbering of cannon, the roll of drums, and the shouts and shrieks, and shrill cries of men, women, and children, announced that the faubourg columns

* Roderer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*; and Pétion's explanation of his own conduct, as given in *Hist. Parlement.*

had arrived in the square outside the Salle de Manège, and a letter was handed in from Santerre to the president. This letter, which was read with that promptness which was demanded by any missive from such a quarter, stated briefly that the patriots of the faubourgs merely wanted to be admitted to the bar, in order to confound their calumniators, and prove themselves still the men of the 14th of July, 1789. Vergniaud said that any opposition would only renew the bloody scenes of the Champ de Mars. "And surely," added he, "there is nothing reprehensible in the sentiments of these petitioners. They are very properly uneasy about the future; and they only want to prove to us that, notwithstanding all the intrigues against liberty, they are ever ready to defend it!" Somebody else said that the petitioners were only eight thousand in number. "But," said Calvet, "we are only seven hundred and forty-five! Let us retire!" Calvet was rudely called to *order*, as if such a word could be pronounced on such an occasion; and several members accused him of insulting the people, who meant no harm to the Assembly, and who would assuredly never touch a hair of their heads. Ramond attempted to speak, but he was told that eight thousand citizens were kept waiting. In the midst of this idle debate—most idle and absurd in every respect, for, if they had wished it, the Assembly could not have kept out the pikes and the clubs, the bullock's heart and the black breeches—the impatient mob rushed into the hall, and filled it almost to suffocation. Then Guadet made a speech, not merely to excuse, but to justify their coming, and to propose that they should be permitted to defile, with their arms and banners, before the Assembly. Crowding into some order, the head of the column came up to the bar; and then Santerre, with a naked sword in his hand, being flanked by St. Huruge, who held another drawn sabre, delivered an oration in his loudest voice. "Legislators!" said the sonorous and triumphant brewer, reading from a written paper in his hand, "the French people come to acquaint you with their fears and inquietudes. It is in your bosom that they deposit their alarms, and hope at length to find a remedy for their evils. This day recalls the memorable epoch of the 20th of June, and the Tennis Court at Versailles, where the representatives of the people met, and swore never to abandon our cause—to die in its defence. Remember, gentlemen, that solemn vow; and permit an afflicted people to ask now whether you will abandon us? In the name of the nation, that has its eyes fixed on this city, we come to assure you that the people are up, that they are quite equal to the circumstances of the times, and quite ready to employ great means in order to avenge the outraged majesty of the people. These rigorous means are justified by the second article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man—*resistance to oppression*! It is indeed a misfortune for free men, who have transmitted their powers to you, to see themselves reduced to the cruel necessity of bathing

their hands in the blood of conspirators, but the time for dissimulation is past, the plot is discovered, the hour of vengeance is come, and blood shall flow, or the tree of liberty which we are going to plant shall flourish in peace!" Continuing his harangue, with some menace of death and blood in every sentence, the brewer said that, if there were conspirators in the Assembly itself, the patriot members had nothing to do but to name them to the people, the true sovereign, that was there to judge and execute judgment on them. He talked widely and vaguely about conspirators, but he never named Lafayette, or alluded to his letter to the Assembly; but in a few words he explained the true object of this insurrection. "The executive power," said he, "is not in accord with you. We require no other proof of this than the late dismissal of the patriot ministers [Roland, Servan, and Clavières] And is it then thus that the happiness of a free people is to depend on the caprice of a king? But is this king to exercise any other will than that of the law? The people will it so, and their head is well worth that of crowned despots. Their head is the genealogical tree of the nation; and before this robust oak, the feeble reed must bend! We complain, gentlemen, of the inaction of our armies. We demand that you discover the cause of it. If it be derived from the executive power, let that power be annihilated! The blood of patriots ought not to flow to gratify the pride and ambition of the perfidious château of the Tuileries. Who can stop us in our march? Are we to see our armies on the frontiers perish piecemeal? Ours is a common cause, O legislators! and our action ought to be common too. If the first champions of liberty had temporised, would you be sitting to-day in this august Areopagus?" He next complained of the shameful inactivity of the guillotine, and of the high national court appointed to try political crimes; and he asked the Assembly, "whether the people would be obliged to take the sword of the law into their own hands, and exterminate, by one terrible blow, not only all the state prisoners, but all those that would not execute the laws upon them?" The reading of this so called petition was frequently interrupted by tremendous applause, which proceeded not only from the galleries, but also from a large portion of the House. When it was finished, the president (M. François of Nantes, the same who had made Dr. Priestley's son a French citizen) replied, with what some French writers call "remarkable dignity." He told Santerre and the pike-armed rabble that they were all fellow-citizens, and that the people and the Assembly were but one; that the Assembly, as the representatives of twenty-four millions of men, announced to them through his organ that they would disconcert all the plots of the conspirators; that they would deliver over all the conspirators to the sword of the law, as the law alone ought to avenge the people, &c. By this time there were at the least thirty thousand men, women, and

children in the Place de Carrousel, and they all intended to defile through the Hall with their pikes and their bludgeons, their swords and guns. One formalist of a deputy wished to know whether the citizens of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel were to be permitted to traverse the Hall thus armed; but the Assembly, to save their dignity, called him to order, and, without mentioning arms, decreed that the citizens should traverse the Salle. While this idle talk was going on among the legislators, the sovereign mob formed, and began to march through the Hall, coming in at one door and going out at the other, and shouting "Down with the Veto! Long live liberty and equality! Long live the patriots without breeches!" and dancing the Carmagnole, which was their war or liberty dance, and singing, in deafening chorus, the Ça Ira, or "It will go" song. A very long time was necessarily consumed in these performances; and it appears to have been about four o'clock in the afternoon before the patriot citizens got clear of the Hall, and consolidated their columns for an assault on the Tuileries. They had scarcely cleared out when another formidable deputation, though not quite so numerous, marched up to the bar of the House, as if to give an additional, but scarcely necessary, proof of how much the Girondists had had to do with this insurrection. The deputation consisted of armed men from the first and second battalion of the department of the Gironde, who were going, they said, to the frontiers, and who could not, in passing through Paris, neglect to pay the homage of their respect and fidelity to the Assembly. As soon as their orator had read his oration, and the complacent president had replied to it, the House adjourned till the evening, and the deputies went to their dinners.* In the meantime the patriot columns, with the transfixed heart at their head, moved along the strong iron railing which encloses the garden of the Tuileries, looking for some open gate by which to enter in order to plant their tree of liberty. But as all the gates were closed, and as troops—horse and foot and artillery—were very distinctly seen within the railing, the patriots hesitated and hung back, and not a few of them went off at once, swearing that this was going to be a blacker day than the black Sunday. Those who did not bolt turned aside to the garden of the Capuchins, and erected their tall poplar-tree there with Carmagnole and Ça Ira. Bully Santerre, who now came to the spot from the Assembly, where he had staved gossiping with republican deputies till the adjournment, was wroth that they had not tilted the tree on the Feuillant terrace, as they had agreed to do; but the unbreeched told him that there was a snare laid for them there, and that they were not such fools as to rush into it. Even at this moment of extreme exaltation a few whiffs of grape-shot would have sent these sansculottes flying through every street and dark

* Hist. Parlement.

alley of Paris; but there was positively no one to administer that purgation, and Santerre, St. Hurege, and others of those men who had attended the nocturnal meetings in the faubourgs, soon convinced the mob, and ocularily demonstrated to them, that the national guards inside the Tuileries railings were as good patriots as themselves. When Santerre had carried this pleasant conviction to their bosoms, he harangued them, and told them that they must go not merely into the gardens of the Tuileries, but into the palace itself, in order to present their petition to the king in person. "We have cannon," said he, "and, if they will not open a gate to us, we will knock it to pieces with our bullets." The mob, waxing uncommonly bold from the moment they knew there would be no resistance, sang Ça Ira; a loaded cannon was dragged to their front, and on they all went to a side-gate that opened on the Place de Carrousel. In the morning, before the mob reached the Assembly, a number of noblemen and gentlemen, but not exceeding altogether one hundred and fifty, had hastened to the palace with a vain offer of their services and their lives. Their arrival did a great deal more harm than good; for even such of the national guards as were not disposed to join the insurgents were exceedingly disgusted at the presence of men who wore buckles to their shoes, powder in their hair, and black silk breeches, and who were all known to entertain opinions very adverse to the constitution at present established. The king, fearing a repetition of the humiliating scenes of the Day of Poinards, begged these noblemen and gentlemen to retire, and, except a few that remained behind in the apartment of Louis's premier valet, they had all withdrawn. Some faint hope was then entertained that the gens d'armes and the national guardmen would stand by the king; but the gens d'armes refused to load their muskets, and the national guards surrounded the artillery, swearing that they would not permit them to fire upon the people. If the king's guard, so recently and so opportunely disbanded, had been there, matters might have taken a different turn; but, with such precious defenders as Louis had, he could do nothing but submit. The national guards threw open the gate, and the living torrent rushed into the garden, with Santerre and a cannon at their head. Near the door of the palace a number of respectable citizens surrounded the brewer, and endeavoured, by persuasion or by terror, to prevent his entrance. They told him that he would be responsible for whatever might happen, that he was the sole chief of that most unconstitutional movement, that he had basely deceived the people, and would soon be regarded by all as a scoundrel. Santerre turned pale; but butcher Legendre gave him an encouraging wink, and then the brewer cried out, "Gentlemen, I take you all to witness that I refuse to march at your head into the king's apartments!" and then the gentlemen who carried pikes and the bullock's heart, perfectly understanding what was meant,

closed their ranks, pressed forward, and swept on before them Santerre and those who were remonstrating with him. They found the strong oak-door of the outward apartment closed upon them; but they dragged their cannon up the broad staircase, and pointed it against the door, which presently flew open. At the same moment other divisions of the patriots broke open other doors and windows with sledge-hammers and axes, and entered different parts of the palace at once. Nothing remained between the king and the mob, save one inner door, which presently shook and cracked under the blows of the sansculottes. Louis ordered it to be opened, and even advanced to meet the mob, expecting instant death, but being prepared to die unflinchingly like a martyr—which was precisely the only great thing he was ever capable of doing. "What is it you want?" said he. The foremost patriots recoiled awe-stricken; but anon the masses in the rear, who could neither hear his words nor see his calm, unmoved countenance, drove them forward, and in they rushed by hundreds. Some of the grenadiers of the national guards who belonged to the more respectable classes had got into the room by a private staircase. M. de Bougainville, fearing that, if they did not murder the king with their pikes and axes, the in-rushing multitude would throw him down and smother him, cried out to these grenadiers to carry his majesty into the embrasure of one of the windows, and place benches and tables before him to keep off the crowd. This was promptly done, and the few grenadiers placed themselves immediately in front of the benches between the king and the rabble. "Sir, fear nothing," said one of the grenadiers. Louis took the man's hand, and, placing it over his heart, said, "Feel whether I fear!" This passive part of courage, which no man possessed in greater perfection, was not what the French people most admired or best understood, their own courage being of the active kind, and requiring constant action and display to keep it up; nevertheless, the whole bearing and manner of the king, so different from what they had been taught to expect in him, struck them with awe and an involuntary respect, and to this, we believe, was owing the present preservation of his life. Twice, it is said, a pike was thrust at his body, but parried by one of the national grenadiers. But there was another member of that doomed race who could meet martyrdom with a heart as unpalpating as Louis, and who had active courage as well as fortitude and the power of enduring. At the deadliest part of the hurly-burly and fury Madame Elizabeth attempted to run to her brother. The irresistible mob were uttering frightful imprecations against the queen, that "Other b. . .," and calling for her head.* "Ah!" said Elizabeth, "let them believe that I am the queen, so that she may have time to escape!" The noble-

minded woman could not reach the king, nor could the queen and her children escape out of the palace, which was invaded on every side, and completely surrounded without. They, too, were prudently carried into the embrasure of a window in the council-chamber, which was within the apartment where Louis was standing; and there they stood, behind chairs and tables—the queen, her little boy and girl, Madame Elizabeth, the faithful Princess of Lamballe, the Princess of Tarente, and three other ladies. A national grenadier had the forethought to hand the queen an enormous tricolor cockade, and thus she stuck in her cap. Many of the sansculottes had got drunk on bad wine, which had been copiously distributed to them by Santerre and others. One of them in this condition presented the king, at the end of a pike, a cap of liberty or bonnet rouge, or one of those red worsted night-caps which Brissot had learnedly recommended as the proper head-gear for republicans: Louis calmly took it, and placed it on his head, and, further to pacify the madmen, he joined in the cry of "Long live liberty! Long live the nation!" By this time the heat was suffocating, and the smell such as may be fancied to proceed from so many thousands of frowzy unwashed patriots, who had been marching and sweating that long day under a hot summer sun, and that were jammed together in the royal apartment. The king complained of thirst; a black bottle was handed to him from the mob, and he drank out of it—to the health of the nation. The grenadiers had placed him on a table, as near as possible to the open window, and there he stood for full four hours with the red cap on his head. A tall young man mounted another table in front of him, and kept repeating for a long time, "I demand, in the name of the hundred thousand souls who surround me, the recall of the patriot ministers! I demand the sanction of the decree against the priests, the sanction of the decree for the camp of twenty thousand men! I demand the immediate execution of both decrees, or you shall perish!" The only answers that these and other terrible and indecent threats could extort from the king were that this was not the form or the manner in which to demand his assent—that he would never depart from the strict line of the law and the constitution. Butcher Legendre told the king to his face that he must listen to his people—that he was made to listen and obey—that he was a perfidious scoundrel, and that the people were tired of being his dupes. It was butcher Legendre, or, according to others (in such a scene of utter confusion it may be imagined what a variety and contradiction there is in the details), it was Huguenin, that read the petition to the king, which simply told him that his conduct was not to be borne; that his enemies were not the people of Paris, but the emigrants at Coblenz; that the French would still love him, if he would only do what they wished him; that the people were all ripe for the revolution, and insisted that, in order to make the constitution march, he should

* It was but a slight change, either in speaking or writing, from "*Austrienne*" to "*Autre chienne*," and for a long time the rabble had never called the queen by any other name!

sanction the decrees of the Assembly, and recall the ministers, who enjoyed the confidence of the nation. "Yes," said the petition in conclusion, "we will maintain the constitution we have got, but it must march: we will perish, if need be, in its defence, but then you must perish with us." Still Louis replied that this was not the form or the manner. When the deputies of the Assembly adjourned, and went to their dinners, there was not a man among them but knew that Santerre and his armed multitudes were going to the Tuileries. A few of the Feuillant members ran to the palace as soon as the mob had taken possession of it, to harangue and implore the people to respect the laws and the lives of the royal family; but the rest waited events and the effect of this formidable intimidation; and the House did not meet again until past six o'clock. Then, to preserve some appearances, they sent a deputation to the palace to request the mob to withdraw, and to tell the king how sorry they were for all that had happened. About the same time Mayor Pétion found his way to the Tuileries to allay the storm, to conjure the foul fiend which he, more than any other man, had raised. Bescarfed and bedecked with all his civic emblems, Pétion was lifted to the shoulders of two grenadiers, and he made a speech which seemed rather to say "Go on" than "Stop." "Without doubt," said he to the feculent patriots, "your example will be followed by the eighty-three departments, and the king will not be able to avoid acquiescing in the manifest will of the people." Approaching the king, he said, with one of the most barefaced lies that ever came from the lips of Jacobin or Girondist, "Sir, I have only this instant learned the situation in which you are placed." Louis calmly replied, "That is very astonishing, for I have been in this situation these two hours!" And there, in spite of the coming of Pétion and the deputation from the Assembly, he was destined to remain nearly two more mortal hours, half-stifled by the heat and stench, half-deafened by harangues here and harangues there (there were fifty orators speaking at once in different parts of those state-rooms), and by shouts and clamours inside and outside, that never ceased for a single second. One of Pétion's municipal officers invited him to quit that recess: but Louis, having no confidence in such a guide, declined the invitation; and nowhere else could he have been so safe. The Assembly now sent a second deputation, which was headed by Vergniaud, who made a talk and a bustle, and did nothing. At last a number of voices called upon Pétion to do his duty, and order the people to retire in the name of the law. As Pétion replied not, and continued perfectly inactive, he was told to take care of himself, as his conduct would be judged by the event. Then the mayor began to tell the citizens that they ought to go home, unless they wished to commit their faithful magistrates, and provoke unjust accusations against them. "If you remain any longer," said he, "you will give

occasion to your enemies and the enemies of the public weal to misrepresent your *respectable* intentions. You *know* you only came here to *petition*." But the patriots showed no disposition to be gone; and the voice of the virtuous mayor was smothered in the crowd and crush. That he might be better heard, he mounted upon a table; a justice of peace got up beside him—a worthy and calculating justice of the peace, for he had been over to the Assembly, and had borrowed the president's hand-bell, which he rang with all his might—and, when some degree of quiet was obtained, Pétion assured the citizens that the king allowed them to defile through the palace as they had defiled through the Assembly. "People," said he, "you have done what you ought to do. You have acted with the pride and dignity of free men. But this is enough! Let every man retire." The rabble then got into such order as they could, and marched slowly through all those state-rooms, going out by a door and staircase at the opposite end of the palace. As they passed the window in the council-chamber, one of them clapped a bonnet-rouge upon the head of the little Dauphin, and others assailed the ears of the queen with language which cannot be translated, not merely because of its grossness, but, happily, because our language offers no equivalents. And yet, even in this moment of fury and frenzy, the fair and graceful and sweet-voiced Marie Antoinette could draw some tears from the vilest of that rabble. She asked a miserable Jacobin, who was vomiting abuse and imprecation, whether she had ever seen her before—whether she had ever done any harm to her or hers? The woman answered, no, but that she was the curse of the nation and the cause of all its troubles. "You have been told so," said the queen, "but you have been deceived. Wife to the king of France, mother of the Dauphin, I am a Frenchwoman—never shall I see my own country again—never can I be happy or unhappy but in France—I was happy when you all loved me!" The fury was touched to the heart, and she went away weeping, and saying that she saw the queen must be very good. Between eight and nine in the evening Santerre, "the king of the faubourgs," got all his patriots out of the Tuileries; and then the king, after so long and so terrible a separation from them, joined his wife, his children, and his sister in the council-chamber. Too many serious matters had been working in his brain to allow him to think of the unseemly red night-cap on his head: it was still there when he joined the queen, nor was he sensible of it until he was told. Vergniaud and the republican deputies, who had come over from the Assembly in deputation, could scarcely have desired to see royalty in a more degraded state, or a palace more perfectly squalidized. The queen, pointing to the dirt the sovereign people had left behind them, and to the broken doors, windows, and furniture, asked these honourable deputies what they thought of such outrages, committed under the very eyes of the

assembly? The sadness of the scene, and perhaps all more the tone of the queen's voice, and the expression of her countenance, drew tears even from the eyes of that lost Jacobin, Merlin, who as one of the deputies whom the Assembly had opportunely and appropriately sent to the king, Marie Antoinette perceived his emotion, and said to him, "You weep, M. Merlin, at seeing the king and his family treated thus cruelly by a people whom I have always wished to make happy." "It is true, Madame," replied Merlin, "I weep for the misfortunes of a woman, handsome, endued with sensibility, and the mother of a family; but, do not mistake me, there is not one of my tears shed for the king or for the queen: I hate kings and queens—this is the only feeling they inspire in me—this is my religion." Thus ended that dominion of monarchy, the 20th of June, in the Tuileries, for no pen has attempted to put upon record the scenes which passed in that palace when rabble and legislators were all withdrawn, and the royal family were left to themselves.*

On the following day people thought they perceived a very general disgust at the plots of the Jacobins and Girondists, and the indecencies and excesses of the mob, and a strong reaction in favour of royalty in some classes which had hitherto been inclined to republicanism. We believe that the political passions of men remained such as they were before the insurrection; and that the sympathy for the court was still confined to the old unvarying royalists, who became for a moment a little bolder by an understanding with the Feuillant or Lafayette party, who certainly seemed determined to attempt one desperate struggle with the Girondists and Jacobins ere they resigned themselves to destruction. It is said, however, that even at this crisis the royalists and Feuillants had no fixed plan of co-operation; and that when the salvation of both was at stake, and could only be secured by a perfect agreement, if by that, they disagreed on nearly every measure or proposition, and even counteracted one another; and this we can readily credit, as it was in the national character, and the essential spirit of parties in France. The Jacobins and Girondists had only made a temporary and a very partial truce; but the Jacobins, who had already won the hearts or imaginations of the mass of the people, were getting quite strong enough to do without the Gironde. A few votes carried against them in the Assembly could not check their progress. On the motion of a Feuillant member it was voted by a majority that, in time to come, bodies of armed citizens were not to present themselves at the bar or at the palace. But, if thirty thousand ruffians were again to come to the door of the Assembly, what was there to prevent their entering? In the course of the day (the 21st) Rœderer, the procureur syndic,

and most active officer of the directory of the department, announced to the Assembly that fresh riots were breaking out, and that another mob was collecting round the Tuileries; and a Feuillant member, after mentioning that he had seen the troops on guard there making preparations for defence, proposed that, in order to prevent the disgraceful scenes of the preceding day, or a more frightful scene of blood, the Assembly should go over in a body to the palace. The Jacobins and Girondists said that there was no danger of any popular movement; that the royalists and Feuillants were trying to lay a snare for them; that it was not from Rœderer, or from the department, or from any of the king's ministers, that the House ought to receive reports as to the state of Paris, but from mayor Pétion alone; that, if the king was attacked in his domicile, he ought to come over to the Assembly, and take refuge in the sanctuary of the law; that the popular movements only existed in the minds of those who wished to excite troubles for the most unpatriotic purposes, &c. The grenadiers of the section Filles St. Thomas, which was chiefly inhabited by people of superior condition, were mounting guard in front of the palace; and, as Pétion went by with a rabble at his heels, these hot grenadiers gave him some sharp words, and, rattling their muskets, told him that to-day they were well prepared to receive him. It was even reported that they had audaciously pulled the nose and tripped up the heels of one of Pétion's municipals. Forthwith a numerous deputation from a more patriotic battalion of the national guards came to the bar of the Assembly to denounce these impious grenadiers of the section Filles St. Thomas, and to affirm that a part of the national guards were in a state of revolt, and aiming at nothing less than a universal civil war. The fellows composing this deputation, who for the most part had belonged, in former times, to the Gardes Françaises, were admitted to the honours of the séance. Then Pétion presented himself in the House, and declared that order reigned everywhere; and that the magistratos, who would some day receive the honours that were their due, had taken all the precautions that were necessary, doing their duty nobly, as they had ever done. A Jacobin member then accused Rœderer of lying and malice. Guadet said that he was convinced that the enemies of the people had been attempting to renew to-day the slaughters of the Champ de Mars; that preparations had been made for slaughtering the people in heaps, &c.; and he added that the people had been excited, and tempted to rise and march, by a report industriously circulated that their virtuous and beloved mayor had been put under arrest. It appears, however, that Rœderer had said nothing but the truth. A great body of people had collected, and had begun their march in the direction of the Tuileries; but they had halted at some distance from that abode of woe, and after a time had dispersed, probably from intimidation given to them that there were men there to-day who intended to

* Rœderer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*; Hist. Parlement; Madame Campan, Bertrand de Molléville; Marquis de Farnières; and other memoirs of the time.

fight. In the evening, mayor Pétion waited upon the king. Rœderer was present at this irritating interview, and has left an account of the words that passed—an account which differs but slightly from one given by Pétion himself in the 'Moniteur.' Both accounts make out the mayor's conduct and conversation to have been of the most insolent kind. Pétion said that there was no ground for the alarm of the morning, as the *citizens* had not been armed, and had only meant to plant a tree of liberty; that he knew that the conduct of the municipality had been calumniated, but that its conduct would soon be known. "It ought to be known to all France," replied the king: "I accuse nobody in particular. Yesterday I saw everything myself." Pétion said that but for the prudent measures taken by the municipality, sad events might have happened. The king attempted to speak again, but Pétion, instead of listening, continued his discourse; and for some minutes both spoke together, so that Rœderer could not distinctly hear what either of them said. It should seem that the king asked the mayor whether he had to fear the attack of the people or the Assembly, for when he was silent, and Pétion was heard speaking alone, Rœderer distinguished these words: "Not for your person, as you ought to know that *that* will always be respected." Here Louis lost patience, and for once spoke in a sharp, bold tone: for, raising his voice to its highest pitch, he bade the mayor hold his tongue; and, after a moment's silence, he said sternly, "Was it respecting my person, to force my guard, to enter my house in arms, to break open my doors? What passed yesterday will be a scandal to all the world!" "Sire," rejoined Pétion, "I know the extent of my duty and of my responsibility." "Then do your duty," said the king, very imperiously: "you will have to answer for the tranquillity of Paris. Adieu!" And so saying he turned his back on Pétion, and retired. When Pétion, somewhat abashed, left the room, the queen said to Rœderer, "Do you not think that the king has been very sharp? Do you believe that this will not injure him?" "Madame," replied Rœderer, "I believe that nobody can doubt that the king may permit himself to say, 'Hold your tongue,' to a man that speaks and that will not listen to him." Several respectable citizens now went and deposed before the departmental directory that force had been employed by the mob to make men and women march with them to the Tuileries, and that no effort was made by the municipality or their police to check this shameful violence. On the following day, the 22nd, the king issued a proclamation, briefly stating to the whole nation the insults he had received, and calling upon all constituted authorities to watch over the public tranquillity. The departmental directory, assuming a power which did not properly belong to it, pronounced sentence upon Pétion, and declared that he was provisionally suspended from his functions

as mayor. The king, committing another mistake, confirmed the decree of the departmental directory; but the Assembly, after hearing Pétion at their bar, soon reinstated him in his office. At this time the mayor was the idol of the faubourgs, and of the rabble of Paris, whose *cri de guerre* was "Pétion or death!" To meet the king's proclamation, Pétion issued a proclamation of his own, in which he told the people to be calm and dignified, and to take heed of the snares that were laid for them. He assured them that efforts were making to sow divisions between the national guards and the unarmed citizens; and that the most innocent meetings might be misrepresented and misdirected by men of evil intentions. In short, he seemed to tell them that all that they had done had been well done, but that the moment was not propitious for their doing more.

Eight thousand Parisians, not of the sansculottic order, had signed a petition against the federate camp, and twenty thousand of the same class of citizens now signed an address to the king. Some other addresses came up from Rouen, Havre, and several large towns. All the respectabilities of the national guards vowed that they would now stand by the king, and resist the pikemen, who threatened the most complete and most sanguinary anarchy. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who held the military command at Rouen, and whose army was said to be devoted to him, proposed that the king should fly, and take refuge in that city; but this was but a desperate enterprise, the failure of which was an inevitable and a total destruction. Lafayette proposed conducting the king to Compiègne, and there placing him at the head of the army he commanded; but this enterprise was as difficult as the former, and the king and queen doubted both the good intention and the ability of Lafayette. They are reproached with an obstinate aversion to Lafayette and the whole Feuillant or constitutional party; and they are said to have refused this last offer because they knew that Lafayette would make terms with them, and never permit the re-establishment of the old despotic form of government, and because they preferred trusting to the arms of the coalition of absolute kings; but if they had accepted Lafayette's offer, and if they had been enabled to effect their escape from Paris, was Lafayette at any one moment strong enough to save them, or even himself, from destruction? Would not their flight from the capital have hastened, by some months, Lafayette's own flight across the frontiers? Would even the *lives* of the royal family have been safer in the midst of Jacobinised armies than they were in Paris? Without any encouragement from the court, without even intimating his intention to them, or his own friends in the capital, Lafayette, who was in very truth, "by dint of experience, improving in blunders," quitted his army, and suddenly appeared in Paris on the 28th of June, at an early hour of the morning. Old Luckner had told him that the *sansculottes* would surely

cut off his head; and several persons on his road had entreated him to give up his desperate project. His arrival, the news of which was heard with astonishment, was soon known throughout Paris. As soon as the Assembly met, he repaired to their bar, and told them, with great spirit, the reasons of his coming. In the first place, he assured them that he had concerted measures with Luckner, and had left his army in such a state that it could not suffer by his absence. He then added, "It has been said that my letter of the 16th to the Assembly was not written by me. I have been reproached with having written it in the midst of a camp. To acknowledge it, it was necessary perhaps that I should present myself alone, and come from behind that honourable rampart which the affection of the troops formed around me; but a still more powerful reason, gentlemen, has induced me to come to you. The acts of violence committed on the 20th at the Tuileries have excited the alarm and indignation of all good citizens, and especially of the army!" After a few more words touching the respect due to the laws, to the constitution, and to the king, who was a part of it, he entreated the Assembly to order the trial and punishment of the instigators and chiefs of the recent insurrection, who had been guilty of high treason against the nation, and to destroy the Cordelier and Jacobin Clubs—"to destroy a sect which constantly invades the rights of the national sovereignty, tyrannizes over the citizens, and whose public debates leave no doubt of the atrocity of those who direct it." The president replied, that the National Assembly had sworn to maintain the constitution as it was; that, faithful to their oaths, they well knew how to protect that constitution from every outrage; and that they granted to General Lafayette the honour of a seat among them. But, when the president had finished this bit of commonplace, Girondist Guadet begged to know whether Lafayette had received a leave of absence from the minister of war? Whether he had beaten the Austrians, that he was so soon back at Paris? Whether a general had any right to dictate to the legislative body, or to talk to them of the wishes of his army? Gensonné followed in the same style; and sundry ultra-Jacobin orators agreed that the step Lafayette had taken was most suspicious, dangerous, and unjustifiable. After another fearful fracas, in which honourable members called one another rogues and scoundrels, it was decided, by a considerable majority, that the whole business should be submitted to the select committee of twelve. From the Assembly Lafayette proceeded to the Tuileries, and conferred for some time with the king and queen, and Madame Elizabeth. He says himself that both Louis and Marie Antoinette repeated that they were convinced there was no safety for them except in the constitution; that Louis never appeared to express himself with more thorough conviction and sincerity than when he said he should consider it most fortunate if the Austrians were speedily defeated. From the palace he retired to his own house, where

he found a strong detachment of the respectabilities of the national guard, who received him with acclamations, and mounted guard before his door. He acknowledges that but for this protection he might have been destroyed during the night by the clubbists he had come to destroy. To do him the more honour, some of the respectabilities brought a tree of liberty, and planted it in front of his house. All the chiefs of the Feuillant party that had courage enough to discuss an enterprise which they all felt to be dangerous, if not desperate, met at his house in the course of the evening and night, but apparently only to show that there was a great difference of opinion among them as to the best way of proceeding against the Jacobins, who at the same time were meeting in great force in their hall, and sending their emissaries through the faubourgs and the sections to keep the sans-culottes awake. Lally Tollendal, who had returned from his exile in England, proposed that they should fall upon the great club at once, and scatter its members with such cannons and bayonets as were at their disposal; but the majority, including Lafayette himself, thought that this would be too bold, and *wear an appearance of illegality*. On the following day the king was to pass in review the first division of the national guards, who were commanded by Aclouze, a brave man who was devoted to the court, or who was at least one of the most decided enemies of the Jacobins and anarchists. Lafayette asked permission to accompany the king at this review, apprising his majesty of his intention of haranguing these troops, and of doing with them whatever he might deem best for the good of the constitution and public order; but mayor Pétion got scent of this project, countermanded the review before daybreak, and none took place. It is said that the queen warned Pétion of the project, declaring to those about her that it was better to perish than trust a man who had done them so much harm as Lafayette; but it is indubitable that Lafayette must have defeated his own project by disclosing it beforehand to Louis, who was sure to shrink from every act of violence, who could only suffer like a martyr, but who could never act like a hero. With Pétion's espionage, and countless sources of information, there was no need of any secret revelation from the queen, or any one at court, as to the intended review; but we can believe a better witness than Lafayette, who says that, when some of the officers of the national guards asked the king whether he wished them to enter into the views of Lafayette, and join him in such operations as he might undertake during his stay in Paris, the king answered with a decided "No."^{*} Neither Lafayette nor any other party attempts to show how a few hundred Swiss and four or five thousand national guards—for the respectabilities did not exceed that number—were to be sure of a victory against thirty or forty

* Gouverneur Morris says:—"The king, on receiving the project proposed for him, said it would be very good, if they could count on the *Gardes Nationales*. I tell him, that Lafayette's visit can produce nothing."—*Diary*.

thousand pikes, and twenty or thirty thousand national guards of the Jacobinised sections, who had artillery and munitions of war; and, besides this revolutionary force, there were volunteer regiments in the neighbourhood, all fanatic Jacobins, and thorough sans-culottes, who were marching for the frontiers, but who would assuredly have stopped to take part in this contest. Heroism, or a desperate daring, may do wonders, but there was likely to be more of this on the other side. As the review failed him, Lafayette proposed a meeting, on the evening of the 29th, in the Champs Elysées. A great number of the respectabilities promised to attend; and it is said that he engaged, if only three hundred of them would keep their appointment, to march upon the Jacobin Club in the Rue St. Honoré. But lo! when the evening and the appointed hour came, instead of three hundred, only thirty of these civic heroes met. The Feuillantine valour had evaporated; and, to avoid being taken prisoner or assassinated by the Jacobins, Lafayette got into his travelling carriage, and fled with all possible speed to his army.* The Jacobin leaders had passed many anxious hours during his stay in Paris. Some of them had hid themselves, and some of them had ferreted out Dumouriez, who was still in Paris, and had proposed that he should put himself at the head of the sans-culottes, and march against Lafayette. In the course of the night of the 28th they had told Dumouriez, that if he would only repair to the club he should certainly be revenged; that they were all ready to march; that the dictator had only a guard of a hundred men round his house; and that, as the people would be sure to join the clubbists, Lafayette must certainly perish. Dumouriez had declined going, and had, with his usual address, reconciled the fiercest of the Jacobins to his decision. But if Lafayette was not cut off, his party was annihilated by these imprudent proceedings: the mortal blow was struck at that remnant of influence which remained to him. From this moment the sans-culottes had the field entirely to themselves; and, as they could not credit the fact that the court had refused to be assisted by the general, they held it accountable for all that he had done or attempted to do; and hence rushed a fresh consuming fire of hate and revenge. Lafayette had not got many miles on his road ere the tree of liberty in front of his house was struck down, and he was burnt in effigy by the people, with horrible imprecations; and at the same time Jacobin emissaries, travelling nearly as fast as

himself, were wending to the army to preach mutiny and murder to the common soldiers. The flying hero of two worlds had left behind him a terrible letter to the Assembly, which was produced and read on the morning of the 30th. It was heard with execrations; and Isnard expressed his astonishment that the Assembly had not seized that factious soldier when he was at their bar, and sent him to join the other state prisoners at Orleans—an energetic measure which would certainly have been attempted by the Girondists and Jacobins, if Lafayette had not been escorted by a strong body of his respectabilities, and had not taken the Assembly by surprise. In the course of the same day Jean Debrie brought up a report from the select committee of twelve, recommending an immediate declaration that the country was in danger. According to Debrie a proclamation of this kind would be attended with the most salutary effects, as it would keep the people suspicious and on the alert. The majority, taking the same view, agreed in the form of the decree, but postponed the proclamation for a few days. On the following day, after some energetic discussions in the Jacobin Club, whither Bissot had once more gone to join Robespierre in denouncing Lafayette and the whole of the Feuillant and royalist parties, several deputations from the sans-culotte sections (the sections of the pikemen) presented themselves at the bar of the Assembly, to demand that Lafayette should forthwith be seized in his army, and punished as a traitor; that the staff of the national guard, composed by him of Feuillants and aristocrats, should be dismissed; that a new staff should be chosen; and that the patriots with pikes should be incorporated in the battalions. That nothing might be wanting to keep up the ferment, mayor Pétion placarded the streets of Paris with an alarming proclamation, commencing, "Citizens, the storm is preparing!" As it was a Sabbath-day, when all the world was idle and abroad, this placard was seen by everybody. It led to a deal of scuffling and fighting with sticks in the streets and public places; and several individuals who belonged, or were supposed to belong, to Lafayette's party, were wounded, and all but killed, in the Palais-Royal.

Even some time before the dangers and humiliations of the 20th of June, the king had fallen into a state of despair or inertia: he rarely opened his lips, and had passed ten successive days without speaking even to his wife and children. At last the queen had roused him from that horrible apathy by falling at his feet and imploring him to make some exertion, were it only for the sake of her and his offspring. The high-spirited daughter of Maria Theresa, who ought to have been king instead of him, said, if they must perish, it was better to perish with honour, and with a bold struggle for it, than to sit there helpless and inactive until the Jacobins came to murder them under their own roof-tree one after the other.* But when

* Morris says, under date of the 29th—"I go to court. . . . Lafayette speaks to me at court in the tone of ancient familiarity; I tell him that I shall be glad to see him for a few minutes. He says that he is going out of town this evening, but gives me rendezvous at M. de Montmorin's. I observe to him that he must soon return to his army, or go to Orleans, and that he must determine to fight for a good constitution, or for that wretched piece of paper which bears the name; that in six weeks it will be too late. He asks what I mean by a good constitution—whether it is an aristocratic one. I tell him yes, and that, I presume, he has lived long enough in the present style to see that a popular government is good for nothing in France. He says that he is a voter for the American constitution, but a hereditary executive. I reply that, in such case, the monarch will be too strong and must be checked by a hereditary senate. He says it goes hard with him to give up that point. Here ends our colloquy."
—*Dary.*

* Madame Campan.

he stirred himself to be doing, he saw nothing that he could do, except to send some secret envoy to the Emperor of Austria and the allied princes, to implore them to hasten to his rescue. The person he selected for this delicate mission was Mallet-du-Pan, a native of Geneva, a protégé of Voltaire, but of late years a royalist journalist in Paris. Mallet-du-Pan had left Paris for Germany, at the end of May, with instructions in Louis's own handwriting. Confiding in the belief that there was still a considerable part of the nation attached to royalty, and that it would rise and declare itself on the approach of foreign armies, the king implored the foreign powers, the princes his brothers, and the rest of the French emigrants, not to give the invasion the character or appearance of a hostile attack on the French nation, or of a war of power against power; telling them that an opposite line of conduct to what he advised would only produce a civil war in the interior, and endanger the lives of the royal family, overthrow the throne, provoke the massacre of the royalists, rally round the Jacobins all the parties that were now seeking to separate themselves from them, and excite a universal enthusiasm and the most obstinate resistance. He represented to the court of Vienna and to the court of Berlin, which by this time had engaged to join in the invasion of France, that their armies ought to advance quickly, but with extreme caution, treating the people of the French provinces they might traverse with gentleness; and that the march of their armies ought to be preceded by a manifesto declaratory of their pacific and conciliatory intentions, and of their determination not to attempt to impose any particular constitution or form of government upon the French nation. To the form of this manifesto—so different in nearly every particular from that which the commander of the Prussian army afterwards issued—Louis attached the utmost importance, as if any such proclamation could reconcile a proud and martial people to the invasion of their country, or as if the promises and assurances of arbitrary princes, who had not been remarkable for keeping their word with other parties, who were in the act of breaking their faith and their treaties with Poland, could possibly obtain any credit from so incredulous a people as the French! He recommended that a clear distinction should be made between the Jacobins and the rest of the nation; that the manifesto should contain the fundamental truth that this was a war not against the French nation, but against an anti-social faction, and a furious anarchy destructive of liberty and peace; that it should remove every fear of dismemberment or of an arbitrary interference with the laws of the country; but that it should, at the same time, declare energetically to the Assembly, to the municipality, to all administrative bodies, and to the ministers of the day, whoever they might be, that the allies would neither treat with them nor with any one of them, but only with the king restored to a state of liberty; and that they would hold the

Assembly, the municipality, &c. personally and individually answerable in body and in goods for the safety of the king, the queen, the royal family, and of the persons and the properties of all citizens whatsoever. He preached moderation to the emigrants, who, as he well knew, were likely to be more violent, when once on the soil of France, than Prussian grenadiers or Austrian hussars; and he concluded by advising that the coalition should promise in their manifesto the immediate assembling of a congress, where the emigrants might plead their losses and their wrongs, and where the interests of all parties might be pacifically discussed and arranged.*

Louis had not dispatched Mallet-du-Pan until, as he thought, every other resource had failed him. Barnave, who had so confidently undertaken to save the monarchy and the monarch—for it had been a question of life and death with Louis for many months—had completely failed him long before this; and after expressing his vain regrets, and gallantly kissing the fair hand of the queen, he had gone off to Grenoble, his native place, to become mayor, and to marry a rich heiress. Mallet-du-Pan found that the Austrian and Prussian preparations were going on but slowly (both powers were thinking as much about Poland as about France); and that the emigrant noblesse were in a frantic state of mind, which precluded all hope of the moderation the king had recommended. At length, however, in the early days of July, it was known at the Tuileries that the Austrians in the Netherlands had been greatly reinforced, and that the Prussian army, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, was approaching the Rhine—encouraging intelligence, if there had only been a possibility of keeping it from the knowledge of the Assembly and people. The Assembly, though it had no note of warning from the ministry, though not so much as a hint had ever been given officially of the King of Prussia's intentions, were fully informed of everything by the 2nd of July; and on the 3rd Vergniaud rose to represent the imminence of the danger. He described the army of the North, which had crossed the Belgian frontiers, as retreating before the Austrians, and the Prussian army as on the very point of bursting into France with fire and fury. He reminded the house that these foreign despots, and the emigrants worse than they, and all the enemies of the French people, continued to make use of the name of Louis XVI., and to assert that they were only in arms for his cause; and he then stated a series of hypotheses which would justify the nation in dethroning the king at once. The majority, already immensely increased by the tidings which had been received of the Prussian interference, ordered the exciting discourse to be printed and sent to all the departments. A day or two after Condorcet read a long discourse on the general measures proper to save the country and

* *Mémoires de Bertrand de Molleville, who was at this time in the entire confidence of the king.*

liberty and equality; and he recommended, as the best of these general measures, the calling up of the confederates to the capital, the impeachment of all the ministers, the suspension of the civil list and of the king's veto, and union and fraternity between Girondists and Jacobins. This last notion was taken up on the following day by Lamourette, the constitutional bishop of Lyons, who thought it ridiculous to believe in the existence of a God. "If," said this new Gallican prelate, "we can only agree among ourselves, there is nothing to alarm us, nothing that can resist us. There have been and there still will be proposed extraordinary state measures to put an end to the divisions which rend France, and which induce foreign powers to believe that we have fallen to the lowest point of weakness. But not one of the objects hitherto proposed can attain the desired end, because there is not one of them that is central, or that ascends to the true source of our evils. That source, which must be stopped, is the division that reigns in the National Assembly itself. The legislative body is the real thermometer of the nation: it is here that rests the lever which moves the great machine of the state, and which, when ill directed, produces the complication of movement that destroys the state. And can it be! You have in your own hands the key of the public salvation, and are seeking painfully for that salvation in uncertain laws, and are refusing to adopt the means of re-establishing peace and union in your own bosom!" He shuddered to think that a reconciliation of political antagonists and a union of parties should be considered impracticable. Honest men, though they might employ different means, could only aim at one end, and must always meet on the road of probity and honour. Surely, then, nothing could be so easy as to bring about a most beautiful and solemn moment, and to offer to France and to Europe a spectacle so redoubtable to the enemies of liberty, so sweet and heart-moving to all the friends of liberty! How simple was the difference! One part of the Assembly attributed to the other the seditious design of destroying monarchy; the other party attributed to their colleagues the design of destroying constitutional equality, and introducing the aristocratic form of government known under the name of two chambers. "Well, then," exclaimed Lamourette, raising his voice to the enthusiasm key, "let us fulminate, gentlemen, by a common execration and an irrevocable oath, let us fulminate both the republic and the system of two chambers!" The great hall of the Riding-School re-echoed with the unanimous and enthusiastic applauses of the members and the gallery mobs, and many times the cry was repeated, "Yes, yes, we will only have the constitution as it is!" "Then," added the constitutional bishop, "let us swear to have but one mind and one sentiment, to unite and confound ourselves in the one sole and same mass of free men, equally averse and redoubtable to the spirit of anarchy, and to the spirit of aristocracy; and the moment that fo-

reigners see that we only wish for one fixed thing, and that we all wish it, will be the moment in which liberty shall triumph and France be saved." The same applauses recommenced, and continued for some time. "And therefore, M. le President," said Lamourette, in conclusion, "I demand that you put to the house this simple proposition: 'Let all those who equally abjure and execrate the republic and the government with two chambers rise!'" Never was *coup de baguette*, never was harlequin's wand more promptly followed by a universal movement and change of position. All the members rose simultaneously, and putting themselves in the attitude of swearing, *dans l'attitude du serment*, they all swore never to suffer, either by the introduction of the republican system or by the establishment of two chambers, any alteration whatever in the constitution. The galleries, all electrified, shouted and applauded, and swore like the deputies. Then rose the cry of "Union, re-union, a brotherly union!" and the members of the *côté gauche*, as if by a spontaneous movement, ran over to the *côté droit*, and lovingly embraced and sat down among those old adversaries; and the members of the *côté droit* ran over to the *côté gauche* and did the like. All the parties were intermixed: Jaucourt was seen fraternising with Merlin, Dumas with Bazire, Gensonné with Calvet; and for some time there was nothing but hugging and cheek-kissing, and mutual protestations of eternal friendship. Empty protestations, Judas kisses!—and yet not all so, for it is in the nature of Frenchmen to be carried away by momentary impulses, to rush into everything that makes a dramatic scene; and, doubtless, their feeling of the present danger might, for the moment, make them very much alive to the necessity of some agreement among themselves. When "the sweet sensations" had had their course, a Feuillant member proposed that a report of what had passed should be sent to the king by a deputation of twenty-four members, as when the Assembly was re-united the legislative power ought to be re-united also. Then Brissot, who had prepared a long-winded oration to prove that nothing could save France but the king's *déchéance* or dethronement, begged to say that, after so touching a spectacle as that which had just been witnessed, he could not find it in his heart to pronounce a discourse which might re-awaken discord and bad feeling; and that he must put off the reading till to-morrow. The Assembly decreed that all the administrative bodies of Paris and all the judicial bodies should be summoned to the bar to learn the perfect reconciliation which had taken place, and to transmit the report of it to their fellow-citizens. "This," said Bazire, "will restore tranquillity to all Paris." Carnot thought it would give joy and peace to all France, and prove to the nation that the constitution as at present established would never be changed. The return of the deputation sent to the Tuileries was almost immediately followed by the arrival of the king, attended by all

his ministers. Once more, and for the last time in that place, the cry of "Vive le Roi" was coupled with that of "Vive la nation." With the hollo-
 lowest faith of all—for Louis had not been carried away by any momentary enthusiasm, and was physically and morally incapable of such transports—for Louis well knew that the reconciliation would be as suddenly destroyed as it had been made—for Louis never believed that the constitution as it was could be other than a curse to him and to his country, and the ruin of the church and religion he most devoutly revered—for Louis felt to-day as he had felt yesterday, that nothing but an armed interference could save him and his family from destruction, and France from anarchy and atheism—he stood at the president's right hand and said—"Gentlemen, the most touching spectacle to my heart is that of the reunion of all parties and wills for the good of the country. I have for a long time desired this salutary moment; my prayer is now fulfilled. The nation and their king are but one. Both have the same end in view. Their reunion will save France. The constitution as it is ought to be the rallying-point of all Frenchmen. We ought all of us to defend it, the king will ever set you the example." The applause and the cries of "Vive la nation! Vive le roi!" were renewed. Then the president made an answer conformable, telling the king that from this happy union would proceed the force necessary to vanquish the tyrants that had coalesced against the French and liberty and equality; and then the king appeared to be much moved. After a dead silence, which was the rarest thing in that Assembly, and which must have been very short, Louis said that he had impatiently expected the arrival of the deputation to be enabled to run to the Assembly, to express his great happiness; and then he bowed and retired in the midst of faces radiant with joy, and of tremendous shouts of applause. But this very evening the smooth stream was ruffled and driven into fresh eddies and whirlpools by Pétion's business, which was not yet settled, and by the king's confirming the temporary suspension pronounced against the mayor by the directory of the department; and, when the deputies re-assembled after dinner, the mob outside the House and the mob within cried furiously to them, "Give us back Pétion! Give us back our virtuous mayor! Down with the directory of the department! Send their president la Rochefoucauld to Orleans!" The following day was a Sunday; the Assembly did not meet; the patriots and patriotesses grew hotter and hotter about the affair of Pétion; the touching reconciliation of the preceding day was forgotten, or only mentioned to be called "the kiss of Lamourette," or "the kiss of Judas," or "the Norman reconciliation"—which last was proverbially the commencement of a fresh and a more furious quarrel. And, if the Assembly did not meet, the Jacobin Club met this Sunday evening, and in great force, to make havoc with the priest and his project. Billaud-Varennes,

one of the many mouth-pieces of Robespierre, bade all true Jacobins beware of the deep treachery that lay hid under this plan of reconciliation. "Although," said he, "there have been transports of joy in the National Assembly, I can bring nothing to this tribune but sinister and mournful presentiments. A re-union of all the parties has been effected in the bosom of the legislative body. But the first objection which this strange kissing and embracing gives rise to, is to know whether it is or whether it can be sincere. . . . I speak as I think: to see such a deputy of the Assembly throwing himself into the arms of such another, is like seeing Nero embrace Britannicus, is like seeing Charles IX. giving his hand to Coligny, whom he caused to be assassinated! The eve of all the great conspiracies against our liberty has been celebrated by perjured reconciliations and reunions. The massacre on the altar of the country in the Champ de Mars was introduced by a reconciliation of the sort. These Judases never give kisses but to deliver their victims, the people, to destruction! When I see the Assembly inviting the king, who is inviting foreign armies to Paris, to witness and be a party to this Lamourette reconciliation, what can I think of it? And how can this sudden reconciliation agree with the spirit of the republican federates who are coming to Paris to make a new federation feast? How can we believe that this new nonsensical oath can put the country out of danger? Will this theatrical scene stop the marching of the Austrians and Prussians? They may swear eternal friendship and concord as they like, but will this make Lafayette less a traitor and scoundrel than he is? . . . The honest men in the Assembly have been duped, and the patriots will be laid under the sharp knife of the guillotine by this reconciliation; for now, to dwell upon the treasons of the court, to unveil its manoeuvres, to give warning of its plots, will be to pass for an anti-royalist and republican, as an execrated and an execrable citizen. I say that, from the very beginning of our revolution down to this day, there has never been a more cunning plot than this! . . . And yet not one patriot member of the Assembly could perceive the snare! Even if they had had all the money of the civil list spread under their eyes, the most corrupt and greedy members ought at least to have reflected that men cannot walk blindfold on the brink of a precipice without imminent danger to themselves. . . . The people must not be deceived for a moment by this reconciliation! If the country is to be saved, it is only the people that can save it. Let them meet and act, and exterminate our enemies! Against crowned brigands and devourers of men, Hercules and his club are needed!" The club ordered that this speech from Billaud-Varennes should be immediately printed and sent to all the affiliated societies.

In the course of the same Sunday, Brissot, in his newspaper, spoke suspiciously of the reconciliation; and almost as soon as the Assembly met on

Monday morning (July 9th), he began to read his promised discourse, which contained the most dreadful denunciations against the court, and a frank recommendation of the salutary measure of déchéance or dethronement, to which Vergniaud and Condorcet had preluded on the 3rd and 6th. After drawing a most alarming picture of the horrors of invasion, Brissot, who had been sighing and dying for a republic ever since the revolution commenced, exclaimed, "The country is in danger, not because it wants troops, not because its troops are not courageous, its frontiers badly fortified, its resources inconsiderable. . . . No! It is in danger because its forces have been paralysed. And who has paralysed them? One sole man; that man whom the constitution has taken for its chief, but whom perfidious counsellors have made our enemy! You are told to fear the Kings of Hungary and Prussia; but I tell you that the principal force of those kings is in our own court, and that it is at the Tuileries that we must first beat them. You are told to strike down the refractory priests all over the kingdom. . . . But I tell you that to strike at the court of the Tuileries is to strike all the priests with one blow. You are told you ought to pursue all the men of intrigue, all the factious, all the conspirators. . . . And I tell you that all these will disappear, if you only strike the cabinet of the Tuileries: for that cabinet is the point where the threads of all intrigues end, is the place where all plots and conspiracies are hatched, and from which every civil impulse is given! The nation has been too long the sport of this cabinet. This is the secret of our position, this is the source of all our woe: it is here that we must apply our remedies." These remedies, according to his prescription, were to include a searching inquiry into the conduct of the king and his ministers, the severe and immediate punishment of Lafayette for his late escapade to Paris and his conduct while there, and the instant proclamation of "The country in danger." He exalted the usefulness and the past services of the popular societies or political clubs, forgetting that he and his party had lost all influence in the Jacobins, and that a deadly hatred like Robespierre's was not to be moderated by Lamourette kisses, or by extorted compliments, or any other means that he or his Girondists could command. Brissot did not yet venture to pronounce the direct proposition of déchéance; but everybody understood his meaning. He had scarcely finished his harangue when the terrified ministers, who had been summoned to give an account of the state of the kingdom, appeared at the bar to be bullied and baited, and then hooted out. They were asked whether they believed that the country was not in danger; and, as their answers were not satisfactory, they were interrupted, insulted, and told to return on the morrow at twelve o'clock, with full and proper reports as to the means of defending the kingdom against invasion. And on the morrow, the 10th of July, the ministers, in evident dread of their

lives, which had been threatened by the galleries and by the mob outside, re-appeared in the House to state the actual strength of the army and navy, and to announce that they had all of them that morning given in their resignations to the king, seeing that, "in such an order of things, or rather, in such an overthrow of all order, it was impossible for them to do any good, or to defend the kingdom against that anarchy which threatened to swallow up everything." And, having said these dangerous words, they rushed out of that terrible Riding-School, like men who had set fire to a train of gunpowder. The Girondists and Jacobins were thrown into transports of joy, for the resignation and the confession of ministers would justify in the eyes of the people the decree that the country was in danger, and the issuing of that decree could hardly fail to hurry on the glorious crisis. On the morning of the 11th, after a report read from the select committee of twelve by Herauld-de-Sechelles, the tremendous decree was voted and issued in these terms.—

"Numerous troops are advancing towards our frontiers. All those who hold liberty in horror are arming against our constitution.

"CITIZENS! THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER.

"Let those who shall obtain the honour of marching first to defend all that they have most dear, ever remember that they are Frenchmen and free; let their fellow-citizens maintain at their homes the security of person and property; let the magistrates of the people watch attentively; let all classes, in a calm courage, the attribute of true strength, wait, before they act, the signal of the law, *and the country will be saved.*"—This was followed by an address of the Assembly to the army, and by another address to the French people in general, who were told to arm and make haste to save liberty and their country, and to keep their oath to live free or die. This last address, in fact, repeated to the people, with a slight difference in the wording, the axioms which Billaud-Varennes had delivered in the Jacobin Club on the evening of the 8th:* it called upon the masses to take the business into their own hands, and it assured them that for four years they had been struggling against despotism, &c., and that liberty could only be saved by their own majestic force and sublime character. At the same time the Assembly declared themselves in permanent session, with the usual declarations and oaths that they would never adjourn until the country was got into a safer condition. Moreover, all the municipalities and civil authorities of the kingdom were ordered to put themselves in permanent surveillance; and every citizen who was in a condition to carry arms, and who had already served in the national guards, was called out. Subsequently the staff of the Paris national guard was entirely re-modelled, the respectability battalions were intermixed with

* It must not be omitted that Robespierre, on the night of the 10th, had indicated in the Jacobin Club the course which the National Assembly pursued on the 11th.

pikemen, and a fresh and extensive manufacture of pikes was ordered all over the kingdom, to make up for the deficiency in muskets and bayonets. On the night of the 11th Baire and other Jacobins told the Assembly that they must discharge all the juges-de-peace of Paris, who were nothing but aristocrats and royalists in disguise; and Chabot announced that it would be very proper and expedient to send the late minister of justice to Orleans. The late ministry had prohibited the federates from marching to Paris, and had even commanded the civil and military authorities to stop them on their march, and send them back to their homes by force; but the federates, only pressed the more urgently by Girondists and Jacobins to come, and to come in sufficient numbers to form the patriot camp of 20,000 men, now began to arrive from various quarters. On this very evening a party of federates from Rochefort were admitted to the bar to present their homages to the Assembly, and to demand the instant impeachment of Lafayette. Other parties presented themselves on the morrow; and thus they continued to arrive day after day, though, for some time, not in such numbers as the patriots expected and earnestly desired. On the 12th, while the Assembly was regulating the forms and ceremonies to be observed at the approaching fête in the Champ de Mars, three or four deputations of federates harangued in the House in the most republican style; and an address was read from the council-general of the commune of Marseilles, calling upon the Assembly to pronounce not merely sentence of déchéance against Louis XVI., but a sentence of death upon all monarchy and sovereignty except that of the people. This hot paper, which, if not written, had been dictated or suggested by Barbaroux and the other Marseilles republicans that were in such close league and unity with the republicans Madame Roland and her husband, did not in the slightest degree mince matters. It said that eternal reason shows that the laws relating to royalty, imposed by the Constituent on the Legislative Assembly, were in contradiction to the rights of man; and that it was time the nation should govern itself. It quoted the Rights of Man—the natural and imprescriptible rights, as liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. All citizens being born equal, and remaining equal in rights, how could the Constituents, their predecessors, lay it down that royalty should be delegated hereditarily to the reigning race by order of primogeniture? What had this reigning race done to be preferred to every other race of men? What was its moral character in the midst of a regenerated people? Why had the Constituent made a law for declaring the person of one man inviolable? Could this inviolability guarantee him from the knife of an assassin? Was not this inviolability a principle subversive of equality and of every principle of the Rights of Man? Where was the sage, where the member of the Constituent Assembly, that

could say that the son of the best of kings might not be the greatest of scoundrels? And what were the obligations the French people had to this privileged reigning race? What were its services to the country? It had kept the people for ages under the yoke, and had ruled with a rod of iron. It could only count a succession of men loaded with vice and crime. Would the people any longer rely on a man who had the incurable habit of tyranny, and who would soon join his brothers beyond the frontiers to wage the fiercest of wars against liberty and the people? How, while the nation was suppressing, upsetting, destroying all the monuments of tyranny and servitude, could it bend the knee before a perjured family?" In concluding, it mentioned the monstrosity of the civil list, of the suspensive veto, &c., and said, "Legislators, avow that your predecessors the Constituents have constituted nothing; and if you would be anything, if you would respond to the wishes of the nation, abrogate at once a law which reduces you to nothing and the people to nothing; which you can destroy by and with the people, and which the duty of self-preservation will no longer permit the people to suffer. Let the executive power be chosen and dismissed by the people, like the other functionaries, and let no more credit be given to those culpable maxims which tend to make it be believed that an hereditary king can represent the nation!" The galleries applauded and shouted; but none shouted so loudly as the federates that had come up from the departments. A great number of members, however, rose all together, and with signs of great indignation, to reprobate this republican manifesto, and call down vengeance on the heads of its authors. One of them reminded the Assembly how very often they had sworn to maintain the constitution as it was, and how recently, at the Lamourette reconciliation, they had, by a solemn declaration, devoted to execration every project for altering the constitution; he thought the offence, in the present case, the more serious and unpardonable, as it proceeded from a constituted authority, the council of a commune who had all signed their names to the paper; and he concluded by moving that these individuals should be all brought to the bar to answer for their audacious libel. But the galleries expressed their strong disapprobation, and several Girondist and Jacobin members cried down the motion, and proposed a variety of new ones. One of them said that the Marseilles address ought to be set aside for the present, or referred to the next Legislative Assembly; another thought that it ought to be submitted immediately to the extraordinary committee of twelve; and several of them joined in recommending the order of the day. Lacroix quoted a rule, which the Assembly had lately laid down, that every address or petition of this kind should be referred to the committee of twelve, insisting vehemently that they were bound to adhere to this rule in the present case. He was cheered by the galleries,

and especially by the federates there stationed, and who, at every move, took a direct part in the debate. Several members of the *côté droit*, exceedingly provoked at these provincial patriots, demanded furiously that they should be called to order, and reprimanded for their unconstitutional insolence. "It is very astonishing," said Lacroix, "that members of this Assembly should thus brave the federates!" "It is very astonishing," replied Girardin, "that the federates should brave the Assembly, and that the soldiers of the law and liberty should show no respect to the deliberations of their legislators!" The president, who also got into a passion, said, "I announce to the federated citizens, that the Assembly, by a decree, forbids all citizens in the galleries to express either approbation or disapprobation; and I remind the members of the Assembly, who ought to set the example of decency and calmness, that it is the president alone who has the right of calling the galleries to order." At an earlier stage of the debate the president had ordered the commander of the national guards on duty at the Hall to place four sentinels in each division of the galleries; but this order had produced no visible effect. After a terrible hurricane, it was decided that the Marseilles address should be forthwith referred to the committee of twelve. Other addresses were presented from the commune of Lille, from the department of the Lower Rhine, from the commune of Metz, &c., representing the imminent danger to which the country was exposed, and the imperative necessity of adopting the most vigorous methods for satisfying and uniting the people, who continued impressed with the belief that the king and the commanders of the French armies were betraying them. To keep up the ferment, to madden brains that were mad enough without, the Jacobins had a grand meeting on the 13th, when Camille Desmoulins commenced operations by announcing that a bloody plot was on the point of breaking out; that Luckner had been seen in Paris, and that Lafayette had secretly returned there that very morning. To-morrow, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, was to be consecrated to the fête of the new federation. Was Lafayette come to make another and a more fearful massacre in the Champ de Mars? Or were he and Luckner only come to steal away the king, and carry him to the Austrian camp? He (Camille) thought that this last measure, which must lead to many massacres, was the motive of their coming; and he read several letters, and among them what he called an intercepted letter of the queen, to support his opinion, and to convince the Jacobins how necessary it was to watch the Tuileries. Merlin and Chabot followed Camille, the ex-capuchin vowing that he had seen a letter from Lafayette to the queen, in which that traitor announced that he would be in Paris on the 13th, when all would go well if the court would only be bold. Chabot also settled where the provincial federates should meet on the morrow

morning before marching to the Champ de Mars. "These true patriots," said he, "can only meet in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and form into line with the conquerors of the Bastille; for they did not come to Paris to federate with the court and the gentlefolks of Lafayette. No! They came to federate with the *sans-culottes*, to fraternise with the people of Paris, and assist them with their vigorous arms in extirpating despotism and annihilating tyrants!" Robespierre, whose eloquence was never so effective as when instilling suspicion and dread, followed the ex-capuchin. He hoped that the federates, the Jacobin Society, and all patriots were convinced that there was some frightful plot, and were prepared to be on the alert. He knew for a certainty that the ex-war-minister Narbonne had been for some days in the capital, and that an aide-de-camp of Lafayette's and other suspicious persons had been seen prowling about the court and city. He could not possibly believe that it was for nothing these known conspirators came into the heart of the capital at the critical moment of this federation. He would not take it upon himself to say how these conspirators meant to begin their infernal work. All that he was certain of was that Lafayette was meditating a grand state crime, which he would endeavour to throw upon the Jacobins. Everybody knew how cunning Lafayette was in inventing pretexts for employing muskets and bayonets against the people. Could the federates, who had come up to Paris with such pure principles, with such severe principles, do anything better than unmask the false patriots that were sitting in the Assembly, and find instantly the means of punishing a traitor like Lafayette, whose existence was incompatible with the existence of liberty and tranquillity in France? He hoped the federates would not disappoint the high hopes which had been founded upon them and their arrival. He had drawn up an address to the federates, telling them that the country was in danger, only because the country was betrayed; that they were the last great hope of the country; that they had not come merely to get up a spectacle; that their mission was to save the state and reform the constitution; that they ought only to swear fidelity to the nation and to themselves, omitting those parts of the old ridiculous oath which included bad laws and the name of a king, &c. Danton boldly announced that the federates were not to separate after the fête, but to invite others to join them, so as to form a formidable camp somewhere near Paris. He also recommended a supplementary oath to be taken by the federates—an oath never to separate until all the wishes of the people were accomplished, &c. As for the king's veto upon the camp, Danton thought it was only worthy of attention as a proof of the royal intention to betray the country, and leave the capital open to the Austrians and Prussians.

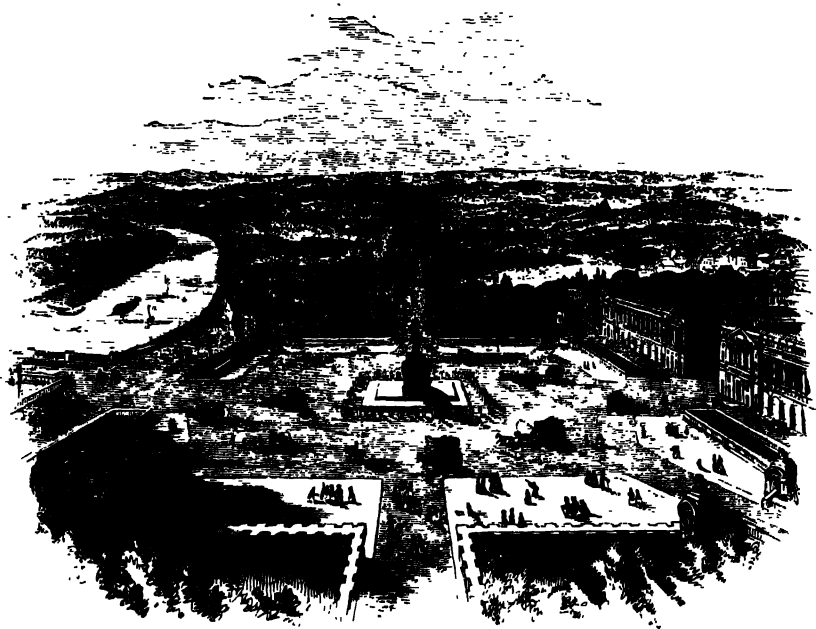
On the morning of the 14th the federates, who did not exceed four or five thousand men (but

more were on the road, who cared not for the festival, but were determined to strike a blow as soon as they came), assembled in the faubourg St. Antoine with the most desperate of the sans-culottes; the pike-men and pike-women were admitted into the ranks of the national guards, whose commanders had been all changed; the gendarmerie on foot and horseback, and all the troops of the line then in Paris, drew up on the boulevards; and from the square of the Bastille to Port St. Martin nothing was seen but troops and an armed multitude, the rough pikes being rather more numerous than the bayonets. Some of Lafayette's respectability battalions were observed to be sadly thinned; the bankers, the stock-brokers, the merchants, the lawyers, the men of property or gentlemanly habits, had refused to serve under the sans-culotte commandants that had been appointed. About the hour of noon a deputation of the National Assembly, headed by the president, went in procession to the site of the Bastille, and there, in the midst of warlike music and shouts that were heard leagues off, they laid the foundation-stone of a column dedicated to liberty, which was to be very majestic and very classical, but which, like so many other works projected in the enthusiasm of the moment, was never finished. When the stone was laid, a faubourg orator delivered an harangue upon this text—"All the kings of the earth are conspiring against us; therefore let us swear the ruin of all kings." After this gratifying ceremony the troops and the federates, and the municipal officers, and all manner of constituted bodies fell into order, according to the programme which the Assembly had voted, and began to march slowly towards the Champ de Mars, with the tables of the Rights of Man, with statues of liberty, and incense burning before them, with caps of liberty on pikes and tremendous long poles, with a murderous-looking broad-sword, called the sword of the law, on a table covered with crape, and carried by men dressed all in black, and wearing cypress wreaths on their heads. Nearly every man wore on his hat the words "Long live Pétion!" or "Pétion or Death!" The virtuous mayor, who had only been reinstated in his mayoralty by decree of the Assembly the night before, was the real hero or idol of this feast, as Lafayette had been of the federation of 1790; but, although the blinking eyes of Pétion could not see it, his glory had reached the culminating point. The wretched king, who had not been able to prevent this new federation, made up his wavering mind to be present at it, with some most faint hope that, by showing himself in the midst of the people and these much-dreaded federates from the provinces, and by protesting and taking fresh oaths, he might turn the ceremony to his own advantage, disarm the popular animosity, and still that terrible cry for déchéance, which could only be a synonyme for death. The queen, who showed on every occasion a determination to share in the dangers of her

husband, insisted upon accompanying him. They both expected that attempts would be made upon their lives by some fanatic assassins. Since the irruption into the Tuileries on the 20th of June, Louis had worn under his waistcoat a plastron, or quilted breast-piece, which had been provided by Madame Campan. It had been proved by daggers and pistol-bullets. They wished the queen to wear a similar defence, but she refused, replying to the tears and entreaties of Madame Campan that the blow of an assassin would be happiness for her, as it would deliver her from a most miserable existence. They took the little Dauphin with them to the Champ de Mars, where they arrived long before the procession, and where they were kept waiting, without receiving one sign of respect or good-will, except from a few timid hirelings whom Bertrand de Molleville had paid to cry "Vive la Reine" when the queen should hold up the Dauphin in her arms to show him to the people. The Champ de Mars was surrounded with eighty or more pieces of artillery; and every inscription, emblem, or device looked like a threat and a malediction to royalty. The wooden altar of the country, which had been done up anew by the scene-painters and upholsterers of the theatres, was decorated with red caps of liberty: opposite to it was a lugubrious pyramid covered with cypress and yew, and bearing the inscription, "To the Citizens who have died for their country on the frontiers. Tremble, tyrants, we are rising to avenge them!" and in another direction, in the midst of the Champ de Mars, there was a tall Mai, or tree of liberty, hung all round with scutcheons, cordons of the suppressed orders of knighthood, helmets and emblazonries, intertwined with chains and fetters; and at the foot of this tall liberty-tree were heaped, as materials for a great bonfire, kingly crowns and coronets of all kinds, genealogy books, parchment titles of nobility, doctors' bonnets, judges' ermines, and lawyers' bags stuffed full of paper—all to be consumed, with all the abominations that hung upon the pole, as a type and assurance of the completion of the revolution now at hand. Besides this loaded liberty-tree, there were eighty-three other trees, one for each department, surmounted by red caps and tricolor streamers, and inscriptions appropriate to the occasion. At last—at about five o'clock in the evening—the multitudinous procession, loosely estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000 men, women, and children, began to arrive, deafening the royal ear with shouting "Long life to Pétion! Pétion or Death!" and revoluting the strong religious feelings of the king by filling the air with church incense, burnt before the only god of the French, the plaster-of-Paris image of Liberty. When the federates and the pikemen, the national guards and the troops of the line, had volleyed their oaths, as if they had been firing shot at the enemy, the king proceeded on foot, from a tent which had been pitched for him and his family, to the deal altar of the country to swear again to that consti-

tution which was falling all to pieces, and which was so soon to bury him and his under its ruins. Necker's daughter saw him quit the tent and his wife and child, and did not expect to see him return alive, for the mob pressed round him, and seemed rushing to annihilate him from every quarter. But Louis walked firm and erect, uninjured except by words, and he ascended the mock altar, as the noblest of martyrs may have mounted the scaffold or embraced the stake. These were the moments of his greatness—but then followed the littleness and moral bathos of the oath, which a martyr of old would scarcely have sworn. The president of the Assembly and a host of other functionaries committed, knowingly and wilfully, the same act of perjury, in the midst of cannonading, shouting, and Ça Ira singing. Louis then descended, and traversed again the

confused mass of the people, which rolled and roared like the Bay of Biscay in a storm. These people never saw him again until they saw him, firm and composed even as he now was, upon the guillotine scaffold in the Place Louis XV., renamed "Place de la Revolution." "Never," says Madame de Staël, "will the expression of the queen's countenance be effaced from my memory! Her eyes were filled with tears; the splendour of her dress and the dignity of her carriage contrasted in the most striking manner with all the people and things that surrounded her. Nothing but some national guards separated her from the populace; the armed men, collected in the Champ de Mars, looked as if they had met not for a fête, but for an insurrection." No order was preserved; the unarmed mob was mixed with the armed mob and the troops; pikes, bayonets, clubs, all



PLACE LOUIS XV. From an old French Print.

were huddled together; and all the countenances that did not express hatred and fury, and a fanaticism excited to the utmost, bore the expression of doubt, suspicion, terror. The slightest accident, any one of those occurrences which so commonly attend such immense assemblages of people, would, from the state men's minds were in, have led to a scene of havoc and slaughter—would have left that Champ de Mars and the quays on the

Seine littered with wounded and dead. As soon as the swearing was over, a large portion of those who had only come out to see a sight went homeward, giving vent to their disappointment and their criticisms on such a *triste spectacle*. Those who remained behind set to dancing the Carmagnole: the great bonfire, that was to be, was quite forgotten, and the liberty-tree, with all its scutcheons and emblems of royalty and feu-

dality, left standing. At last somebody thought of this great political lesson; and some patriot deputies of the Assembly, Girondists and Jacobins mixed, with the great Genoussé and the as great Jean Debrie at the head of them, took torches in their hands, and set fire to the heap.* The king returned to the Tuileries in the midst of a crowd, where no one cried God bless him, but where every one was straining his throat for Pétion. The mayor's creatures, Manuel, Couthon, and some other patriots of that deep Jacobin hue, were also applauded. All the spectators, not even excepting the few who took an interest in the king's fate, regarded this triumph of Pétion as the forerunner of the ruin of Louis, or rather of his final destruction, for he and his cause had been ruined long before this gloomy feast of pikes. The queen saw and said that all was lost.† If the federates had been in greater numbers, the great blow would have been struck on this very day; and Louis, in all probability, would not have returned alive to the Tuileries. But five hundred Swiss guards, who were not like the Swiss of the Château-Vieux regiment, three hundred gens d'armes, and some three thousand national guards, who were fancied to be devoted to the king, and ready to die for him, imposed some respect. If a royalist writer is to be believed, these brave friends offered to form a moving rampart round Louis and his family, and to carry them out of Paris, and for some distance along the road to the northern frontiers: they conjured the king not to neglect this last chance of escape, and were grieved when they saw him reject their bold plan (far too bold for poor Louis) and return quietly to his palace, which had been for so long a time his prison.‡

After the feast of the federation or of pikes, the federates began to flock into Paris in greater numbers. The cause of their delay had been their want of money: cash was now sent from the capital, patriotic subscriptions were opened in all the Jacobin clubs of the kingdom, and anon the Assembly voted them thirty sous a-day per man. These federates were, for the most part, as desperate as poverty and Jacobin fanaticism could make them. They had all been indoctrinated in the provincial clubs, and were quite ready to do whatever the clubs might recommend. We have already caught some glimpses of them in the galleries of the Assembly; but in course of time, as they became more numerous, they took, with the consent or approval of the Girondists and the Jacobins of the Assembly, entire possession of those galleries, to the exclusion of all other citizens and citizenesses. From this moment the legislature was under the absolute control of the pikes. Taking, in many guises, the

supplementary oath recommended by Danton, the federates swore they would not march to the frontiers until they had destroyed the enemies of liberty in the interior. At the same time the Assembly, not professing any longer an unmeaning respect for the executive, or for a constitution laid prostrate in the dirt, re-organised all the regiments of the line that were in or near to Paris, formed the soldiers of the terrible ex-Gardes Françaises into a corps of gendarmerie, gave their orders directly to the regiments, and even ordered the Swiss guard, whose fidelity to the king was unquestionable, to march to the frontiers. The new cabinet, which Louis had formed with extreme difficulty, and without any hope of their being able to act ministerially, or to do him any service, had scarcely had courage enough to represent that the constitution left the command of the public forces to the sovereign, or to offer any remonstrance; but M. d'Alfly, the commander of the Swiss, quoted the capitulations under which he and his countrymen served in France, proving that they were not bound to march to the frontiers, and positively refusing to quit Paris, or their service near the person of the king, for which alone they had been engaged. While the Assembly thus managed the war department, the Jacobins dictated how it ought to be managed, and made their preparations for changing all things in France, through the agency of terror and the guillotine. The federates formed themselves into a central committee in one of the apartments of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré. The avowed object of this central committee, which soon took the name of Comité Insurrectionnel, was to bring about a popular insurrection in every corner of France. At first, in order that its resolutions and measures might be kept secret, its number was limited to five:—Vaugeois, an apostate priest; Debesse de la Drôme; Guillaume, a professor from Caen; Simon, a newspaper editor from Strasburg; and Galissot de Langres. But, as this number was found insufficient for the immensity of business on hand, fourteen other members were added to this insurrectional committee. Among the chosen fourteen were Carra; Westermann; Santerre, now commandant of all the Faubourg St. Antoine; Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marcel, or St. Marcel; Manuel; Camille Desmoulins; and the redoubtable Danton. This precious committee entered into a perfect understanding with mayor Pétion, and also with beau Barbaroux, who was now daily expecting the arrival of his Marseilles band—"six hundred Marseillaise, who knew how to die." Their coup d'état was to burst into the Tuileries, and depose, if not murder, the king; but they wanted some strong stimulus to excite the people—some excessive provocation, which should make the mob alike insensible of fear and of mercy. And how was this to be brought about? What means were there of casting some horrible imputation on the court at this juncture? Chabot pondered, and they all pondered; but the imagination of the ex-capuchin

* According to Carn, it was the king and the president of the Assembly that ought to have set fire to these emblems of royalty and feudality; and Louis had either forgotten or purposely omitted that duty.

† Different newspapers of the day, as quoted in Hist. Parlement—Madame de Stael, Considérations; Madame Campan, Mémoires; Bertrand de Molléville.

‡ Mém. de la Varenne, Hist. Particulière des Evénemens de Juin, Juillet, Août, et Septembre, 1792.

hit upon an admirable expedient. He said that it was much to be wished that the court would attempt to assassinate some patriotic deputy of the National Assembly; but that, as the court was not likely to do any such thing, it would be highly patriotic if some deputy would consent to get himself assassinated, in order that it might be said the court had done it. Little Grangeneuve, the same who had had some foretaste of martyrdom in the beating he got on the Feuillant terrace from Jounneau, took Chabot aside, and said to him, "Your plan is most admirable, and I will be the victim!" Chabot, "with an inspired air," exclaimed, "Ah! my friend, you shall not be alone! I will share that glory with you!" "Well," replied Grangeneuve, "he it is you will: one is enough, but two dead patriots would do still better. Let us settle the means of execution." The ex-capuchin said that he charged himself with the execution; and would find some sure men that would lie in wait by night, between the Jacobin Club and the Tuileries. A day or two after he assured Grangeneuve that he had got everything ready. "Well then," said Grangeneuve, "let the thing be done to-morrow night, between the hours of ten and twelve, as we shall be returning from the committee; but your men must take care to kill us outright, and not merely maim us." The little Girondist lawyer went home, made his last will and testament, &c., and on the following night, at the proper hour, went to the appointed place to get assassinated; but the ex-capuchin had not kept his appointment, nor could Grangeneuve find any man or men posted to murder him; and so was obliged "to return home safe and sound—*de rentrer chez lui sain et sauf*." Such is the account given by the high priestess of the Gironde republicans, who holds that the plan was in itself an admirable one, and that Grangeneuve—"the best of men, who had but an ordinary head, but a truly great soul"—acted as a virtuous patriot ought to have acted; but who says that Chabot's conduct was such as might have been expected "from the cowardice of a priest and the hypocrisy of a capuchin." Yet, on the other side, the Jacobin republicans say that it was not their dear brother Chabot, but the pultroonery of Grangeneuve, the Girondist, that spoiled this beautiful project; that the ex-monk kept his appointment like another Brutus, and that the little Bordeaux lawyer skulked home to his bed by a different street.

As the monk or the lawyer broke down in their patriotic design, as one or the other, or, which is far more probable, as both repented at their leisure of the notion which had presented itself in a moment of enthusiasm, of getting themselves assassinated in order to furnish materials for a frightful calumny, it was necessary to think of other means of exciting the people. The federates thought that those public men who were so eager for a republic, and who had already reduced monarchy to its last gasp, ought specifically to point out to them, and

the leaders of the sans-culottes, how the last blow was to be struck; but these public men—Girondist and Jacobin members of the Assembly, mayor Pétion, &c.—were anxious that the federates and the sans-culottes should take all the guilt or the risk upon themselves, and proceed as if by their own spontaneous movement. Marat, who was still lying in hiding in the miserable lodging of a poor Parisian attorney, was disgusted and incensed at all this indecision and procrastination. He sent for the Marseillaise Barbaroux, whom he had known in former days, when that French Antinous was studying or dabbling in the physical sciences. He told Barbaroux that the French, after all, were mere children in revolution-making. "Give me," said the hideous, diseased, decrepit wretch, whom one blow from a manly arm would have annihilated, "only give me two hundred Neapolitan braves, with daggers in one hand, and muffs over the other for shields, and with them I will traverse all France, and make the revolution!" The Assembly, he said, ought to order every aristocrat to wear a white riband on his arm, so that the people might know them all. "But," added he, "the people, without any such mark, can hardly go wrong, if they fall upon all such as have horses and carriages, valets, and sumptuous dresses, and all such as frequent the theatres; for surely these are all aristocrats!" Beau Barbaroux went away horrified: not that he, and the party with whom he was acting, would have objected to a copious blood-letting, but that Marat, in his impetuosity, let out the secret that he considered the Girondists as no better democrats than the noblesse, the court, the Feuillants, and all the other classes not rabble and sans-culottes; and that he was foredooming them all alike to the guillotine and the pikes. Finding that Barbaroux was not his man, Marat sought out Robespierre; but the impression left by his conferences with that great Jacobin was, that he had not courage sufficient to put himself at the head of the people, and work out the grand system by massacres and executions. He then saw Danton, and thought better of his spirit; but Danton was at this moment in the pay of the court, who continued this hopeless means of self-defence, though no one of the numerous men they had bribed or paid had ever done them the least good. He could not wish that the source which supplied him abundantly with the means of revelry and debauchery (in all respects Danton was a coarse resemblance of Mirabeau) should be stopped and dried for ever: his enthusiasm for a republic was of a less impatient kind than the enthusiasm of his friends; and, after all, Danton's personal courage was rather problematical. Marat now saw, like the rest of them, that they must wait events and accidents. Upon certain conditions, the Girondists would yet have negotiated with the king, and would have duped that helpless, wretched sovereign into the belief that they were yet strong enough to save him. They knew that the present cabinet, which was never completed, could not stand many weeks.

They dreaded the Jacobins, and hated them as much as ever. If Louis would reinstate the Gironde ministry, and submit entirely to the will of that party—if, he would only stop the marching of the Prussians and Austrians, dismiss Lafayette, &c.—they would yet support the throne, keep off in the Assembly the discussion of the question of déchéance, and join the court, the Feuillants, and the moderate party called the centre, in curbing and chastising the insolence of the Jacobins. A secret negotiation to this end was actually carried on by Brissot, Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, through the intermedium of one Boze, portrait-painter to Louis XVI., and Thierry, a valet-de-chambre at the Tuileries; and it was not suspended, but apparently in full progress, when the fédérates from Marseilles, and sundry other agencies, interrupted it, and buried it, with a hundred other schemes and intrigues, in a chaos of confusion and blood. When Danton saw that the court must be destroyed, he resolved to have part in its destruction.

Though not disposed to join in the march against the Tuileries with the fédérates and sans-culottes, Robespierre certainly laboured more than any man to hasten that great event. On the 17th of July, when the Assembly, on the report and recommendation of Carnot, had just decreed that the army should be increased to half a million of men, some of the fédérates appeared at the bar to deliver a tremendous discourse which had been written for them by Robespierre, and which demanded the instant suspension of the executive power and the condign punishment of Lafayette. He continued these attacks in the clubs and in his newspaper, endeavouring to show that the real friends of liberty ought to begin with the punishment of the arch-traitor who had so recently insulted them within the very walls of Paris. After long deliberations, the legislative committee of the Assembly pronounced, on Saturday the 21st of July, that they had not yet found sufficient grounds of accusation against Lafayette; and thereupon the Assembly agreed to adjourn that great question. Robespierre had foreseen what would happen, and had taught the people what they ought to do in such a case. The tocsin was sounded in the suburbs; the Assembly was surrounded by an immense multitude, threatening vengeance to all that dared interpose between their wrath and the objects of it; the scenes of the 20th of June were on the point of being renewed, when mayor Pétion arrived in a hackney-coach, and told the people that it was not yet time—that they ought not to waste their strength in partial movements; and thereupon the patriots and patriotesses suspended their march to the Tuileries. But on the morrow, which was a Sunday, when all the working-people would be idle and abroad, a grand spectacle was got up, which seemed well calculated to convert these partial movements into a universal and irresistible insurrection. The proclamation of "The country in danger" had been printed and distributed all over

France, but now it was to be proclaimed by heralds and by minute-guns, and with every circumstance and appliance that could make it more impressive and more terrible. Mayor Pétion and his municipals—preceded and surrounded by troops, artillery, trumpets, and deadened drums—went processionally all through Paris, carrying an enormous black banner, inscribed, "Citizens! the country is in danger!" and stopping in all the principal squares or places, while the heralds told the citizens by word of mouth, and with dolorous wailings of trumpets, that the country was in danger—the alarm-cannons firing all the while from Pont Neuf and the arsenal. When the procession was over, one great flag, with the inscription, "Citizens! the country is in danger!" was planted in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and another black flag on the Pont Neuf, there to remain until the legislature should declare the danger to be over. Numerous booths and tents, with smaller flags bearing the same device, "Citizens! the country is in danger!" with red liberty caps on pike-heads, with crowns of laurel and oak leaves, and other emblems and devices, were thrown open in various parts of the city and faubourgs; and in every one of them there was a long table balanced upon drum-heads, and ink, paper, and pens, and three municipal officers to take down the names of all such patriots as would voluntarily enlist and engage to march for the defence of the country. In a very few days ten thousand and more signatures were obtained in these bureaux. But the enlisting patriots were not to march to the frontiers, or to go to meet either Prussians or Austrians: they were to remain in Paris, or at Soissons, or at some other place in the neighbourhood, to join the provincial fédérates, and form with them that true camp of liberty which had been so long announced.

Everything seemed now to denote that some terrible dénouement was at hand; and that the people themselves would act for and by themselves. On the morning of the 23rd more fédérates appeared at the bar of the Assembly to demand the suspension of the king and his immediate trial, and to recommend the immediate assembling of a National CONVENTION, which might pronounce judgment upon "certain pretended articles of the constitution." Manuel proposed that the people themselves should assemble in the Champ de Mars and make a constitution according to their own interests and notions. An address came up from the town of Angers demanding the déchéance, and a multiplicity of addresses poured in from many parts of the kingdom to intimate that the revolution must go onward, or France and liberty would be lost. On or about the 27th of July the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto was received, and it was known in Paris that he had commenced his march from Coblenz with the Prussian army, having in his van all the armed emigrants, who were promising themselves a certain victory and a terrible revenge. Contrary to the interest and the wishes of Louis XVI., and

the instructions he had given to Mallet-du-Pan, Brunswick's manifesto was of the most fulminatory kind. In its composition the Prussian ministers and Brunswick had listened not to Louis, but to the emigrants, who were altogether incapable of their king's moderation and gentleness, and whose lives, unlike his own, were not at the mercy of the sanguinary Jacobins. The paper began with an exposition of the grievances the allies had suffered, and this is scarcely to be taxed with untruth or exaggeration:—"Their majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia," said the duke, "having intrusted me with the command of the combined armies assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and the principles by which they are guided. After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the king and against his august family,—those who have seized on the reins of government have at length filled the measure of their guilt by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression; and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party and their emissaries. His majesty the King of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty in the bonds of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and of his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany. To these high interests is added another important object, and which both the sovereigns have cordially in view, which is, to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled. Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors,—his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace." After affirming that the two allied courts,

drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, had no other object in view than the welfare of France, and had no intention of making conquests, (the language of diplomacy had not been very different when these powers were proceeding to the first and second partition of Poland,) the manifesto went on to declare, 2. "That they (the allies) do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to ensure to his most Christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises and to the utmost of his power. 3. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout all France. 4. That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible: that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace. 5. That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the French regular troops are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign. 6. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the confagurations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions until his most Christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or till further orders be given in his name. 7. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half-open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned: on the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately taken under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their pro-

erty and their persons shall be secured by the laws and each and all of them shall be in full safety. 8 The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to him, and to all the royal persons, that inviolability and respect which are due by the laws of nature and of nations to sovereigns, their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern, and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their oath and word of emperor and king, that, if the palace of the Tuileries be forced or insulted, if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family, if they be not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction, and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris to employ their good offices with his most Christian majesty to procure for them a pardon for their insults and errors and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions. Finally, their majesties, not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France except those which shall be derived from the king when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety, and with this view their imperial and royal majesties invite and entreat his majesty to name a town in his kingdom nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen and royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose, so that his most Christian majesty may in perfect safety send for such ministers and counsellors as he may be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom. "In fine," concluded the commander-in-chief of the allied army, "I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be truly observed everywhere, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall sub-

mit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance or of manifest evil intentions. I, therefore, call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them everywhere to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance and show them all the benevolence which circumstances may require." This manifesto, dated Coblenz, the 25th of July, was followed by an "Additional Declaration," dated Coblenz July the 27th. The main or sole purpose of this latter paper was to seek an additional security for the lives of the royal captives in menaces and terror. "I declare besides," said the Duke of Brunswick, "that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and royal family shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission. All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the king and royal family, to whatever place the factions may attempt to carry them. Their imperial and royal majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most Christian majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him), unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered."

These papers, which were issued in the full confidence of an easy victory, and which were intended to terrify the Jacobins, produced an effect directly the contrary—not but that there were fears and panics, and plenty of them,—they filled the French people with fury, and they united them in one will and one determination—to resist the enemies coming from abroad, and to destroy in the interior the alleged cause of their coming. Ferocious before, the Parisians now became mad for blood. Other addresses poured in to the Assembly, with the word "Death" written after déchéance, a strong body of republican federates arrived from Brest, nothing was wanted but the Marseillaise band, that knew still better how to make die than to die themselves. At last, on the 30th of July, these southern heroes arrived, being 516 men well armed and appointed, and having with them three pieces of artillery, and a patriotic song or hymn, the famed and truly spirit stirring "March of the Marseillaise," which was to produce

more effect than all the bad poetry and uncountable speeches that had been written or were to be written here afterwards; which was to cheer the hearts of the French in hundreds of battle-fields, and to be continued to be sung by them when its burthen and its sentiments were no longer applicable to their situation, except as a reproach.* They were met at some distance from Paris by beau Barbaroux, brewer commandant Santerre, deputy Merlin, and an infinity of other patriots and republicans, who hugged and kissed them, and conducted them through the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the midst of a cheering, overjoyed multitude to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where they were hugged and kissed anew by Mayor Pétion and his municipals. From the Hôtel-de-Ville they were led to the comfortable barracks of Nouvelle France close by, where they put down their muskets, washed their hands and faces, and brushed the road-dust off their clothes; and then from these barracks they were conducted by deputy Merlin to the Champs Elysées, where a patriotic banquet had been prepared for them.

On their way thither the Marseillaise sang their "Allons, enfans de la patrie," stopped all such citizens as were not wearing the true tricolor cockade—made of worsted, and not of silk, for silk had become a damnable sign of aristocracy—and administered not a few twitches of the nose and kicks behind, the Faubourg St. Antoine following and applauding, or co-operating. Now it happened, by chance or design, that some of the grenadiers of the national guards of the sections Filles St. Thomas and Petits-Pères, or the respectabilities par excellence, were dining this very day at a tavern or restaurateur's hard by in the Champs Elysées. What could happen from this contiguity of fiery particles but a combustion and explosion? And what could be expected but that each party should lay the original provocation to the charge of the other? The grenadiers, who were dining sumptuously like gentlemen, accused the Marseillaise, who were dining like common soldiers, and the faubourg patriots, who were not dining at all, of beginning the scuffle, and said that it was not likely they should have begun the quarrel, as they were only 40 against 516, without counting the rabble who were sure to join the Marseillaise. On the other side—and this was the account

adopted by Mayor Pétion, and presented by him to the Assembly—the *respectable* grenadiers offered an inauspicious provocation by drinking such toasts as "Vive le Roi!" "Vive la Reine!" and by singing unpatriotic songs; the citizens, inflamed at this insolence, pelted the grenadiers with mud and stones; the grenadiers called them hard names, and threatened them; and thereupon the citizens and citizenesses cried out, "*A nous les Marseillais!*" or "Help us, men of Marseilles:" the hot men of the south then rushed out by doors and by windows, leaping over fences and ditches "with an inconceivable agility which astounded and intimidated the grenadiers;" they were presently upon the aristocrats, swords were drawn, several of the grenadiers were wounded, and the rest took to flight—flying where their hearts were, or to the accursed Tuileries.* The wounds and the flight of the respectabilities are indisputable, as is also the fact that one of the fugitives, Duhamel, a sub-lieutenant in his grenadier company, and a stock-broker and money-changer by trade, was wounded in his retreat, and then butchered in a coffee-house to which he fled for refuge. But the federates and their friends say that he provoked and merited his fate, as he carried pocket-pistols, and fired two of them at his pursuers, the brave Marseillaise. They acknowledge, indeed, that poor Duhamel did not hit any one. As the grenadiers approached the Tuileries, the national guards within, who chanced to be of their own respectable battalions, lowered the drawbridge to let them enter, and then raised it quickly to keep out their pursuers. In their haste, however, some of the grenadiers tumbled into the ditch, and there lay in sad plight, for there was more mud than water, and such water as was there was neither so clear nor so sweet as the stream of the Seine. Nearly the whole battalion of the Filles St. Thomas flew to arms to avenge the insult; it is even said that they hauled out some cannon; but this fact rests upon *ex-parte* evidence, and is, at the best, doubtful. In the evening several of these grenadiers, whose feast had been so disturbed, went in deputation to the Assembly to lodge their complaints and to invoke the vengeance of the laws. They would have done much better to have stayed at home, for the Marseillaise, united with the men of Brest and the other federates that had arrived, crammed the galleries and gave the law; and what could the House do against the galleries, even if the majority in it had not been, as they were, of opinion that the Feuillant banqueters had only got what they deserved. "We were tranquilly dining," said the orator of the grenadiers, "when we were assaulted by a mob. We are men devoted to the constitution and to liberty; we were offering no insult to the constitution, which we cherish; and yet we were assailed by showers of stones! Six hundred madmen—[Here the orator was hooted not only by the galleries, but also by a part of the House]—six hundred Marseillaise next fell upon

* "Allons, enfans de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé," &c.

This famous song, which has been heard in every part of the world, and the music of which is still more inspiring than the words, was written, both words and music, by Rouget de Lisle, at this time captain of artillery and man of letters. If we except the sea-songs of our Dibdin, perhaps no man ever did so much, in modern times, by song. Rouget's excessive patriotism and republicanism, and the remembrance of the important services he had rendered by his one happy inspiration, could not, however, save him from suspicion and danger in the time of the Reign of Terror. He was thrown into prison by Robespierre, and, like so many others, would have lost his head if that sanguinary dictator had been allowed to live a day or two longer. He was afterwards wounded in the battle with the emigrants at Quiberon, and maltreated by the journalists under the directory, as having been a Jacobin. And under Buonaparte, who would have destroyed all remembrance of his words and of his music if he had been able, he never attained any eminence or consideration, but was left to languish in some garret of Paris, in obscurity, poverty, and silence. He was alive in 1836; but we believe he is since dead.

* Hist. Parlement.

us with sabres and with pistols! They have assassinated one of our comrades. [‘So much the better’ cried a voice in the galleries.] Others of our brothers were badly wounded. We demand justice: the blood of our brothers cries for vengeance! [Here the orator was called a liar and a rogue, and was hissed and hooted by the galleries.] Legislators, the national guards of Paris have defended you well! You will not, with cold blood, see such assassinations committed under your eyes!” The hissing and the hooting became so terrible that the orator could say no more. The president told him that the Assembly would deliberate; and that in the meantime he and his companions were admitted to the honours of the séance. As they traversed the Hall to take their seats, they were pitilessly hooted by the galleries. The next minute other national guards, who had also been on duty at the Tuileries, but who did not belong to the battalion of Filles St. Thomas, or to the respectability sections, appeared at the bar to depose that the grenadiers had acted both insolently and with cowardice; that the court had certainly set them on, and that the king and queen and the ladies of honour had expressed the most unpatriotic sympathy for the fugitives, who had entered the palace all covered with mud. One of these sans-culotte national guardsmen then narrated how one of the grenadiers had called the Marseillaise a set of brigands, and how he had told him that he must not speak in this manner of patriots who were going to march to the frontier—how, hereupon, the grenadier had sworn that if he was not on duty he would put his sabre into his bowels; and how he, the sans-culotte, had drawn his own sabre upon the grenadier, wishing to kill him; how all that he had been able to do to the said grenadier was to give him a good kick in the belly, and how a crowd of officers interfered, and prevented him and his comrades from putting the said grenadier to death. Here two Jacobin members, Brival and Montaut, cried out in a breath that the grenadiers were indisputably Chevaliers of the Poignard! One of the sans-culotte national guardsmen, proceeding on this hint, next declared that six or seven hundred gentlemen, all dressed in black, had run into the Tuileries, and were still there, in the apartment of the queen. “I warn you,” said he, “that they are going to send a dead body to your bar. These are the men that would commence a counter-revolution!” The president told this orator and his companions that the Assembly would examine the facts that they had averred, and that they, too, were admitted to the honour of seats. Far different from that of the grenadiers was their greeting as they went to their seats; the galleries and a great portion of the Assembly shouted bravos and vivats without number. As soon as these enthusiastic applauses subsided, Grangeneuve, who thought that as much might be made of these matters as could have been made of his and Chabot’s assassination, required that “these gentlemen”—the sans-culotte national

guardsmen—should be invited to attend the Committee of Research and Surveillance, there to give in their very important depositions. Gaston, one of the most republican members of the Assembly, then rose to say that he had been an eye-witness of the scuffling and fighting in the Champs Elysées; that this business was not to be considered as an ordinary event, but as the beginning of some frightful plot against liberty; that the forty grenadiers had certainly been sent on purpose to provoke the patriots, and spoil the “frugal repast” of the Marseillaise. Gaston waxed quite eloquent in describing the agility and valour of the Marseillaise men (five hundred and sixteen against forty). “All of a sudden,” said he, “I saw them leaping the ditches like lions, every one of them with his drawn sabre in his hand. *Gentlemen, it was an imposing spectacle!*” The galleries and a part of the Assembly loudly applauded this orator. After allowing everything to be said that might exasperate the people against the poor grenadiers and the court, the Assembly agreed to leave the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, and then passed to the order of the day. Grangeneuve, however, was not yet satisfied; and he informed the House that a patriotic sentinel had informed him that he had heard an aristocratic officer of the national guards swear that, if the Assembly did not give the grenadiers satisfaction by punishing the Marseillaise, the grenadiers and the best part of the national guards would take the matter into their own hands, and obtain satisfaction before three o’clock the next morning. It was now midnight; but the Assembly, taking into consideration “the known civism of the Parisian national guards, and their respect for the laws,” adjourned without further debate. On the following day, the 31st of July, the Assembly was occupied from morning till night with the same business. A deputation of Marseillaise and sans-culotte national guardsmen mixed declared anew at the bar that there was some horrible plot; that the grenadiers had begun the quarrel in order to lead to a scene of carnage; and they demanded, as essential to liberty and to the personal security of all patriots, that the grenadiers should be brought to judgment, and every aristocratic corps of the national guards cashiered at once. On the other side a numerous deputation appeared for the grenadiers and the respectabilities in general, to attest and solemnly swear that no provocation had been given to the Marseillaise, who had been wilfully deceived and set on by the revolutionary movers in Paris. These facts, they said, could be clearly proved if the Assembly would only allow a fair trial, and if the courts were not terrified out of their duty by the clubs, the mob, and the Marseillaise. “Legislators,” said their orator, “these Marseillaise are still in arms, and in a menacing attitude. Are we to wait until our property and our lives are in danger? And under the reign of liberty are we patiently to expect a civil war in the streets of the capital? Or, true to our oaths to live free or die

ought we not rather to remind this Assembly that its predecessor, the Constituent, confided to our courage the sacred duty of defending the constitution? [Here the galleries burst into shouts of laughter.] Legislators, the heroism of the patience and fraternity, which we, the national guards of Paris, have never from the commencement of the revolution ceased to give proofs of, is entitled to some respect. We come to demand of you to send away these Marseillaise, whose arrival within our walls has already cost the lives of some excellent defenders of liberty. We come to demand vengeance from you; and our coming is a proof of our respect for you and the laws." The orator could say no more, for the Marseillaise and the other federates in the galleries, joining curses and menaces to the peals of laughter, drowned his voice, and drove him and his companions out of the Hall.*

On the 1st and 2nd of August more federates arrived, as fierce and as impatient as the Marseillaise; and then bureaux, or offices, of insurrection, were opened in several inns and wine-shops in the faubourgs, the Jacobins having declared in their club that no more time was to be lost,—that the plot of the royalists and Feuillants must be anticipated, or all would be ruined. On the evening of the 2nd—just after Guadet had carried a decree granting or promising to every Prussian or Austrian soldier that would desert a pension of one hundred livres per annum, the rights of French citizenship, and the free option of serving in the French army or not—the Marseillaise again appeared at the bar of the Assembly to demand the immediate dethronement of Louis XVI, who had been again attempting to butcher the people, and who had never for one moment ceased betraying them. The majority—and the minority had not courage enough to open their lips—voted that this excellent discourse of the patriot soldiers of Marseilles should be printed, and sent to all the departments. Girardin now hazarded a few words on the fate of Duhamel, who had been butchered by the Marseillaise in the coffee-house, and who had left a wife enceinte, and two poor children; but the galleries hooted him, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day. It was now eleven o'clock at night: the debates were concluded, the president had retired, and most of the members were retiring, when a demoniac cry was heard at the door, and in the next instant the hall was inundated by men, women, and children, all shouting, "Vengeance! vengeance!—They are poisoning our brothers: they are poisoning the patriots!" One of the Jacobin deputies said that, as M. Vergniaud, the president, was gone, the oldest member remaining ought to take the chair; and thereupon Lasource, a member of the insurrection committee of the faubourgs, took the president's place, begged the citizens and citizenesses to be calm, and then told them that every deputy there present partook in their just indignation, and would join them in demanding

* Hist. Parlement.

vengeance on those who had been guilty of the horrible crime of poisoning their brethren who were hurrying to Paris and the frontiers for the defence of their country. It should appear that this nocturnal irruption had been preconcerted, and that all the Jacobin members had remained behind in the House, in order to have first speech with the infuriated mob; but president Vergniaud, that great Gironde chief, presently ran back to the hall, turned Lasource out of his chair, and himself addressed the people, telling them that he was ready to hear their petition. The mob orator said that they had not come to present a petition, but to denounce, with bleeding hearts, the most atrocious of crimes: to inform the Assembly that the enemies of the people were poisoning the federates by mixing glass with their bread; that one hundred and sixty of these brave men were already dead, and eight hundred of them dying in the hospitals! "If," said the spokesman, "these brave men had perished in the field like Spartans, there would have been nothing to say about it; but to be poisoned like dogs, and by Frenchmen—this is too horrible!" Vergniaud assured him that the Assembly would send a committee, composed of none but known patriots, to examine the bread and the hospitals; and then the mob withdrew with the same shouts of "Vengeance! vengeance!—They are poisoning our brothers!" Three commissioners were dispatched to Soissons, the alleged scene of the grand poisoning, where some of the federates were forming the camp. On the following day a letter from them was read in the Assembly. They declared that, after most careful search, they had discovered that there had been no poisoning or premeditated mischief whatever; that the bread for the federates had been made in the church of St. Jean, the walls and windows of which were in a sad state [before turning the church into a bakehouse, the sans-culottes no doubt had smashed the windows, and committed other abominations about the edifice—at least this was the treatment churches had been subjected to, in nearly all the towns of France, for many months]; that some bits of the broken panes had been shaken down, and carelessly mixed with the bread; and that this was all. Possibly the federates, who had been to Paris for the first time in their lives, had felt some of that sharp antipathy which exists between Seine water and the bowels of strangers; besides, they had been feasted and regaled by Santerre and the sans-culottes of the faubourgs and popular sections, and had been marching and counter-marching in the dog-days, and were not yet inured to a military life. No doubt some of them were ailing; and, in their suspicious humour, the detection of some ground glass in the bread they were eating would infallibly suggest the notion of their being poisoned. Their cry for vengeance, being communicated to Paris, was as likely as anything to set all the toxins a ringing, and precipitate the people upon the Tuilleries. This was precisely what both Girondists and Jacobins wanted; but, as the people had dispersed

the preceding night without doing anything, and as the pleasant fiction at Soissons could not bear daylight, they now accused the court, the Feuillants, the aristocrats, and the priests of having spread the alarming reports about the poisoning with the intention of making an anarchy and overthrowing the Assembly. The letter from the commission sent to Soissons had scarcely been read, when a deputation of federates came to demand vengeance for the grand crime which had been committed under the walls of Soissons. "So many of our brethren," said their orator, "have perished there, and by poison, that" President Vergniaud, begging his pardon, interrupted him, said that really there had been no poisoning at all, and then ordered the letter from Soissons to be read to them. "Well, then," continued the federate orator, "if there is no poisoning at Soissons, there are here in Paris crimes still more atrocious, since they intend to assassinate the entire people. We denounce to you the executive power; we denounce the court and the ministers, who are wearing a mask of patriotism to deceive the people. We demand from you a categorical answer:—Can you save us? Say yes or no! The people are up: the people wish to save the public interest [*la chose publique*], and you with it!" President Vergniaud assured the orator, and the federates with him, that the Assembly would save everything, and find the means of this salvation in the constitution as it was and in the laws. The federates were of course admitted to the honour of seats. They had scarcely got seated when some of the ministers (we scarcely know their names, and as for functions or authority they had none) came into the House with a message from the king, who was no more a king than they were ministers. In this message, which was written, and signed and countersigned, Louis denied any foreknowledge of the Duke of Brunswick's terrible manifesto, which, as we have shown, was indeed very different from what he had himself advised. The rest of the message is only to be taken as the pleading and prevaricating of a man struggling for life, and for what was far dearer than life—struggling for the lives of wife and children, for the preservation of an ancient dynasty, for religion, which was under the armed heel of atheism, and for a country which was becoming like a hell. In this sense alone can the message be excused; but, before zealots cry out against mental reservation, duplicity, and lying, it would become them to reflect what they might have done themselves, if placed in a situation like that of Louis, who was expecting every moment to see his palace converted into a shambles, and who had and could have no hope except in gaining time, in pacifying, by protestations, the fury of the people, and awaiting the arrival of the Prussians. And yet this very message contained more than one unassailable truth. "I brought with me to the throne," said this already discredited king, "pacific sentiments. . . . I intend to maintain the national independence with my last breath: personal dangers are nothing in comparison with public dangers.

Ah! what are personal dangers to a king from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people! There lies the real wound of my heart. The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness: how much it has always been my sole interest—my first wish. How many griefs might yet be effaced by the slightest marks of its return!" Several deputies of the *côté droit*, vainly hoping that some impression had been made by it in the House, demanded that the message should be printed, and sent to the departments. Lacroix called for the previous question, saying that no doubt the message had been already printed in the royal printing-office, that it was useless to make two editions, and very proper to be careful not to spend the public money except for good purposes. Ducos, the Girondist, said it was not to save the paltry expense of printing that he should vote for the previous question, but because the message expressed sentiments which the king did not feel. "If we trust him now," said he, "we shall repent of it when the Prussians are in Paris! It is not by messages and letters, but by actions, that the king ought to convince us of his sincerity, and of his desire to oppose enemies, who are making war upon us only for him, and in his name!" Isnard, that greater Girondist, said that the king's language had always been very constitutional; but what had been his conduct? What had he really done to stop that plan of counter-revolution which covered all France, and had its ramifications in foreign courts? He would answer this question himself: the king had done nothing, and he would prove it. Here some loud murmurs from the Feuillants interrupted him. "Gentlemen," he continued, "I know not what loadstone it is that incessantly attracts you to the court!" "And you, gentlemen," retorted Champion, who merely repeated an absurdity in which many of his party believed, "you are all sold to the English!" Isnard, the most peppery of all the deputies that had been sent up from the hot south, raged like a demoniac at these words, calling Champion an execrable scoundrel, &c., and denouncing him to the vengeance of the Assembly—to the vengeance of all France! When his rage was over, he logically exposed the many grounds and motives there were for distrusting the king, and everything that came from him; and, after applauding his speech, the majority resolved not only that the king's message should not be printed, but that there was nothing in it deserving the attention of the Assembly.

The very next minute mayor Pétion strutted into the hall with a smiling face, and at the head of a deputation from the commune of Paris. In the name of that commune, which had so long been a power by itself, he demanded the *déchéance* as the only measure that could save the country. "It is with grief," said he, "that the commune and the people of this immense city denounce, by my lips, the chief of the executive power. The people, without doubt, have the right to be indignant against him; but the language of wrath does not

become free men. Constrained by Louis XVI. to accuse him before you, and before all France, we will accuse him without bitterness as without pusillanimous reserves. It is no longer time to listen to that long indulgence which sits so well upon a generous people, but which only encourages kings in their perjuries!" Not satisfied with dwelling on the recent conduct of Louis, who had only become a traitor or deceiver because the revolution had threatened his existence, and the existence of all persons and things that were dearest and most sacred to him, mayor Pétion referred to his early history, and represented one of the mildest and best-intentioned of princes as a bloody tyrant, seeking the destruction of his people, and, above all, the massacre of the noble and enlightened citizens of Paris. He accused him of a monstrous predilection for nobles and priests, and of an aversion to all who were not priests or nobles (which was so remote from the truth, that, long before the revolution began, many of Louis's chosen companions were men of the *Tiers Etat*); and he taxed him with the most monstrous ingratitude to the people, who had been so generous, so kind and considerate to him, even in the moments of excitement and triumph, when they secured their own sovereignty, and when so many reasons would have justified them in dethroning him. "By some remains of indulgence," said he, "we might have wished to be able to desire from you only the suspension of Louis XVI. till the present dangers of the country are over, but the constitution is opposed to a mere suspension. Louis XVI. is incessantly invoking the constitution: we invoke it in our turn, and by it demand his forfeiture and dethronement!" According to the gospel of Pétion, this grand measure would not only clear the country of its foreign invaders, but of all native rogues and aristocrats whatsoever—bringing about, in double-quick time, a state of freedom and virtue, peace and happiness, such as the world had never witnessed, and such as was only faintly symbolised by the fabulous age of gold. There would only be a little fighting first; but how little would that cost, and how soon would it be all over! "What can these slaves do," exclaimed Pétion, who was nothing of a fighting man himself, "against ten millions of free Frenchmen, equally prepared for death or for victory, fighting for equality, for their hearths, for their wives and children! Let every man among us be a soldier in his turn; and, if we must have the honour of dying for the country, let each of us, before rendering his last sigh, illustrate his memory by the death of a slave, or by killing a tyrant!" By the time Pétion had done speaking or reading it was four o'clock, the usual dinner-hour, and the Assembly adjourned to dine. As it always happened, they were bolder after dinner. Many of the Girondists and Jacobins demanded that the *déchéance* question should be settled that very night; but it was at length agreed to postpone the discussion for six days, or until the 9th of August. In the mean time the petition of the

mayor and commune of Paris was submitted to the select committee of twelve, and hints were given that other petitions of the same tenour would be most acceptable to the legislature; that bodies corporate and individual citizens would do well to express their sentiments as to royalty before the question should be again taken up. This very night the Marseillais were removed from the quarters they had till now occupied (the barracks of Nouvelle France) to Danton's section of the Cordeliers, and were lodged in the Cordelier Monastery (now Club), being at once considered as the bravoes and as the body-guard of the republican movers; and, to keep up their spirits and their patriotism, they were regaled with a supper which was much more generous and abundant than the dinner in the Champs Elysées. In the course of the same night the Jacobin Club had many deep deliberations. The Assembly were accused of timidity and want of energy in not ordering Pétion's petition and discourse to be printed and sent to the departments. Thuriot, a member of the House, said that the king's cajoling message had been sent only because Louis knew that the commune of Paris were going to demand his forfeiture. "It had been a race," he said, "between the king's ministers and the mayor and the commune; but ministers had run fastest, and had got in with their message before the others could arrive with their petition." Billaud Varennes represented that the best security for the patriots in the capital would be the instantaneous formation of a camp in the Champs Elysées, and on the edge of the Tuileries gardens. Antoine appealed to the generosity of the club for means of providing shoes, clothing, and food for the five hundred and sixteen Marseillais. The Jacobins put their hands into their pockets, and at once produced, among them all, a sum not far short of 30*l.* English; and a committee was appointed to manage a general subscription. Several members of the club announced that they had seen, from certain signs and movements in the Tuileries, that the king was preparing to fly. The president of the club said all such information should be conveyed to mayor Pétion; and he earnestly recommended vigilance round the Tuileries—an incessant patriotic watch by night and by day.*

And in effect, for about the hundredth time, Louis seemed to have come to the resolution of attempting another flight. Regularly informed by Bertrand de Molleville and other friends of all the nocturnal meetings in the faubourgs and of all the efforts made and making for a general *émeute*, Louis doubted whether he and all his family would not be murdered in the palace before the Duke of Brunswick could get near to Paris. The queen had been for a long time more hopeful: she had an itinerary of the march of the Prussians, and had been wont to calculate that by such a day they would be at Verdun, by such a day at Lille, and so on, till they reached the capital; but armies could not, or at least they did not, march half so

* Hist. Parlement

rapidly as the queen expected; and she, too, fell into despair, which was made the sadder by the contrariety of opinion and advice given by her friends, and by the king's lamentable want of energy and activity. She said to Madame Campan, "The king is no coward; he has great courage, but it is all of the passive kind, and he is crushed by bashfulness and self-misgiving, which proceeds as much from his education as from his natural character. He fears to take upon himself any command, and most of all he fears addressing a popular body or any number of men collected together. He was made to live like a child, and always under the eyes of Louis XV. until he was twenty-one years old; and this constraint has been the cause of his timidity and bashfulness. Situated as we are, some well-articulated words addressed to the Parisians and to such of the national guards as are devoted to him, would centuple the strength and spirit of our party; but he cannot speak them! As for me, I could speak and act, and even get on horseback if necessary. But if I were to act it would make bad worse, it would aggravate the cries against the Austrian, against the domination of a woman; and besides, by putting myself forward, I should throw into shade the king and make him appear as nothing. A queen who is not a regent must in these circumstances remain inactive, and only prepare to die!" She was suffering in these days and nights things worse than death, apprehending almost every moment that the mob would burst into the palace to murder her husband and her children, and all the few friends that remained about them, as well as herself. One attempt was made at the dead of night to surprise and assassinate her in her bed. She abandoned her apartment on the ground-floor, to sleep in a gloomy inconvenient room between the king's apartment and that of the dauphin. But go where she would in that abode of woe and degradation, she could not escape the cries and shouts and filthy obscenities of the mob, who crowded the gardens of the Tuileries to insult and threaten everybody and everything which seemed to belong to the court. They hawked under the very windows of her apartment a most atrocious libel entitled 'The Life and Adventures of Marie Antoinette,' which was illustrated with the most obscene of engravings, done by the best artists of Paris, and which contained adventures that might have figured in the 'Faublas' of Girondist Louvet, who very probably had written them. The queen and her children could no longer take the air out of doors. At last the king had ordered that the gates of the garden should be closed against the people. But the Assembly had instantly decreed that one-half of the garden belonged to them—that the whole length of the Feuillant terrace must be open to the deputies and people in general; and to fix the limits between what were called "terre nationale" and "terre de Coblenz" a cordon was made of tricolor ribands, and placards were stuck up to inti-

mate that every citizen that dared to pass that line should be lanterned like Foulon and Berthier. But, as furious voices could pass that line of demarcation, though bodies did not, the queen, after making two attempts to walk in the garden with her children, was obliged to confine herself entirely to the interior of the palace, the language addressed to her by the patriots and patriotesses on the other side of the tricolor ribands being too horrible and obscene to be borne. By this time the court, which had lavished money in all directions to buy partizans that did nothing, or to purchase services which only did mischief, was reduced almost to its last louis-d'or. Several gentlemen, well knowing that the king must escape from Paris or perish, now came forward with offers of large sums; but Louis, in despair of the result, generously sent back most of this money, saying that it might be necessary to the friends who had sent it, and who might also have to fly for their lives. Clermont-Tonnerre, Montmorin, Malouet, and Bertrand de Molleville, all agreed that if Louis and his family could only escape into Normandy, they would yet have a chance for life and safety, and more. A considerable part of the population were as yet decided royalists; and there, at the distance of only twenty leagues from Paris, was the strong and spacious castle of Gaillon, with roads open to the sea-side, to Honfleur, to Fécamp, to Havre de Grace; and M. Mistral, commissary of the marine at Havre, and a man zealously devoted to the king, had engaged to keep a vessel constantly ready, in case the royal family might find it necessary to sail over to England. As for getting out of the Tuileries, Bertrand de Molleville, who drew up the whole plan in writing, thought that that would be no such very difficult matter. Laporte, the intendant of the civil list, was in the constant habit of having a supper party in his hôtel, which communicated with the palace by the great gallery of the Louvre, from which it was separated by an old wooden partition, guarded at night-time only by a single sentinel, who might easily be set asleep by wine or by opium. On the given night M. Laporte would have no guests except Clermont-Tonnerre and Montmorin, who would come in plain coaches drawn each by two horses; and, as two coaches went every night to Laporte's door to wait for the company that supped with him, these two vehicles could not possibly attract attention. At the hour of midnight the king, the queen, the Princess Elizabeth, and the children would steal through the great gallery of the Louvre, pass through the wooden partition and by the drunk or drugged sentinel, then through Laporte's house to the two plain carriages in waiting, when Clermont-Tonnerre would get up behind the one, dressed in a grey coat, an officer of the disbanded guards in the same menial dress would get up behind the other, and away they would all go along the Boulevard, and—fortune only propitious, or God willing—out of Paris by the gate called the White

Barrier, always supposed to be less carefully guarded than the other issues. Some of the Swiss guards were already at Courbevoie, and at other places on the Normandy road; and these by rapid movements might render the most important services. The king had approved of this plan: one Lefort, a grandson to Lefort, the Genevee, who had been the friend and instructor of Peter the Great of Russia, had been sent into Normandy to examine the castle of Gaillon and the country, and to make preparations; the Dukes of Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and Châtelet had forced money upon the king, and everything had been done except stringing up the heart of Louis to resolution and a bold daring; but this last was not work to be done except by other than mortal agency, and the age of miracles had gone, long before the age of chivalry. On Sunday, the 5th of August, as the royal family traversed the gallery to hear a grand mass with music in the chapel, some of the national guardsmen on duty cried out to them "Vive le Roi;" but a much greater number roared "Vive la Nation!" "No king!" "Down with the veto!" "Down with the king!" The servants of royalty, the men entertained to give grace and splendour to it, had nearly all been Jacobinised into the most savage assailants of the king and queen; and the musicians of the royal chapel took this opportunity of insulting them to their faces, and that too in the solemn service they were singing. At vespers, when they sang the 'Magnificat,' and came to these words, "*Deposuit potentes de sede*," they all raised their voices in a fearful manner, as if they had been commissioned to announce the sentence of dethronement which the Assembly were to discuss on the Thursday following. On this same Sunday the royalists all flocked to the levee. "Never," says Bertrand de Molleville, "was the court more brilliant, or rather, never was it more crowded. The uneasiness and alarm inspired by the king and queen's sad situation, and the grief felt at the thought that this might be the last time they should ever see their sovereign, were strongly expressed in the countenances of most that were present. I could not long support the affecting scene. I left the palace with tears gushing from my eyes; yet I was far from imagining at that moment that I had indeed seen the royal family for the last time!" Early on the following morning—Monday, the 6th of August—Lefort returned from castle Gaillon with the most comforting assurances that everything would go well if the royal family could only get safely out of Paris on the night of the 7th or 8th. From seven in the morning till six in the evening Bertrand de Molleville expected a letter or a message from the king to tell him to complete the preparations he was making for the flight. At one o'clock Louis had said he would give his final answer at five, and at five he still wanted time to consider or to doubt; for with him consideration always ended in doubting and nothing-doing. At last Bertrand got his answer. It was an order to

suspend all preparations till further notice, as it was his majesty's intention to reserve this desperate step for the last extremity. The poor ex-minister, who could scarcely conceive a worse extremity, fell into a fit of spleen and despair. He says, however, that Montmorin positively assured him that this time the queen was more to blame than the king, as she distrusted the loyalty of the Duke de Liancourt, a political and personal friend of Lafayette, and said, "M. Bertrand does not consider that in sending us into Normandy he is throwing us into the hands of the Feuillants!" Seeing no other hope, Bertrand de Molleville wrote a note to the king on the morning of the 7th, entreating his majesty to consider that this plan might yet succeed, but that to-morrow it might be too late to do or attempt anything. Again he got no answer until the evening. Then Louis said, "I am assured from good authority that the insurrection is not so near as you imagine. Besides, there are still means of preventing it, or at least of retarding it; and I am adopting measures for that purpose. It is only necessary to gain time. I have reason to believe that there is less danger in remaining than in flight." In truth, the dangers and risks were now about equally balanced. It is scarcely to be believed that, any time between the night of the 3rd and the morning of the 10th, the royal family could have escaped out of the capital; but if they had only made the attempt, they would have died doing and striving; they might have been cruelly massacred by the mob, but better this than the long months of captivity and mental torture which, after all, with one single, unhappy exception, were to end in death.* Nor are we quite sure that those who recommended this flight, and who were either to go with or to follow the king, were either sanguine as to the final result, or confident and courageous as to the immediate execution of the measure. We can hardly expect from any Frenchman writing his own history a confession of any lack of courage or adventurous daring. Bertrand speaks highly of his own resolution and hopefulness; but he tells us that Montmorin, his fellow-labourer in all this project, was despondent, and almost in despair for himself, for the king, and for all of them, even before Louis had declined the plan, and, in fact, even when they believed him to be fully determined to act upon it, and risk everything only to get out of Paris. When Bertrand advised him to get a false passport for the interior of France, Montmorin replied, with a tone and look which made him shudder, that the passport he stood in need of was one for the other world. He repeated over and over again that he was convinced all precautions were useless; that he for one should never escape those who were determined to have his life; that he had long since had the premonition that he would be murdered in some prison, &c. Montmorin, who was massacred

* The exception was the little princess-royal, afterwards Duchess of Angoulême, who yet lives, and, since 1830, in a French exile and in French wear.

in a prison within a month of this time, has left us no memoirs or history of any kind. Probably, if he had, we should have been told that Bertrand de Molleville was not without his presentiments and dreads, or free from that discouragement and misgiving which are fatal to hazardous and decisive enterprises. After Louis had refused to go, Montmorin said to Bertrand, "My friend, the king is ruined, and so are we all. You laughed at me, six months ago, when I told you that it would come to a republic; you now find that I was not deceived!" The necessity of the departure of the royal family from Paris, and the conviction that some horrible scene would take place in a day or two if they remained, were now so generally felt that various plans of escape were sent to Louis, or to some of his ex-ministers or friends. Madame de Staël, who was only a revolutionist up or down to the Feuillant point, had conceived a strong disgust at everything that had been done since her *cher ami* Narbonne had been turned out of the war department, and the Feuillant party had been trodden under foot by the temporary union of the ultra-Jacobins and the Girondists. The daughter of the phlegmatic Necker was, moreover, a woman of a warm and a generous nature, quite capable of feeling for the deplorable condition of the royal family, and of making exertions and self-sacrifices for any object that deeply interested her. The Duke of Orleans, who had long been in the greatest straits, was advertising for sale one of his numerous estates that was situated on the coast of Normandy. There was nothing strange in a person of Madame de Staël's fortune offering to become the purchaser of this estate, or in travelling more than once to see and examine it. She undertook to do all this, and to make repeated journeys, always in the same carriage, and always with the same company or attendants, namely, her man of business, who was stout, like the king, and of about the same stature, a waiting-woman of about the size and figure of the queen, who should always have her face partly concealed under a large bonnet and a black gauze veil, a child of about the age and figure of the little dauphin, and a valet or groom mounted on horseback. As soon as these repeated journeys should have accustomed the postmasters and the postillions on the road to the passing and re-passing of Madame de Staël and this retinue, then, according to the plan which she submitted to Montmorin in a letter, the king was to put on a grey coat and a round perriwig, and pass for the man of business; the queen, with a big bonnet and a black veil, was to be the waiting-woman, with the Dauphin on her knee; and the valet or groom was to be the gallant and witty Narbonne! A fishing-vessel was to be kept on the coast in constant readiness to carry the royal fugitives wherever they might think best to go. The court, she said, would have no difficult preparation to make—nothing to do, in short, except to procure the round periwig and the big bonnet; but she

made it an essential article that Narbonne should be included in the enterprise, as she considered his zeal and intelligence necessary to secure its success. No provision was made for the safety of the little princess-royal or of Madame Elizabeth; but the smaller the travelling party the better, and Madame de Staël could hardly conceive that the two princesses could possibly be exposed to any personal danger by remaining behind in Paris. We confess that this plan, from a head that was afterwards fertile in making plans, incidents, and plots for novels and romances, seems to have been as good as any that was offered; but unfortunately there was no time for these frequent goings and comings which were to accustom postmasters and postillions to Madame de Staël's style of travelling and her very remarkable countenance. Montmorin, however, considered the whole plan as romantic, hazardous, and *inconsistent with propriety*; and therefore he never mentioned it to the king, in the fear, as he says—or, as Bertrand de Molleville says for him—that his majesty, who regarded Madame de Staël as an extremely romantic and extravagant person, would be disposed to reject every future plan of escape as flighty and extravagant, merely because a measure of this kind had been proposed by Madame.* In the course of not many days, when the royal family were close prisoners, Madame de Staël found that she could not quit Paris even alone, and that, but for the venality of Manuel and the caprice of Santerre, she must have been massacred in her carriage as she attempted it. Bertrand says that the king certainly entertained another project, which was to attempt to escape to the forest of Ardennes, whence he might get to Brussels. But there is good evidence to show that not one, but several, projects of escape or manoeuvre were entertained in the Tuileries down to the moment that the irresistible insurrection burst out. Even Gouverneur Morris, now ambassador or minister of the United States, was very deeply engaged in some plan to rescue the royal family. We cannot ascertain from Morris's brief memoranda precisely what this plan was; but we perceive that a large sum of money was lodged in his hands for the king's service; that Monciel, one of the last dismissed batch of ministers, was at the head of it; and that down to the very last moment they were all certain or most sanguine as to the entire success of this particular scheme. On the 8th of August Monciel calls upon Morris to say that "things are going on well; and the king seems to hold the proper opinions also, which is a desirable thing." He calls again on the 9th, and brings Morris more money. Nay, Monciel calls even on the morning of the fatal 10th of August to give a tranquillising report; "but," adds the American, "shortly after he leaves me, the cannon begin firing, and musketry mingled with them announce a warm day."† Others, and men not altogether

* Bertrand de Molleville, *Mémoires*.

† Diary, in *Life*, by Jared Sparks.

unfriendly to the king or to royalty, thought that the escape of Louis must have led to the re-establishment, or at least to a determined and desperate attempt to effect the re-establishment of the old despotic system; but this was certainly not the opinion of Gouverneur Morris, who believed, on the contrary, that Louis honestly desired a constitutional form of government, and that he would have used all the exertions of which he was capable to establish a free and rational constitution, and to moderate alike the fury of the emigrants and the fury of the Jacobins. We speak merely of intention: as to execution, or the faculty of executing, we cannot believe for a moment that it lay in Louis; we cannot believe that the thing could have been done, even if Louis had been in the qualities of energy and action all that he was not—even though he had been the boldest and greatest of princes.

In the meanwhile the Paris sections, well agitated by Mayor Pétion, and for some time past in permanent session, discussed the question of forfeiture or *déchéance*. Of forty-eight sections, only one, that of Filles St. Thomas, had refused to accede to the extreme proposition. The section Mauconseil, or Bad Counsel, had even declared that the forfeiture had taken place, and that since the last day of July they had ceased all allegiance to Louis. In the Cordelier section, Danton, the president, had invited all passive citizens, or *sans-culottes* who had not the necessary qualifications, to join the active or qualified citizens in all section business; and, setting an example, which was soon followed by the other sections, the Cordeliers adopted not merely a universal suffrage, but a universal mob legislature. On Saturday, the 4th, Brissot had required the Assembly to resume and finish Lafayette's business in two days; and the Assembly had decreed that it should be determined on Monday, the 6th. On Sunday (the times were too critical to allow the Assembly to make holiday) Guadet presented sundry addresses from Alençon and Briçon, and other places in various departments, all calling for the *déchéance*; and other addresses of the same tenor were sent in by the Paris sections. Even the respectability section of Filles St. Thomas now sent in a *déchéance* address or petition, for the Jacobins of the section had united and had assumed to be in themselves the whole section, inasmuch as it was impossible to consider aristocrats that had money and slaves that wanted a king as a component part of any incorporate body of free French citizens. Brissot, who himself inhabited the said section of Filles St. Thomas, adopted this same liberal view in the tribune, informing the Assembly that the section contained two parties, one composed of true patriots, "of the men designated by the name of *sans-culottes*;" and the other, "the gangrened part of the section," being composed of "nothing but a set of bankers, financiers, stockbrokers, and stockjobbers, who had all along done the greatest

mischiefs to liberty and the revolution." If the Assembly wished to know the real sentiments of the section, and how heartily all the patriot party joined in the general wish for forfeiture, they had only to hear two illustrious citizens who had been deputed by them. And, introduced in this manner by Brissot, Collot d'Herbois, and André Chenier, one of the poet-laureates of the revolution, appeared at the bar of the House, to harangue, and declare that, as the *sans-culottes* of the section were incomparably more numerous than the bankers, financiers, &c., it was but natural that their voice should be taken as the expression and will of the section. Collot d'Herbois said that, since the will of the sovereign people was so plainly declared, it really seemed strange to him that the Assembly should not pronounce *déchéance* at once—a sentence which all prayed for except the traitors whose voice was not to be listened to for a moment. That Sunday night the Jacobin club was busier and more thronged than ever was the old nut-tree by Benevento on a Sabbath of witches. Beau Barbaroux communicated to the Mother Society an address to the citizens of Paris from the municipality of Marseilles, and a petition from the merchants and traders collected at the great fair of Beaucaire, who demanded *Déchéance! Déchéance!* And the Mother Society not only decreed that this excellent petition from the fair should be printed and sent to the departments, but also that it should be placarded in the streets of Paris. Robespierre called out for more caution and vigilance—for more and still more vigilance and suspicion:—he was quite certain that the king was still trying to escape, and that the most terrible of all conspiracies and plots was about to burst. "It is the duty," said he, "of every good citizen, of every true patriot, of all constituted authorities, to watch and spy round the Tuileries, to be vigilant at the barriers, to examine every carriage that quits or comes into the capital." An inferior Jacobin (Baumier) communicated the following resolution of the municipality, hoping that all the sections would adopt it:—"The Commune of Paris, considering that the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick contains disastrous menaces against the city of Paris, &c., resolve—1. That a petition shall be sent to the legislative body, to demand of the Assembly to decree, as a measure of precaution and general security, that Louis XVI. and his family shall be kept as hostages. 2. That, seeing the urgency of the danger, the Commune of Paris will employ, provisionally and without delay, all the means in its power to prevent the evasion of the king and his family." Antoine instantly rose and said that every good Jacobin ought to go to his section, in order to advise and act. A great many members quitted the club and ran to their sections. Merlin thought that, though good service might be done in the sections, the club ought not to be left empty or remain idle. Another Jacobin said that the club would find its defenders in the best of pa-

trials. The next minute the Marseillaise federates, united with a troop of Santerre's Paris cannoniers, defiled through the hall singing "Aux enfans de la patrie." Then an unnamed Jacobin began to explain one part of the horrible plot that was brewing against the patriots. A certain deputy of the Assembly, who had lived more luxuriously than patriot ought, had just sent off his servants and horses, and had packed up his port-manteau to be gone himself. Hence, and from other indications of the same kind, the shortest-sighted patriot might discover that most of the deputies of the Assembly intended running away. "In short," said he, "this part of their project is to manage matters so that on next Thursday, the 9th, the day fixed for the discussion of the question of forfeiture, there shall not be members enough left to make a House, or enough to vote competently on that great question." Duhem, a physician from Lille, and as great a blood-letter as any of the Jacobins, said that for a long time the National Assembly had been informed that some of their deputies were going to run away. "But," added he, "what does that signify? Let us wish them a good journey. There will always remain good patriot deputies enough to save the country." Bourdon de la Croisière, lately a teacher of mathematics, stated that the section to which he belonged had appointed a good patrol to watch every night round the Tuileries; and he proposed that all the other sections should follow this excellent example: if they did, the Tuileries would be surrounded by a true sans-culotte army of 4800 men, a force not likely to let Louis escape. The proposition was received with acclamations. Then some citizens presented and read a petition which had been drawn up on the altar of the country, and which was intended for the National Assembly if the club approved of it. This brought to the tribune ex-capuchin Chabot, who exclaimed, "For a long time the French people have been making war against despotism with arms that despotism despises. They are still making war with petitions, when real blows are wanted. There is one great secret that I must tell you. You are all demanding forfeiture. Well, then! forfeiture is not in the constitution. The constitution says that in certain circumstances the king is to be considered as having abdicated. But, upon this point, it is not for the National Assembly alone, but for all the people, to judge. Believe me, that, whatever form the Assembly may employ, they will always give you a king or a regent, or something just as bad. Therefore, no more petitions! Only let the Parisians send their own address to all the communes, to all the Jacobin clubs and popular societies of France; let that address return covered with signatures, and in less than a month you will see the accomplishment of the unanimous wish of Frenchmen. Then you will say to those who want a king, 'Get ye gone to Coblenz!'" "Yes," rejoined his confrère Merlin, "no more petitions, no more words! The French people must decide

this déchéance with muskets, pikes, and cannon." On Monday morning a committee which had been sent to Soissons reported to the Assembly that there were already nearly ten thousand federates collected in that camp, without counting the brave Marseillais, who remained in Paris, and other bands that were approaching from other parts of the kingdom. Some of these federates presented, not a petition, but a demand or command, which they had drawn up in the Champ de Mars. Their will, as briefly expressed, was, that for the present the Declaration of the Rights of Man should be put into mourning by having a black crape drawn over it; that the king should be *censé* to have abdicated; that the primary assemblies should be convoked; that every Frenchman paying any contribution to the state should have the right of voting upon monarchy and a new constitution; that the patriot ministers—Roland and the rest of the Gironde—should be re-instated and invested with the entire executive power *per interim*; that Lafayette should be sent to the High Court at Orleans; that all the ambassadors residing at foreign courts should be recalled, and all the political or diplomatic relations with foreign countries be broken off; and, finally, that the staffs of the army should be entirely remodelled, that every man of noble birth should be declared incapable of commanding in this war for liberty and equality, and that all the commanders of fortresses or frontier towns should be dismissed. Boulanger and a few other members ventured to remonstrate, and to say that these petitioners were guilty of high treason against the nation and the constitution; but the majority applauded the harangue of the federates, and granted them the honours of the séance. Then national guardsmen from nearly all the sections of Paris came to offer their right arms and swords for the defence of the country, to exclaim against the wickedness and the absurdity of kingly government, and to call for the suppression of the grenadiers of Filles St. Thomas and all other corps of national guards that were not sans-culottic like themselves. Brissot made no progress this day in the impeachment of Lafayette; but in the evening the Jacobins proceeded with that business, and Real, one of the most terrible of those sectaries, delivered a very long harangue, which had the double object of showing that Lafayette was the greatest of traitors, and that Brissot, though pretending to accuse him, was not much better. Real, indeed, not only attacked Brissot, but also fell upon Vergniaud, Gensonné, and all the Girondists, declaring that they were playing a double game, that boded nothing less than treachery to the people, and escape and impunity to Lafayette. On Wednesday, the 8th, the Assembly and Brissot quickened their paces. Witnesses were examined, and their evidence failed to prove what was, however, an indisputable fact, that Lafayette, in his late visit to Paris, had intended to have recourse to arms, &c. Brissot and his party certainly showed no want of zeal and activity:

they endeavoured to prove that Lafayette had been guilty of treason, and had merited death by the single fact of his having come to Paris in the manner he had done. Brissot's speech was very long and very furious, speaking daggers or guillotine in nearly every sentence. He confessed that he had once been closely connected with Lafayette, but that was when he believed that the disciple of Washington was one of the most ardent friends of liberty. Since that time Lafayette had been torn from his principles and from his glory by an infernal coalition, and he was now nothing to him. He thought that if even they could not prove treachery and a concert with the Emperor of Austria, Lafayette's incapacity in the field would justify a severe sentence; for had not the English condemned Admiral Byng to death only because he had failed to conquer? He maintained, too, that this aristocratic general had spoken contemptuously of the National Assembly itself, and most calumniously of some of the best patriots in it (the Gironde); that he had committed the greatest of crimes in calumniating the people and the clubs of Paris, and thereby provoking a civil war. Dumolard and Vaublanc defended Lafayette with equal warmth, although they declared they knew they did it at the hazard of their lives, inasmuch as the clubs and the sections, the federates and the mob, had set their hearts upon his condemnation. Vaublanc was uncommonly bold; he affirmed that there was no exaggeration in the picture Lafayette had drawn of the domineering, insolent spirit of the clubs, that General Montesquiou, who was commanding on the side of the Pyrenees, had spoken out as clearly as Lafayette, having said in a public letter, "The legislative body itself is not free in the exercise of its functions; the galleries and the Jacobins of Paris actually make the greater part of its decrees." "And," added Vaublanc, "if it is criminal to think and to say these things, you had better impeach at once one-half of France!" When the president was called upon to put the question to the vote, whether there was or was not ground of accusation against General Lafayette, those who were for the negative rose in such evident superiority of numbers, that he declared at once that there was no ground of accusation. The galleries preserved a sad silence, more alarming than their usual vociferations. A portion of the minority protested against the way in which the president had collected the sense of the House, and demanded that every member should vote separately and by name. They could have no doubt as to the majority; but what they desired was, to expose these deputies to the fury of the people. Perhaps, too, they thought that many timid men would rather sneak out of the House, or even change sides, than thus stand up and vote the acquittal. The president rose as if to adjourn the House; but the call for the "appel nominal" became louder, the galleries began to give tongue, and the president sat down again. At last the appel no-

minal took place. Four hundred and six members had the courage to stand up and vote openly against two hundred and twenty-four. The president repeated that there was no ground of accusation against General Lafayette, and the House rose in order that the hungry members, who had sat two hours longer than usual, might go to their dinners. A terrible commotion took place; the federates who had been swarming in the galleries, and the mob that had been swarming outside the House, in expectation of a very different vote, gathered around the doorway, and insulted, spit upon, kicked, and beat Vaublanc, Dumolard, Calvet, and many others of the deputies who had spoken or voted in favour of the acquittal of Lafayette. The Assembly apparently did not meet after dinner—many of the honourable deputies had been left by the mob in no state for dining, or for returning to the tribune—but the Jacobin Club met to declare that the National Assembly, which could absolve so foul a traitor, could never save France; and that the only hope of patriots must rest on a general insurrection. Goupilleau, who led off in this chorus, said, "Since lists of proscription are circulating in the Tuileries, in Lafayette's camp, and among the armies of Austria and Prussia, ought not the people to make their own lists of proscription, and set down the names of all their enemies? But the people ought to be careful not to confound the different kinds and classes of their enemies; they ought to visit every man according to his deserts. I therefore demand, in order to settle public opinion as to the merits of individuals, that we print the list of all the deputies of the Assembly who have voted for or against this Lafayette." The club agreed to this proposition, and appointed a committee of six to draw up the list, which was meant to act as a proscription of the majority of the legislature. An unnamed Jacobin, who had just arrived from the Palais Royal, begged to acquaint the club that the patriots had well nigh killed Vaublanc, and that there would have been a downright battle between different divisions of the national guards if he, the informant, had not contrived to let six deputies, held in drance by the populace, escape out of a window. Merlin then rose to predict what would be the consequence of the warrantable castigation the people had bestowed on the deputies who had voted the acquittal. "Gentlemen," said he, "you have just heard that the people have not respected the noses and backs of M. Vaublanc and some other deputies of the *côté droit*. Well! to-morrow these gentlemen, as it has been already arranged, will present themselves in the Assembly to complain of the horrible treatment they have received, to protest that it is not possible to enjoy freedom of opinion and debate in Paris, and then to propose the immediate removal of the Assembly to Rouen! But, in my way of thinking, there is not much to fear from this manoeuvre. The good patriot deputies who have this day voted against Lafayette may make very good laws without the

rest; and I count sufficiently on their patriotism to believe that they will see those who have voted for him quit Paris without any alarm, and remain quietly in their own seats. Then we shall see whether the majority of the people are patriots or not. I, therefore, beg these Feuillants of the Assembly to take their departure as soon as may be; and I invite my colleagues in patriotism to permit that horde of villains to depart, and so give the people the opportunity of choosing better representatives!" Merlin was followed by the ex-capuchin. "There is no use in any more talking," said Clabot: "the National Assembly have declared the country to be in danger, and they have proposed no measures proper to save it. But it has been decreed that all the people should take up arms. Then let the people fly to arms! This is all we can wish or ask for. As for the majority of the Assembly, let them, if they will, vote the removal of the legislature into a town gangrened with aristocracy. We may well hope that of the minority, of the two hundred and twenty-four members who have voted against the conspirator-general, not one will quit his post. I cannot, however, say with M. Merlin that this event will be indifferent or even advantageous to liberty; for, although assuredly the vast majority of France is patriotic, and would abide by the minority, some timorous patriots might be shaken and alarmed if the majority of the Assembly got to Rouen. But I have said the word. The people must save themselves, and Paris must set the example, and make a beginning. I repeat it, and I sound the tocsin from this very moment! If the majority in the Assembly decree the removal to Rouen, the people, with bayonets and pikes in their hands, must stop every deputy that attempts to go thither." The mob in the galleries shouted out, "To the gates, and to the barriers! Let us go to the barriers at once and stop the traitors." An unnamed Jacobin thought that the galleries were quite right; that no proposition would be made in the Assembly, but that all the deputies who had voted for Lafayette would steal away that very night, and that, as soon as they were all united at Rouen, they would, as the majority, declare themselves to be the Assembly. Robespierre, who very well knew that there was no such bold design on foot, that the majority which had voted in the Lafayette affair were not bound together by any general principle or feeling, but were divided and subdivided, undertook to demonstrate that this supposition of the translation or removal to Rouen was little better than an absurdity. He thought it much more probable that, if Vaublanc and the other deputies who had been beaten by the people should complain to-morrow of the treatment they had received, it would only be in the view of turning the attention of the Assembly from the grand question of Louis's forfeiture of the throne, which was fixed for that day. He implored the patriot members not to be the dupes of this manoeuvre, but to stop all discussion on the com-

plaints of ill-treatment, &c., and boldly take up and conclude the déchéance. Robespierre's words carried their usual weight; but, when the Jacobins separated at midnight, not a few went to the barriers.

On the morning of Thursday, the 9th, as soon as the Assembly met, a patriot from Strasbourg presented two intercepted letters written by a noble emigrant to a French gentleman in the department of the Lower Rhine. According to these epistles the emigrant army, commanded by the Prince of Condé and counting 6000 born gentlemen, was in the Prussian van, and was advancing so rapidly that it had performed nine leagues in one day, and thus must soon be on French territory, when victory and vengeance would follow as things of course. The writer signed himself as one "Armed for God, for his king, and for his lady." Nothing is more probable than that these letters were forgeries; yet nothing is more true than that such was the vaunting, vapouring, silly tone commonly in use among the emigrants even at this awful crisis. Deputations from several of the sections came to disavow the petition for déchéance which had been presented by Mayor Pétion in the name of all Paris, and to protest that what they and their friends wanted was to preserve the constitution they had all sworn to, and to remain true to nation, law, and king; but they were hissed and hooted by the galleries, and all the Jacobin and Girondist members united in crying that these petitions ought not to be read. By division or by acclamation the petitions were all tossed over to the special committee, who were to take them into consideration on the 12th. Then Lamarque, who was Girondist, Robespierriist, Bonapartist, and everything by turns and nothing long, but who was at this moment a perfectibilian republican in the manner of the Gironde, rose to recommend that the Assembly should declare itself in permanent session until the question of forfeiture was settled once and for ever. He said that no man in his senses could doubt that the king was a traitor, that would ruin the Assembly and all France if the Assembly did not first pull him down from his throne and throw him into a safe state prison. Lamarque also recommended as precautionary measures that the Assembly should at once decree, 1. That all strangers now in Paris, the federates only excepted, should be expelled the city, unless they could produce certificates of civism, &c. 2. That the municipality should be authorised to prohibit and put down all such newspapers as preached aristocracy and infivism. 3. That commissaries should be sent from the Assembly to the several armies in the field to watch the generals, &c. There was some little murmuring, some whispering or saying that there was to be no personal liberty except for the federates and those the federates served—that there was to be no liberty of the press, except for one faction—that Lamarque ought to have included such newspapers as preached insurrection and

anarchy; but these timid voices could produce no effect upon sworn insurrectionists and anarchists. Lamarque's propositions were all submitted to the special committee of Twelve to be embodied in a project of law. When this was settled the president pointed to a heap of letters lying on the table which had been sent in by the members whom the people had beaten yesterday, and informed the House that the secretaries were going to read them. Many of the members and the mob in the galleries, who knew what the letters were all about, wore of opinion that precious time ought not to be lost in hearing them read; but after some outcry one of the secretaries began to read them. Never surely had such epistles been addressed to an august legislature by men that were members of it. One honourable deputy said that yesterday evening, on going out of the hall, he had been pursued as far as Dauphin Street by a fierce woman with a big knife, who wanted to cut his throat; that he had been fortunate enough to knock her down with a stick; but that then a man in the uniform of the national guards had seized him by the collar, and had wrestled and fought with him for a long time. "Mr. President," added this honourable deputy, "I am a representative of the French people: I have never given offence; I have had over many of my colleagues the great advantage of knowing how to be silent; I am and will ever be a man of the people. But I demand security for the inviolability of my character and the liberty of my opinions." Another honourable deputy stated that on quitting the Assembly he had been surrounded by a crowd of men wearing national guard coats and red worsted night-caps, who deliberately consulted about hanging him over a lamp-iron; that he had claimed his inviolability as a member of the legislature, and had shown them his cordon to prove that he was a deputy;* that thereupon they had said that it was because he was a deputy that they were going to hang him; that a man without a coat had caught hold of him by his hinder parts, *par derrière*, and was in the act of hoisting him up when some grenadiers of the national guard rushed to his rescue sword in hand, and so saved him from the lantern. In concluding, this deputy said he would go no more to the Assembly. Another deputy related how he had left the Assembly with M. Dumolard, who had spoken in favour of Lafayette; how they had been pelted all through the streets with mud and other filth; how the people had threatened to lantern them; how they had taken refuge in a guard-house by the Palais Royal; and how a federate who had followed them there had struck his hand upon a table and sworn that if M. Dumolard ever put his foot in the Assembly again he would cut off his head with his sabre. Here the gallery mobs, who had been laughing at all these misadventures, shouted and applauded, and swore that the federate

was quite right. But this interior noise was presently awed into silence by a tenfold louder roar from the outside of the hall. Some honourable deputies cried "What is that?" some ran to the door, and some out of it; some rushed to the middle of the hall, and standing on the floor demanded that the Assembly should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House. "I am assured," said the president, "that our hall is surrounded by citizens in arms, and that our guard is not sufficient to restrain them." The uproar was now louder than before; but four of Pétion's municipal officers came to the bar to assure the august assembly that, though the patriots out of doors were exercising their lungs, they had brought no arms to make use of. Upon this intimation a Jacobin member demanded the punishment of the person who had spread the calumnious report, and called upon the president to name him. The president said that he had received his information from two deputies present. One of these two gentlemen rose and said that he had certainly seen men armed with sabres in the lobby. Several members cried out that he ought to be sent to the Abbaye for having attempted to alarm the Assembly. Merlin said that the greatest culprit in this matter was the president, who had dared to say that the patriot guard of the Assembly could not protect it; and he demanded in form that the president should be committed to the Abbaye. The president—we believe it was still Guadet, the Girondist, whom Merlin and his Cordelier Jacobin trio hated most heartily—excused himself as best he could; he had really heard from several persons that the Assembly was not free, that the hall was surrounded by an armed multitude; he had really thought it his duty to mention this to the House; and now he could not but think it very doiorous for a president to be threatened with the Abbaye for having discharged his duty. Merlin's motion was got rid of by the order of the day, and the Assembly then continued reading the letter, which added that seven or eight members of the Assembly could attest the facts, as they had run for refuge into the same guard-house as M. Dumolard; that the deputies were all waiting there for the arrival of a force sufficient to protect their retreat, when the mob began to break into the guard-house, which reduced them to the humiliating necessity of jumping out of a back window. "Without doubt," said the writer of this letter, "we are all bound to die at our posts; but it would be as useless as contrary to our duty to let ourselves be butchered at the very door of the Assembly by the emissaries of a faction whose plots we sometimes disconcert. . . . The city of Paris is actually threatened with the same horrible massacres that have taken place at Avignon, if a mayor and a municipality are determined to do nothing but legalise seditious meetings." Another deputy, one of the seven or eight that had leaped out at the back window with Dumolard, confirmed the preceding account, complaining in

* It appears that the costume—the black mantle, &c.—had been laid aside by this time; and that the deputies were distinguished by wearing some kind of cordon or ribbon.

regard to himself that he had been pelted with mud and beaten with fists, and declaring that he would go no more to that House unless they could assure him of protection. The next letter read by the secretary was from Calvet, who merely said that he had been grossly insulted and threatened, but that he would continue to attend and vote according to his conscience, although he should fall a victim to his attachment to the constitution. After reading a short note from Quatremere-de Quincy, the well-known writer on the fine arts and antiquity, who merely denounced in a general way the outrages committed on many deputies his colleagues, and the popular violence to which he himself had long been exposed, the secretary took up a letter from Chapron, another of those who had leaped out of the back window of the guard-house with Dumolard. "Yes," wrote poor Chapron, "we all leaped out of a window! It is horrible that deputies of the Assembly should have had no other resource than that—no other means of saving the inhabitants of Paris from the shame of a bloody crime! I was elected by my constituents to speak without fear and to emit my opinions freely. I have now the honour to acquaint the Assembly that until it takes the necessary measures to restrain the furious galleries and clear the lobbies, until it enjoins the mayor and the municipality to disperse the mobs which collect daily round the hall, I must absent myself from its debates." The next letter read was from the minister of justice, who said, "The evil is at its height. I have had the honour of writing eight letters to the Assembly to beg it to take proper measures for checking those who excite the multitude to violence and crime—but the Assembly has done nothing and every day fresh calamities happen. After dwelling upon the attack on the members, and stating that a commandant of the national guards had been sabred by the mob, the minister of justice said, "Yet all these crimes are to remain unpunished. I have, however, denounced them to the criminal tribunal by the express order of the king [Angry murmurs from all the galleries.] But the laws are powerless! In these circumstances, honour, probity, duty oblige me to declare to you that, without the prompt succour of the legislative body, the government can no longer incur responsibility." When the galleries had done hooting at this letter, a bold and powerful declaration, sent in by Jolivet, deputy for the department of Seine-et-Marne, was read by the secretary. Jolivet stated that in spite of his repugnance for all clubs, he had ventured the preceding evening into the Jacobin Club, in order to hear in what light the excesses of the mob were considered there, that in the lobby he had heard men devoting to execration and vengeance the majority of the Assembly for having voted for Lafayette, that, on reaching one of the galleries, he found the society occupied with the question about publishing a list of the names of all the deputies who had acquitted the general, that he had seen M. Montaut, a member of the National

Assembly, acting as president, putting this question to the vote, &c., that he had heard members of the club boasting of their activity and zeal in insulting the deputies of the Assembly, and in tearing down all the king's proclamations, &c., and he intimated that the publication of the list of the members could only be meant to provoke a massacre. Not only the galleries, but all the extreme part of the *côte gauche*, where sat Montaut, and other chiefs or orators of the Jacobins, hissed and hooted at this declaration. Then Kersaint, who had been a captain in the royal navy when the revolution began, but who had become an author, a perfectibilian, and a Girondist of the hottest kind, rose to cry shame on this delay and all this jabber. "At a time," said he, "when the question of the king's forfeiture fixes upon you the attention of all France—on this day, when you ought to be opening the solemn discussion, what must Frenchmen think at seeing you wasting your time about miserable delations like these?" Some of the members said it was no such trifling matter to be pelted, beaten, and threatened with the lanterne, that, if the Assembly wished to appear solemn and grand, it must maintain the respect due to all its members. "Far be it from me," continued Kersaint, "to wish to applaud, to wish to excuse, the excited citizens, who have forgotten what they owe to themselves in the person of their representatives, but let the Assembly constantly occupy itself upon great questions and the real interests of the people, and then the people will never fail in paying the respect that is due to its members. [The federates, and the other mob in the galleries, applauded enthusiastically.] I therefore demand that these letters and denunciations be all turned over to the committee of legislation, which may draw up a project of law against those men who disturb the freedom of our debates, who excite confusion and riot in the galleries—in short, against those despicable means that are employed by the enemies of the people to discredit this Assembly and ruin *la chose publique*." M. Girardin, who boasted of being the boy-friend and pupil of Rousseau, but who was a gentleman, and who had found, for some time past, that Jean Jacques's political theories were not the best fitted for practice, rose in his place to declare that yesterday, within the very walls of the Assembly, he had been struck. "A brutal voice from the extreme *côte gauche* asked in what part of the body he had been struck. 'Behind,' cried Girardin, indignantly, 'assassins never strike a man in front! And but for the quick intervention of one of my colleagues, I should have been murdered in this hall. I say, then, that this House cannot enter upon so important a question as that which M. Kersaint has mentioned, unless every member is free to deliberate and vote according to his conscience. Yesterday I was all but assassinated for voting according to my conscience. At this moment the House is surrounded, and we are under the dominion of a fierce faction. I declare then to the nation, from whom I have my

powers as a legislator, that I cannot vote under these circumstances!" Nearly every member of the *côté droit* rose at these words; and they all cried that they could not and would not deliberate on the question of forfeiture, unless they were previously rendered safe and free. The secretary then continued to read other letters from other unfortunate deputies who had been pelted and beaten by the mob; and one of whom had moreover been robbed of his snuff-box, pocket-book, and walking-stick. The galleries continued their hooting, and the roar of thousands of savage voices was heard outside. A member of the *côté droit* exclaimed, "Mr. President, I demand that we adjourn, and that we quit these walls, wherein we are not free!" "No," subjoined Vaublanc, "it is no longer possible to make France believe that there is a National Assembly, or that this Assembly is free! We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that we are under the domination of furious factions! . . . I too was threatened yesterday, and might have been murdered but for the timely warning of a friend, which prevented my going home. My house was surrounded by an armed mob, who were dressed as national guardsmen, and who cried aloud that eighty citizens were to perish by their hand, and I the first of the number! . . . Twelve men broke into my house, ransacked every part of it, and insulted and terrified everybody they found in it. Last night I could not go home to my bed, lest I should be massacred! I cannot believe that there are many members of this Assembly who can think with M. Kersaint that these are matters too trifling to engage our attention." The galleries, and a part of the Assembly, murmured and hissed; but, nothing daunted, Vaublanc, who had worn a sword before the revolution, and who knew how to use it, continued, "Without doubt, insults, menaces, personal assaults, are excellent means to prepare this discussion of the *déchéance*: but these means shall not make us guilty of perjury; and surely this Assembly will not dare to go beyond the limits which have been laid down by the constitution. . . . I demand, for the present, that the procureur-general syndic of the department be called to the bar, and that he be ordered to take the strongest measures to secure the tranquillity of Paris, and so enable members to vote without fear of being torn to pieces by the mob. I beg you to observe that it is impossible for any man to vote here or debate any longer—unless, indeed, he be ready to do violence to the constitution and to his own conscience. . . ." Here his voice was drowned by furious cries. He begged the president to silence those galleries. The president rang his hand-bell, and shouted like one possessed. Vaublanc resumed, "I am incessantly hearing men invoke the authority of the Assembly against the galleries, but this authority has no longer any force. Is it not ridiculous to hear the president twenty times calling these galleries to order, and to hear the galleries twenty times drown his voice with their hooting? It is better to say at once

that we will all quit this place!" Here all the members of the *côté droit* rose again, and cried out, "Yes, let us go! We can no longer stay here!" A *côté gauche* man asked them where they would go to—where the Assembly could be so safe as in Paris, in the midst of a brave and a generous people, devoted to liberty and equality, and all the principles of the revolution? Another deputy on the same side said that it would be the height of cowardice to abandon the capital, merely because a few deputies had been kicked. Vaublanc begged to remind them that he had said nothing about quitting Paris; that the motion he had made was that the procureur-general syndic should be called to the bar, and proper means adopted to put an end to the atrocities of the mob and the insolence of the galleries. "In addition," said he, "I now demand that these federates be all ordered to quit Paris, and march to the camp at Soissons. We had troubles and *émeutes* enough before; but since the arrival of these Marseillais there has been nothing but violence, intimidation, and anarchy!" The *côté droit* cheered and applauded this proposition. Kersaint, who, like the rest of the Girondists, regarded the presence of these federates as indispensable to the establishment of the republic, rose to turn attention from that ticklish point by haranguing about calumnies and inventions, and then by seconding Vaublanc's first motion for calling the procureur-general syndic to the bar, &c., in order that the sacred character and inviolability of the representatives of the people might be respected. A member of the *côté droit* said that there was a greater power, a more influential personage, than the procureur-general—that this was Mayor Pétion, and that Pétion, who had under his orders the whole public force of the capital, ought to be called to the bar, and asked whether he would or would not answer for the personal security of the representatives of the people. As Pétion was hesitating and shrinking already, his party, the Girondists, endeavoured to save him from this awkward pass. Grange-neuve, the unassassinated Girondist, thought it shameful to think of increasing the responsibility of the virtuous mayor at such a crisis. Isnard delivered a long oration, in which he said that all patriots must know how active Pétion had been in putting down *émeutes*, and in which, as a sure means of distracting attention, he thundered at Lafayette, at the departmental directory, and at the court—the wretched, helpless court, upon which, he said, the first vengeance of the people ought to fall. Guadet said that the security of the whole was a more interesting matter than the security of a part; that, since the Assembly were going to call upon Mayor Pétion to know whether he would answer for the tranquillity of the capital, they ought also to call upon King Louis to know whether he would answer for the security of the empire. Choudieu, the most rabid of Jacobins, and to the very last moment the sworn friend of Robespierre, supported the proposition of the

amiable Girondist, adding another of his own, which was, that the Assembly should declare whether it could or could not find means sufficient to save the country. And in this speech Choudieu broadly hinted that the best means of salvation would be found in the forcible expulsion of the majority by the minority. "For my part," he exclaimed, "I see the danger of the country in nothing but our weakness—a weakness of which we yesterday gave such a deplorable proof in acquitting Lafayette I say that those men who have not courage enough to look that factious soldier in the face are not fit to sit here, or debate upon those grand measures that are requisite to the salvation of the state. I say that those who dread the power of one man because he is at the head of an army Here the speech was cut short by a terrible tumult, the *côté droit* calling out that he ought to be sent to the Abbaye, and the *côté gauche* and the galleries applauding him to the skies, and hooting and cursing the *côté droit*. In this hurly-burly the federates were forgotten; but it was determined by the august Areopagus that Pétion should be summoned to the bar as well as Rœderer, the procureur-general syndic of the department. Rœderer frankly deposed that the whole capital was in a most alarming state; that the mayor and the municipality had shown a disinclination to the taking of any energetic steps to prevent riot and insurrection; and that one of the sections—the section of Quinze-Vingts—had come to the resolution of sounding the tocsin, and marching to the Assembly that very night, if the king's forfeiture were not voted. Rœderer added that this resolution of Quinze-Vingts had been sent to the forty-seven other sections of Paris, with an invitation to each of them to sound the tocsin and join the march; and that, as far as he knew, only one of the sections had refused. He represented that he and the body to which he belonged—the directory of the department—could do little or nothing without encroaching on the powers of Mayor Pétion and the municipality, who had the national guards at their command, and who entirely monopolised the management of the police of the capital. As for Mayor Pétion, he protested that he had no rest by night or by day; that for more than a week he and his municipals had been incessantly labouring to preserve order and tranquillity, &c. "But, gentlemen," said he, "you are not ignorant of all the alarming rumours that have been spread, such as that the enemies of the people are going to carry off the king. The municipality have recognised the necessity of letting all the sections, and all classes of citizens, unite in mounting guard at the Tuileries; and the municipality have arranged that that guard shall be composed, every day, of citizens taken from the battalions of all the sections indiscriminately, so that every section, by having a share in the guard and surveillance of the king, may dissipate its suspicions and alarms." This was Pétion's masterpiece: he had mixed the sans-

culottes with the respectabilities, in the proportion of at least ten to one; and therefore there could not be the least danger of any resistance at the Tuileries on the part of the national guards. Condorcet, in evident ecstasy, then produced "A project of instruction to the people as to the best way of exercising their sovereignty;" and, at the early hour of seven in the evening, the Assembly rose. They had adjourned the great question of *déchéance* till the morrow, when, as nearly every man among them must have known, sentence would be pronounced by the people themselves. Pétion went straight to the committee of research and surveillance of the Jacobin Club, where the trio—Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire—were the most active spirits. This trio received their impulse from Robespierre; but the Incorruptible, as usual with him in these moments of crisis and peril, kept himself out of sight, sending forth his oracles from behind the shrine. Notwithstanding the sneers of Madame Roland, the ex-capuchin was not deficient in courage: at least Chabot appears to have been the boldest and most resolute of the trio. Pétion now wanted the thing to be done without his taking any active or open part in the doing of it—wanted the insurrection to appear like the spontaneous movement of the people, in which neither he nor his party had any direct share. The Girondists had begun the business with treachery and cowardice, and with cowardice and cunning they now finished it. The worshipful mayor pretended to desire that the Jacobin committee should suspend the insurrection, and leave the fate of the monarchy to the Assembly, who would, he said, within a day or two, pronounce sentence of *déchéance*. He protested that the Girondists had made up their minds to act in perfect concert with the Jacobins, to carry the question of forfeiture in the teeth of all opposition, and then to dissolve the Assembly, and instantly convoke a National Convention, to which none but determined republicans would be elected. This course, he said, would look more legal in itself, and would be *safer* in execution; for, in the insurrection, blood, after all his precautions, might be spilt. Chabot replied, that to suspend the insurrection would be to disappoint and discourage the people, who not only expected it, but had prepared for it; that the Girondists and Jacobins, however closely united, might still find themselves in a minority on the grand question; that it was quite evident the *côté droit* intended to make a life and death struggle, as they had been so much bolder to-day than they had been for a long time past; and, in fine, that nothing was to be hoped from an Assembly that had just absolved that villain Lafayette. Speaking as if Pétion had really deceived him, the ex-capuchin added that he (Pétion) had allowed himself to be deceived by his friends; but that, for the rest, the people had resolved to save themselves, and to ring out the tocsin that night; and the tocsin would be rung at midnight. "Will you then always be so rash?—*Vous osez donc toujours manœuvrer*

1800"—subjected Pétion. "It will go ill with us if the people rise! I know your influence, but I also know my own, and must employ it against you." "Ah! but, friend Pétion," replied the ex-captain, "we will put you under arrest in the Hôtel de Ville, and then, you know, you cannot act." This was precisely what Pétion wanted; and at the proper time he went to the Hôtel de Ville to be put under arrest, and thence to be able to urge a "Thou canst not say I did it—I, a prisoner, helpless in the hands of the people." As the sun went down in the west the mob got up in the east, in the swarming faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel; and in brief time the drums beat to arms in every quarter of Paris. The halls of the several sections were taken possession of by the most sans-culottic and ardent of the inhabitants, who scared away or forcibly expelled the more respectable citizens; and each of these sectional assemblies communicated and concerted measures with all the rest. There was, moreover, a grand committee of insurrection, which had been arranged and constituted several days before, and which sat at three several points. Santerre, and Westermann, a fierce Alsatian, who had been a non-commissioned officer before the revolution, and who was now rising to the grade of general, and to the scaffold of the guillotine, presided in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Fournier, styled the American, a mulatto from St. Domingo, who had been released by the revolution from a gaol, to which his crimes had consigned him, presided in the Faubourg St. Marcel, or St. Marceau. Danton, the chief supreme of that club and district, presided at the Cordeliers, being assisted by Camille Desmoulins the madman, and Carra the newspaper-man, and being backed by the five hundred and sixteen Marseillais federates, whom he had so opportunely lodged in the monastery club-house. Beau Barbaroux, who had provided himself with a strong dose of poison, to be taken in case the plot should be shaken, or miscarry, stationed videttes to watch the Tuileries and the Salle de Manège, and put several couriers in a state of readiness to gallop off towards the south and the ultra-republican city of Marseilles; and, having done this work, he joined Danton and the federates at the Cordeliers. Marat, whose cowardice was ever equal to his cruelty—Marat, who had been preaching and writing for this bloody insurrection ever since the summer of 1789, was scared out of his senses now that it had come. He had asked Barbaroux to smuggle him off to Marseilles disguised as a groom, but the French Antisens had refused him this favour, and now Danton hid the hideous little monster and his fears in a cellar in the Cordelier section. As for Robespierre, he was still an invisible voice—a mystery and an awe felt everywhere, but seen nowhere by mortal man. Danton was the great visible actor and speaker; yet, when the time came for fighting, even Danton hid himself, and did not re-appear until victory had declared for the mob. In his present humours, he made use of the old logic of fear.

He told the sans-culottes and the federates that that very night the satellites of the tyrant concealed in the Tuileries were to make a sortie en masse, and butcher the people before quitting Paris to join the army of Coblenz; that the only hope of self-preservation lay in anticipating this murderous movement; that the people must strike, or be stricken. "To arms, then!" cried he, with his loud trumpet voice. "To arms, to arms, and save yourselves!" At this moment a musket was fired in a square or open court close by. The cry, "To arms!" was spread in all directions; and about half-past eleven o'clock the insurrection was proclaimed. Leaving his Marseillais federates drawn up in arms, and with several pieces of artillery at the gate of the Cordeliers Club, Barbaroux, with Camille Desmoulins and others, ran to different churches to set the tocsin ringing. They found several of the sections vacillating, or hanging back, as if alarmed about the result, or anxious that others should begin first; but the oratory of Camille Desmoulins put the sans-culottes into better heart, and by degrees all the sections agreed to sound the tocsin, and then march.

In the Tuileries there was nothing but doubt, dissension, and alarm. Everybody knew what was coming, but few were agreed as to how it ought to be met. Among the national guards, who had been so nicely shuffled and mixed by mayor Pétion, there was the widest difference of opinion. Some (who, unfortunately for the cause, were the minority) thought that the palace ought to be defended against the mob; but others thought that no resistance ought to be offered to the sovereign people. The king was at supper, and was giving various orders to Madame Campan, when a noise and a scuffle were heard at the door of the apartment. Madame Campan going out to see what it was, saw the two sentinels (national guardsmen both) quarrelling and fighting. One of them said that the king was acting according to the constitution, and that he, for one, would defend him at the risk of his own life; the other said that the king hindered the only constitution that could suit a free people; and upon this difference they were well nigh murdering one another. Louis, who had heard the scuffle, would know what it meant, and what the men were saying, and Madame Campan was obliged to tell him. The queen said that she was not at all surprised; that she well knew that more than half of those that were mounting guard were of the Jacobin party. Mandat, the commandant of that guard, a captain of the ex-gardes Françaises, was, however, devoted heart and soul to the king and queen, and determined, if only half of his men would stand by him, to repel force by force. He had demanded, and even obtained, an order to this effect from the municipality; for Pétion, the virtuous mayor, when publicly asked for such an order, would not venture to refuse it, and thereby make himself responsible for consequences. About ten o'clock, Mandat, who had, before written to the mayor in his own name, to beg him to come to the palace, sent a message

in the king's name to enjoin him to go thither, and see to the proper discharge of his duty, which was to preserve order and tranquillity. Pétion was sitting quietly in the Hôtel de Ville, waiting the accomplishment of Chabot's threat or acceptable promise; and there he would fain have remained, as a visit to the palace might possibly be attended with some personal danger to his precious self; but, at the same time that Mandat's last message was delivered, a multitude of citizens of the respectable class rang in his ears that the sans-culottes were going to ring the tocsin—that the fédérés and the mob were all in arms—and that he, as mayor, was bound to go to the Tuileries, which was the point threatened with attack. Moreover, several members of the municipal council, who were not in the secret, cried out, "We must go to the Tuileries! You must put yourself at our head! Allons, Monsieur le Maire!" Thus urged, Pétion went with several of his colleagues to the palace. We have no doubt whatever as to the reality of his fear, but we know that he monstrously exaggerated the scene which met his eyes (though he insinuates that it did not make him quake) in the interior of the royal dwelling. He said that he found there assembled the mass of the Swiss guards, with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; a great many officers belonging to the national guard staffs which Lafayette had formed; and a multitudinous array of courtiers and gentlemen in black, with swords at their sides which seemed leaping out of their scabbards; and that it was impossible to describe how savagely they all looked upon him, the man of the people, and mayor of Paris. Their looks seemed to say, "Pétion, you shall pay to-night for all the mischief you have done us!"—or so says Pétion, who goes on to inform us that he proceeded unmoved to the council-chamber, where the king was with his wife and children and sister, his ministers, and a pretty good number of women (*un assez grand nombre de femmes*). The king, he says, was in great wrath, and deigned to say nothing to him, the mayor, except, "Sir, it appears that there is a great disturbance in Paris." To which he says he replied, "Yes: the fermentation is great." He adds that commandant Mandat, who was standing by the side of the king, here put in his word, and said, "Never mind! I answer for everything: I have taken proper measures." Procureur-general syndic Rœderer, who was present, and who was writing at the council-table another letter to the mayor to bid him come to the Tuileries when Pétion entered, gives a very different account of the behaviour of poor Mandat, who was not destined to live to give his own. Rœderer says that he and his friends had discovered that, in the course of the day, Pétion's administrators of police, by virtue of an order dated five days before, had distributed five thousand ball cartridges to the Marseillaise, and had refused to deliver any gunpowder or ball to commandant Mandat; that Mandat now complained of this conduct to Pétion, who told him

that he had not demanded the armunition in proper official form; that there was then an angry discussion on this point; that then the mayor asked the commandant whether he had not any powder left from the last distribution; and that Mandat replied he had only some three cartridges per man (which must have been another consolatory piece of information to the virtuous mayor); that Pétion then said it was stifling hot up there, and descended forthwith to the garden. After waiting a short time for a letter from the council of the departmental authorities, which letter, when it came, brought no clear information as to the movements of the insurgents, Rœderer followed Pétion down to the garden, and there found the virtuous mayor surrounded by some municipal officers and members of the commune, and by many young men of the national guards, who were without their arms, and singing and frolicking round the magistrates and the mayor (*qui chantaient et folâtraient autour des magistrats et du maire*). Rœderer took a turn or two in the garden with Pétion, who appeared tranquil, and who said, "I hope nothing will happen. My commissaries are gone to the sections. Thomas has told me that there is no harm doing there. Thomas ought to know the true state of affairs." But who this knowing Thomas was, Rœderer never knew. Friends and foes alike insisted that the mayor ought to remain where he was, and the sentinels prevented any one quitting the palace-garden. But not only was Pétion obliged to stop—he was also obliged to put in writing the order he had given commandant Mandat to repel force by force. About half-an-hour after he had done talking about his knowing Thomas, the loud clock of the Tuileries struck the midnight hour; and then, from the Hôtel de Ville, from the church of St. Roch, from the tower of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, and from every church tower and belfry in Paris, there rose the louder and still louder sounds of the tocsin. Some time after the first peal of these dreadful bells, a message was delivered in the palace that the National Assembly had met, and demanded the presence of mayor Pétion at their bar, in order that he might give them an account of the state of the capital. [Several deputations from the Hôtel de Ville had represented to the Assembly that the virtuous mayor had been missing for two hours, that it was believed he had gone to the Tuileries, and that his precious life must be in danger there.] Many of the king's friends, thinking that Pétion might be of some value to the court, and some check to his idolaters, the mob, if kept in the Tuileries as a hostage, advised Louis to bid defiance to the summons of the Assembly, and keep the mayor where he was; but the poor victim of every kind of irregularity and violence thought that this step would be irregular, and far too violent; and he ordered that Pétion should be allowed to take his departure. The virtuous mayor only appeared at the bar of the Assembly to be demanded back to the Hôtel de Ville by another deputation, who represented how

extremely necessary his presence was in a moment of such universal combustion. Pétion stepped into his gilded couch, rolled back to the Hôtel de Ville, and was there put under arrest by the active men of the sections and faubourgs, who had already upset or suspended, *pro tempore*, the old municipality, placing all the members present in arrest, and setting up an insurrectional municipality of their own.

At the first sound of the tocsin all the friends of the royal family that were in the palace or in the gardens rushed to the royal apartment; and other friends came flocking in from different parts of the city to protest that they would die for and with their sovereign. Men of rank and ancient lineage, who had been for some time past in hiding, came from their places of concealment, with swords and with pistols—all the arms that they could bring—and with advice and suggestions, which were things already too numerous, contrary, and conflicting in that woful Babel. Besides these royalists of the old stamp, there ran to the Tuileries, with offers of swords and service, many of the Feuillants, who called themselves constitutional royalists, as Lally Tollendal, Narbonne, Latourdu-Pin, Gouvernet, Castellane, and Montmorency; but these betwixt-and-between gentlemen, who were now repudiated by both parties, were refused admittance by the court, and were left to wander round about the walls of the palace, at the imminent risk of being butchered by the sans-culottes. A number of old valets and serving-men of the court appeared in the midst of the noblemen and gentlemen in black, and the Swiss and staff-officers in their brilliant uniforms; some of these poor fellows had clumsy, old-fashioned sabres or rapiers tied to their middle by pocket-handkerchiefs; some had queer-looking pistols stuck in the same kind of girdle; and some, being able to lay their hands on no better weapons, armed themselves with spits and pokers, shovels and tongs—and, terrible as the moment was, Frenchmen could not but titter and laugh, and make bons-mots at these old serving-men and their unwelcome and uncourtly accoutrements. It had been fully expected that the sounding of the tocsin would be instantly followed by the march of the insurgents; but a quarter of an hour, half an hour, a whole hour passed away in this painful expectation, and the sans-culottes came not; and, instead of them, there came another letter from the departmental directory—a comfortable and comforting letter, as it intimated that, to the best of the knowledge of that council, the people were perplexed and undecided, and the insurrection paralysed. This impression was confirmed by “a tall man in a grey coat,” who made a verbal report to the king; and then the pleasant bon-mot ran through the council-chamber, *le tocsin ne rend pas*, or the tocsin gives no milk, or the tocsin is a dry milch-cow. But the tocsin was soon to give blood.

Maudat had said he had taken proper measures; and, indeed, the plan for defending the palace and the royal family, which had been adopted before

the panic and confusion of counsels began, was exceedingly well arranged and proper for its purpose. The forces disposable by the court were inconsiderable in number; but it might be hoped that their discipline and military experience would give them the superiority over the countless rabble and town-militia that were expected to be their assailants. The far greater part of the Swiss guards were unfortunately at Courbevoie, where they would have been of the greatest service if the king had got out of Paris to fly into Normandy, but where, at present, they were of no use whatever. The Swiss that remained certainly did not exceed eight hundred men, and probably were not more than between six and seven hundred; and by the contrivances of the republicans—so ardent and so cautious all the while, so eager for the onslaught, and yet so cautious that it should only be made with the least possible risk and danger to themselves—this brave and faithful battalion had been deprived of its artillery. The rest of the forces consisted of the gendarmerie, which was principally composed of men who had belonged to the old gardes Françaises, and from whom little was to be expected; of the Parisian artillery attached to the national guards, and which consisted entirely of mechanics, the smiths, locksmiths, iron-founders, &c. of the capital, who were all furious liberty-and-equality men; and of the national guards themselves, who were so thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary spirit that nothing could be expected but that they would all join the people, except the battalion of Filles St. Thomas, which Pétion had not been able to mix and democratise, and about one-fourth of the battalion of Petits-Pères. This civic army had, however, promised to do their duty, to defend the constitution as it was, &c.; and, as there was no other army, as the Assembly by a series of decrees had sent to a distance every regiment of the line suspected of the least affection for the king or for the monarchy, Louis was compelled to hope in these promises, or to give himself up to absolute despair. Maudat had placed a squadron of gendarmerie with cannon on the Pont-Neuf, to keep in check the Marseillaise, and the men of the Faubourg St. Marceau, men who had to cross the Seine before they could form a junction with the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine; he had placed another squadron with some guns near the Hôtel-de-Ville to drive back the Faubourg St. Antoine men; he had placed other squadrons and detachments in the Place Vendôme, and on other important points commanding the approaches to the palace; and he had stationed the mass of the cannoners in the avenues of the Tuileries, and the Swiss and the best of the national guards partly in the courts of the Tuileries, and partly in the interior of that palace. But about half-past two in the morning Pétion's right-hand man, Manuel, procureur of the commune, who had not been provisorily suspended, ordered the squadron and the cannoners stationed at the Pont-Neuf to quit that post, “as

the cannons interrupted the free communications of citizens ;” and the squadron and the cannoniers promptly obeyed this order, and thus left the road open for the Cordeliers and the Faubourg St. Marceau to join the Faubourg St. Antoine and the western sections. Upon this being reported at the Tuileries, the king’s ministers deliberated and debated whether they might not take it upon themselves to set Manuel’s order at defiance, and re-establish the artillery on the Pont-Neuf. We are not told what was the conclusion they came to ; but we need no information to conclude that, if such a counter-order had been given, it would not have been obeyed. Another hour or two rolled on, and still the insurgents came not. The day was beginning to break. Madame Elizabeth, who had been reposing with the queen on a sofa, rose and went to a window, looked out at the sky, which was very red, and said to the queen, “ Siater, come and see the sun rise.” Marie Antoinette went to the window. “ It was the last time,” says Rœderer, who seems scarcely aware that he is telling a most pathetic story, “ it was the last time she ever saw the sun.” About the same moment the king, who had retired an hour or two before to his bed-chamber, re-appeared in his cabinet. “ He had probably been lying down, for the powder had fallen out of his hair, and the curls on one side were all flattened, which made a singular contrast with the powder and the curls on the other side of the head.”* A summons from the Hôtel-de-Ville had already been delivered to Mandat ; and now there came a second and a more urgent call from the same quarter, where, it was said, Mayor Pétion wished to consult with him as to the best means of employing the public force. The poor commandant was very averse to going ; but one of the king’s ministers thought that his going would be useful to the court, and Rœderer thought that he ought to go to show his respect to the laws and to the constitution, which put the national guards under the direction of the mayor of Paris. Mandat, therefore, took his departure, being, like those who advised his going, quite ignorant of the coup d’état which had been struck in the Hôtel-de-Ville. It was about five o’clock of this fatal morning of the 10th of August when poor Mandat entered the civic hall, and found the new insurrectional municipality installed in it, and issuing their orders in all directions. They questioned him and cross-questioned him, demanded back Mayor Pétion’s written order for repelling force by force ; taxed him with high treason against the nation, with a monstrous design to shed the blood of the patriots, and then committed him to the Abbaye prison, there to abide trial. It is probable that these insurrectional municipals had no intention that he should travel so far or wait so long ; but whether they had so arranged it or not, the hapless commandant had scarcely crossed the threshold of the Hôtel-de-Ville ere he was seized, knocked down with clubs and pikes

* Rœderer.

and then barbarously butchered by a mob. He died on the very steps of the Hôtel-de-Ville. His son, who had accompanied or followed him to that pandemonium, begged to be permitted to remove the dead body,—entreated with tears and the most touching prayers,—but the ruffians carried away the body, and hurled it into the Seine. It was a miracle that they did not butcher the son ; and probably it was to make up for this omission that the revolutionary tribunal afterwards guillotined Mandat’s daughter, a young and interesting woman. Shortly after the departure of Mandat from the Tuileries, and apparently before his fate was known there, the queen took Rœderer aside, and asked him what was to be done under present circumstances ? Rœderer, who well knew that circumstances were far worse than the queen believed, who saw that the cannoniers near the palace were no more to be depended upon than those who had been stationed at the Pont-Neuf, that the majority of the national guards were, at the very least, resolved not to fire upon the people, and that even the battalion Filles St. Thomas were offended, and murmuring at the presence in the royal apartments of so many nobles and ultra-royalists, replied that he saw nothing that the king and his family could do but go over to the National Assembly, and take refuge there. The Vicomte Dubouchage said, “ Sir, you are proposing to carry the king into the midst of his enemies !” Rœderer said that the members of the Assembly were not all enemies, that a great majority had recently voted against the republicans, and that he only proposed this measure as the least of many dangers. The queen then said to him in a most decided tone, “ Sir, we have troops here ! It is at length time to know who shall have the upper hand, the king and the constitution, or the lawless faction !” “ In that case, madame,” said Rœderer, “ let us see what dispositions have been made for a resistance.” And he called up M. Lachesnay, to whom the chief command had fallen through the absence of Mandat—a bad change for the court, for Lachesnay had a rabid hatred of old nobles and aristocrats in general. When asked by Rœderer whether the national guards were steady, and whether he had adopted measures for stopping the march of the mob upon the palace, Lachesnay replied in the affirmative ; but then turning to the queen, he said in a rude and angry tone, “ Madame, the apartments are full of all kinds of people, who embarrass the service and prevent us from getting near to the king, and these are things that give great disgust to the national guards.” “ This is untimely and unreasonable,” said Marie Antoinette, who was speaking and acting instead of her inert husband ; “ I will answer to you for all the gentlemen that are here. They will march before, behind, in your ranks, just as you will ; they are ready to do anything and everything that is necessary ; they are men to be depended upon—*ce sont des hommes srs.*” By the advice of Rœderer two of the

king's ministers were sent over to the Assembly to acquaint them with the state of affairs, and request them to send a deputation to the palace. But nothing more was said about the king's removing to the *Salle-de-Manège*; and, as the insurgents did not even yet appear, as all Paris seemed to have fallen into a lull, many in the *Tuileries* hoped more than ever that the tocsin had remained unproductive. The truth, however, was that the court was left without information—that insurrection was now armed *cap-à-pié*, and on the very point of striking with all its strength. The blood of *Mandat* had quickened the appetite of the mob for more blood; and the foremost pack allured and brought into speed and action the countless packs behind. The *Demoiselle Theroigne*, the prostitute from *Luxembourg*, the *Aspasia*, *Minerva*, *Bellona* of the Parisians, had gone forth in a short-tailed riding-habit, with a grenadier's cap on her head, a sabre in her hand, and pistols in her girdle; and she had long been marching and counter-marching, haranguing and reprobating the indecision and slowness of the patriots. She was the she-champion of the *Gironde*, and, with the exception of *beau Barbaroux*, the only one of that party that showed courage and daring on this critical night, which was to produce that glorious republican to-morrow for which the whole of the *Gironde* had been so long sighing. A patrol or advanced guard of the patriots seized in the *Champs Elysées* seventeen individuals who were dressed like gentlemen, who had rapiers by their sides, and who were therefore supposed to be going with some desperate intent against the people. They carried them off and lodged them in the nearest guard-house; but eleven of the seventeen escaped by back windows or passages. *Demoiselle Theroigne* presently appeared in front of the guard-house to prevent the evasion of the remaining six by executing prompt mob-justice upon them. Her strong troop—a very strong one, for the Paris patriots loved to follow such a leader—dragged out the victims: two of them, by bribery or by miraculous agility, contrived even now to escape, but the other four were massacred in the *Place Vendôme* under the eyes of the “*Amazon of Liberty*.” One of these victims was *Sulleau*, the editor of a royalist journal, who had been a companion and class-mate of *Robespierre* in the college of *Louis-Quinze*; the second was an abbé, and the two others were *gardes-du-corps*. Their bleeding heads stuck upon pikes had a wonderful effect in quickening the people, who were now concentrating from all quarters without the slightest opposition, as the *gendarmes* and *gunners* stationed near the *Hôtel-de-Ville* had, like their brethren on the *Pont-Neuf*, obeyed the orders, not of commandant *Mandat*, who was dead, but of *Manuel*, who was living and stirring, and likely to rise to a proud pre-eminence. The march and the concentration would have been quicker if brewer *Santerre* had been braver. When the *Faubourg St. Antoine* was all armed—excepting only

some prudent patriots who had sneaked home to their beds—the burly brewer took it into his head that the *Faubourg St. Marceau* and the *Marseillaise* would not march or venture to cross the *Pont-Neuf*, and, stumbling at sundry other doubts and difficulties, he proposed that the business should be put off for a day or two. But *Westermann*, the *Alsatian*, caught the brewer by the throat, while his bright sabre glittering before his eyes told the brewer that he must march or die. “*Allons, Santerre!—Allons, brothers of Faubourg St. Antoine and Bastille heroes!*”—and at last, between five and six in the morning, away they all went from their distant suburb to the heart of Paris, and thence slowly onward for the *Tuileries*. Apparently the court knew by the beat of drums and the occasional firing of cannon that their merciless foe was coming, when, at about six o'clock, or a little earlier, animated by his wife, who said to him, “*Sire, this is the time to show yourself, or never,*” Louis put on his hat and descended to the gardens with old Marshal *Maille* to pass the troops in review. If the heavy man could have leaped on horseback, if he could have caracoled and galloped along the ranks, if he could only have made a loud, commonplace harangue, his presence might possibly have done some little good; but poor Louis was utterly incapable of these things, and his tardy attempt at doing something appears to have done harm, rather than good. Some of the *grenadiers of Filles St. Thomas* put their caps on their bayonets and cried for the last time “*Vive le Roi!*” But the rest looked with mixed anger and contempt at the unwieldy figure of the king, and, irritated at the cry of the *grenadiers*, and encouraged by the arrival of some of the *cannoneers*, who came to point their guns, not against the people, but against the palace, they shouted “*Vive la Nation!*” “*Vive la Liberté!*” “*A bas le Veto!*” “*A bas le Traître!*” “*Vive Pétion!*” and presently mingled with such cries hooting and cursing. These ominous sounds were heard by those who had remained in the palace. “*Great God,*” exclaimed *Vicomte Dubouchage*, “it is the king they are hooting! What the devil is he going to do there? Quick! let us go and bring him back.” And instantly the *Vicomte* and another nobleman descended to the garden. The queen now wept without saying a word; she tried many times to dry her tears, and, finding she could not, she rushed into another room to hide them. Anon Louis reappeared between the two gentlemen who had gone out to seek him: he was heated and out of breath, from the extraordinary exertion he had made; but his countenance was as calm and impassive as ever. “*The king,*” says *Roderer*, “appeared but little troubled at what had happened downstairs.” But *Madame Campan*, who says that she saw from a window of the palace everything that had taken place in the garden—who says that she saw *cannoneers* quit their posts and hold their fists in the king's face, loading him at the same time with the grossest abuse—

states that Louis became as pale as death, *pâle comme s'il avait cessé d'exister*. She adds, "The queen now said to me that all was lost; that the king had shown no energy, and that that sort of review had done more harm than good." To complete this despair a messenger now got into the palace with the certain intelligence that all Paris was up in arms, that the faubourgs were in full march with artillery and an abundance of ball and ammunition, and that the Marseillaise and the Cordeliers battalion had crossed the Seine and were close at hand. Rœderer again proposed that the royal family should seek refuge in the Assembly. The Vicomte Dubouchage, who had seen how the king had been treated in the garden, said passionately, "No, he must not go to the Assembly! There is no going there with safety: he must remain here." Rœderer and some of the members of the council of the departmental directory who had joined him then offered to go over to the Salle-de-Manège to acquaint the deputies with the intelligence which they had just received, and "submit the affair to their wisdom." On their way they met the two ministers who had been sent to, and who were now returning from the Assembly. "Gentlemen," said the two ministers, "where are you going?" Rœderer replied, "To the Assembly." "And to do what?" asked the ministers. "To demand their assistance—a députation—or to beg them to invite the king and his family to their hall," responded Rœderer. "Eh! gentlemen," said the ministers, "we have been making the same demand, and without any effect! The Assembly would scarcely listen to us. There were not members enough present to form a House or vote a decree; there are not more than sixty or eighty of them at most." Rœderer and his party faced about and went with the two ministers back to the palace; and, no doubt, they went at speed, for crowds of people were now seen rushing along the Feuillant terrace. As they entered the garden they were stopped by some of the cannoneers who had not yet turned their guns towards the king's dwelling, and who said in a dolorous tone, "Gentlemen, are we to be obliged to fire upon our brothers?" Rœderer said that they were only there to defend the gates of the palace and hinder the people from entering; that they were not expected to fire unless they were first fired upon, and that those who could fire upon them were not to be considered as brothers. He was told that he ought to give these assurances to the rest of the cannoneers and to the national guards, who were all very uneasy at the thought that they were to be called upon to slaughter their brethren. Rœderer went to the great court-yard and to all the posts, haranguing and declaring that they were only to act according to the constitution, that they were only to stand upon the defensive. "No attack," shouted he, "no provocation on your side, but a bold countenance and a steady defence!" But at the word defence the cannoneers took the charges from their guns, threw the powder and ball upon

the ground, and dashed out a match which was already lighted as if for action. This was decisive in itself; and the next minute the terrible Marseillaise and Cordeliers battalion marched into the square of the Carrousel, and took post close under the palace. They sent a man forward to the iron railing to speak with the Swiss guards, and invite them to join and fraternise; but these Swiss were very different men from the Château-Vieux regiment, and were not to be moved from their strict sense of military duty, however desperate might be the circumstances under which that duty was to be performed. Another messenger came forth from the ranks of the insurgents—"A young man, short, thin, and pale, and an officer of cannoneers"—and he told Rœderer that the insurgents only wanted to go the Assembly and remain there till the king's forfeiture should be pronounced; that they had twelve pieces of artillery in the Place du Carrousel, and were not to be resisted. Rœderer replied that the road to the Assembly did not lie through the palace; that it was illegal to go to the Assembly in force and in arms; that the constitution and laws must be respected, &c. While Rœderer was speaking with this thin, pale patriot, a number of people rushed to one of the gates of the palace and held conversation with several persons within, who seemed well-disposed to open the gate to them without giving them any trouble. He rushed into the palace by another door to tell the king that if he did not fly he would be murdered. An officer of the municipality, old or new, was telling the same sad story to the king. "But what do the people demand?" said the keeper of the seals. "The déchéance," replied the municipal. "Well, then, let the Assembly pronounce it," said the minister. "But, after this déchéance, what will happen?" was the terrible and inevitable question then put by the queen. The municipal bent or turned away his head, and said nothing. "Sire," cried Rœderer, "your majesty has not five minutes to lose! There is no safety for you except in the Assembly. You have not a sufficient number of men to defend the palace, and those you have are little to be depended upon. The cannoneers, at the mere mention of standing on the defensive, have unloaded their guns." "But," said the king, "I have not seen a great many people in the Place du Carrousel." "Sire," replied Rœderer, "there are twelve pieces of cannon there, and immense multitudes of men are arriving from the faubourgs." One Gerdret, a member of the departmental directory, a zealous patriot, and lace-merchant to the queen, ventured to offer a few words in support of what the procureur-general had said. "Silence, M. Gerdret," cried the queen; "it is not for you to raise your voice in this place! Hold your tongue, sir. . . . Let the procureur-general speak." And then turning to Rœderer she said, "But, sir, we have troops yet" "Madame," replied Rœderer, interrupting her, "all Paris is marching!—*tout Paris marche*."

And then, addressing the king with greater earnestness than before, the procureur-general added, "Sire, time presses; it is no longer a prayer that we make to you, it is no longer an advice that we take the liberty to give you; we have but one thing to do in this moment, and that is, to demand permission to drag you to the Assembly!" At these words poor Louis, who had been seated near a table with his hands on his knees and his eyes fixed on the ground, raised his head, looked fixedly at Roderer for some seconds, then turning towards the queen he said, "Marchons—let us march," and then rose. His affectionate sister said to the procureur-general, "Monsieur Roderer, you answer for the life of the king!" "Yes, Madame, with my own life," replied Roderer, who then opened the death-march. As he walked before the king, who, he says, gave him a look of confidence, he begged that his majesty would not think of conducting with him any of his court, but would rely entirely on the departmental directory and on the national guards, who would form a double hedge to keep off the insurgents. "Well," said the king, "you have only to say it." The keeper of the seals exclaimed, "But, Monsieur Roderer, the ministers will follow." As soon as Roderer had assented, the queen said eagerly, "And Madame de Tourzel, the governess of my son!" Roderer said she might go too. By this time they had reached an outer apartment which was crowded by national guardsmen and by gentlemen of the court, who seemed more than half inclined to prevent the king's going. Roderer called out in a loud voice, "The king and his family are going to the Assembly alone, without any cortège except the department and the ministers and a guard. Please to open a passage." He then ordered the officer in command of the guard to advance his men to march in double rows with the king. The only words Louis was heard to address to his afflicted courtiers were, "Gentlemen, I am only going to the Assembly." The national guards were soon ready. As the king traversed the last apartment of the palace, he took the hat of a national guardsman who was marching at his right hand, and put on the man's head his own hat, which had a white feather. The guardsman was taken by surprise; but he presently took the king's hat from his head and put it under his left arm. At the foot of the great staircase Louis halted, and said to Roderer, "But what is to become of all those persons left upstairs?" meaning the members of his diminished court, his faithful servants, and the devoted men who had run to the palace in the course of the preceding night to share in his danger.* It was never in the heart of Louis to be indifferent—as monarchs so often are—to the fate of his friends and servants; nor could any extremity of danger or distress drive them from his mind. Roderer

replied, that, as all the gentlemen appeared to be in plain clothes, they had nothing to do but to leave their swords and come out—that harm could scarcely happen to them. As he went out into the portico which commanded a view of a part of the Place du Carrousel, the king hesitated and halted again. "But still there are not so many people here in the Place," said he to Roderer. "But, Sire," responded the procureur-general, "all the faubourgs are on the point of arriving, all the sections are armed, they have been united at the municipality; and then you have not men enough to resist even the insurgents already collected on the Place du Carrousel: there are twelve pieces of cannon there." The king continued his march. As they passed along the terraces of the Tuileries gardens they had to walk over leaves which had fallen abundantly from the trees in the course of the night, although it was only the 10th of August. "Here is a great fall of leaves," said Louis; "they fall early this year!" Some days before this Manuel had written in a newspaper that the king would only last till the fall of the leaves. The little Dauphin playfully kicked the leaves about, all ignorant of the prophecy and its actual fulfilment. The president of the department ran beforehand to the Assembly to announce that the king was coming. Roderer, recollecting in time that the Assembly had drawn a line of demarcation, and claimed all the terrace of the Feuillants beyond a certain point as their own or as national territory, and that it would be considered very unlawful for the armed guard escorting the king to pass that delicate line, halted the head of the column on the court side, or, as it was called, the Coblenz side, of it. A deputation came forth from the Assembly to meet the king. "Sire," said the president, "the Assembly, eager to concur in securing your safety, offer you and your family an asylum in its own bosom." The royal family quitted the double row of national guards to traverse the rest of the terrace in the midst of the furious insurgents, who were not so entirely absorbed by the now decided theory of a republic but that some of the patriots found time to rob the queen of her watch and purse. Another of the republicans, a man of the tallest stature and most ferocious countenance, with a uniform on his back and officer's epaulettes on his shoulders, brandished a naked sword before the king's eyes, and by words as well as gestures intimated that Louis and all with him ought to be massacred. The general fury seemed, as usual, to be more directed against the queen than against the king, and the armed mob kept roaring, "No women! no women!" seasoning the exclamation with blasphemy and beastly obscenity. Roderer harangued and the deputation from the august Arcopagus harangued till the ruffian put down his sword and took up the little dauphin in his arms. The royal mother gave a cry of dread and horror, and for the first time was near fainting. But Rocher—the ruffian's name is preserved in memoirs and histories—said to her "Madame,

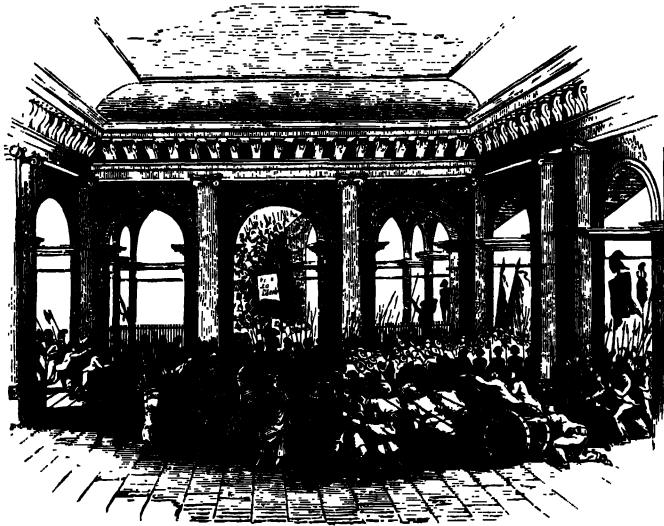
* Madame de Tourzel, that she might not be separated from her charge the Dauphin, had been obliged to leave her daughter, then seventeen years of age, in the Tuileries in the midst of the soldiers.

do not fear, I will not do him the least injury ;” and he hoisted the dauphin to his cpauletted shoulder and carried him the remainder of the way. But there were other alarms and other obstacles. A fellow with a pole or pike nine or ten feet long made a frightful outcry, and had by his side a citizen still more transported with rage: they cried out with all their force, “They shall not go into the National Assembly! They are the cause of all our miseries! This must have an end! Down with them! Down with them!” Rœderer again harangued, telling them that they must respect the laws which the friends of the people had made; that the king had a right to enter the Assembly whenever he thought proper; and that, although the constitution gave no such right to the queen and the rest of the royal family, the Assembly, by a special decree just voted, allowed them to repair thither with the king. One of the deputation from the House attested that all this was truth and the law. The general opposition then seemed to yield, but the fierce loud man with the long pole or pike kept brandishing it in the air, and shouting “Down with them! down with them all!” until Rœderer snatched the pike from his hand, when he turned and fled, and disappeared in the crowd. At the door of the Assembly, which was guarded as usual by national guardsmen, one of the men said to the king, “Sire, do not fear, we are good people, only we will be betrayed no longer. Be a good citizen, Sire, and do not forget to drive all your black-silk-breeches men out of the palace!” Louis said a few words to the man, mildly and without any ill-humour. He was the first that entered the Assembly. He was closely followed by Rœderer; but a crowd and a rush in the lobbies stopped the queen, who would not separate from her son. Rœderer, going up to the bar, entreated the Assembly to send away the mob, and permit some of the grenadiers of the battalion Filles St. Thomas, who had escorted the royal family, to mount guard at the door. The ultra-Jacobin party, and apparently some of the Gironde, expressed great anger at the latter proposition; and there rose a cry that there was a conspiracy against the Assembly, and that it was for some sinister and fatal design Rœderer had proposed introducing into the Assembly an armed force. Thuriot and Cambon were particularly furious, and really spoke as if they were in an agony of alarm. They threatened Rœderer with impeachment, and told him that his head should answer for it, if any attack were made or attempted upon the House. Instead of answering, Rœderer called in a few grenadiers without their arms; and these men presently opened a passage for the queen. One of the grenadiers took the Dauphin in his arms, traversed the hall, and set the child down on the table, which excited some applause. The queen followed with the rest of the royal family, and then sat down with the king upon the seats usually reserved for ministers. When Louis spoke, he calmly said,

“I am come hither to avoid a great crime, and I think that I can nowhere be so safe as in the midst of you, gentlemen.” To this the republican Girondist, Vergniaud, who was president, responded, “Sire, you may count upon the firmness of the National Assembly: its members have sworn to die in maintaining the rights of the people and the constituted authorities.” Louis then seated himself close by the side of the president; but ex-capucin Chabot, of the *mauvaise tête*, reminded the Assembly that they could not deliberate in presence of the king; and thereupon Louis and his family and ministers were conducted to a box called *la loge du logographe*, which was reserved for the short-hand writers or reporters, and which was placed immediately behind the president’s chair. In that place, where they could see without being much seen, and where Louis could hear every word of the debate upon his own déchéance or forfeiture, we must leave them for the present, in order to return to the Tuileries.*

With the departure of the king all motive for resistance seemed to cease at the palace, where the means of defence were diminished by the departure of the grenadiers and others who had helped to escort the king. The *gens-d’armes*, who had so implicitly obeyed procureur Manuel, quitted all their posts, and joined the people with cries of “Vive la Nation!” the national guards that remained in the great court-yard and in the gardens of the Tuileries were now all of one mind, for those who were well disposed to the king saw now no chance of saving their lives except by declaring for the insurgents; but the brave Swiss—five or six hundred men, for some of this corps, too, had gone to give escort to the royal family—remained at their posts within the palace, nothing daunted by the tens of thousands that were gathering around them; and there they determined to remain until their orders to that effect should be revoked by those who had given them. On the other side, the Marseillaise and the Breton fédérés, who had come to fight, and who could not brook the idea of being disappointed of the pleasure of storming the château, were resolutely bent upon entering the palace; and the party, or rather the parties, whose impulses they obeyed, wished for some grand scene there that might terrify all non-republican members, and drive the Assembly to a rapid solution of the déchéance problem. To scare the Swiss, who, with their muskets on their shoulders, were looking out at the windows and doors of the palace, the mob paraded along the Feuillant terrace with four bleeding heads stuck upon pikes—the heads of Sulleau and the other three who had been put to death in the Place Vendôme under the eyes of the demoiselle Theroigne. Finding that this had no effect, some of the insurgents parleyed with the Swiss, who, in

* Rœderer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*; Proceedings of the Assembly, as given in Hist. Parlement; Félon’s Account, *ibid.*; Cléry, *valet de chambre de Louis XVI.*, Journal; Madame Campan; Toulougeon, Hist. de la France depuis la Révolution; Marquis de Ferrière, *Mémoires*; and other *mémoires* of the time.



ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES JULY 10. By Duplessis-Bertaux.

sign of peace and friendship, threw cartridges out of the windows, but intimated at the same time that they must do their duty. Westermann, who had removed the indecision of brewer Santerre in so energetic a manner, could, as a native of Alsace (which was still more than half German, and which never ought to have been allowed to be French, or become a part of France), speak a bad German dialect with facility; and, as he fancied the Swiss might not well have understood those who had parleyed with them in French, he spoke to them in his Alsatian German. Still the brave, stern men, from the mighty Alps and the high Swiss valleys, remained firm as their native rocks, the only men or things that were firm on that day, or that had been firm for many a long day in France. Not only was the Place du Carrousel now crowded, but the quays on the other side of the Tuileries, and every spot of ground near the palace, were covered with armed multitudes, who, for the most part, were kept in ignorance of the fact that the king and his family were no longer there, and who consequently urged on the attack with a blind fury. Some voices nearer at hand roared out, "Only give up the château to us, and we are friends!" But the Swiss made no answer. The next message or summons on the part of the patriots was spoken by three loud cannons that fired over or into the roof of the Tuileries. Such of the nobles and gentlemen in black, and such of the servants of the royal household as had not escaped before, now fled from the doomed place in

the best manner they could. Cléry, one of the king's valets-de-chambre, who will long be remembered for his faithful attendance on his kind master, and for his touching narrative of the captivity and sufferings of the royal family, found every passage out of the palace blocked up, saw certain death staring him in the face, ran desperately from apartment to apartment, and at last leaped from one of the windows of the queen's room down upon the terrace. Before he made his escape the walls of the palace were pierced with balls and bullets, and several of the apartments were already strewn with dead bodies; for the Swiss returned the fire of the three great guns, and the insurgents then plied all their cannon and all the musketry they could, firing on the palace from different sides and angles, and aiming chiefly at the doorways and windows. But presently the Swiss made a bold sortie from the palace, drove the insurgents back from a barricade which they had almost mastered, and out of the great court-yard, seized one of the pieces of artillery which had been placed there, turned it against the retreating Marseillaise, gave many of them a lasting quietus, and in brief space of time entirely cleared the Place du Carrousel. Many of the flying rabble never stopped until they reached the Faubourg St. Antoine, and never re-appeared on the scene of action until the only work to be done was to butcher helpless prisoners. Beau Barbaroux, who had not exposed his own handsome person, endeavoured to rally the Marseillaise when they were

under cover, or when tall stone houses or whole streets intervened between them and the Swiss. Westermann, who had risked life and limb like a soldier, rallied the Breton federates, and the demoiselle Theroigne, in her *amazonne*, or short-skirted riding-habit, ran from rank to rank, crying "Vengeance! Vengeance! Victory or Death!" Even some of the pike-men rallied; and some of the national guardsmen who had remained within the iron-railing of the Tuileries, infuriated at seeing Frenchmen fly before the Swiss, and the blood of their countrymen shed by foreigners, fired upon the Swiss on flank and rear. The very battalions of Filles St. Thomas and Petits-Pères joined in this fusillade. The mass of the artillery of the besiegers was gradually collected on one good point; more guns, seized by the mob at the arsenal and in other places, were dragged forward; some barricades were raised, and a close concentrated fire was opened upon the Swiss and the château. But still the Swiss kept up their fire by volley and platoon, and, by dint of musketry and their single cannon, they captured three other pieces of artillery—but unfortunately without their limbstocks. At this moment many lookers-on were very doubtful whether a complete victory would not remain to the Swiss. Napoleon Bonaparte, then a very young and a very poor officer of artillery, who was among the spectators, and who afterwards pretended that he was indifferent or merely led to the spot by curiosity, although, in fact, he was then professedly an out-and-out Jacobin of the school of Robespierre, thought that the Swiss must beat if they had only a skilful commander. But the Swiss, unable to use the three guns they had just captured, and assailed by the national guards as well as by the enemy in front, were soon compelled to fall back upon the palace. They had left, however, on the Place du Carrousel from a thousand to twelve hundred Frenchmen killed and wounded—so dreadful had been their fire, and so close and thick the masses against which it had been directed—and their case was by no means desperate, when M. d'Hervilly arrived from the Assembly with the king's order to them to cease firing. Before the brave men could be made to understand this order, they repulsed a body of insurgents who had ventured to come to close quarters. The Swiss, relieved from that duty for which alone they had been hazarding their lives against such fearful odds, would gladly have piled their arms; but the insurgents, who obeyed no orders, or at least none that came from the king or from any other constituted authority, kept firing on, more vigorously than ever. Some few of the Swiss did, however, quit their posts to follow M. d'Hervilly to the Assembly, where he promised them life and security; but the rest remained in the palace—and many of them, it is said, never knew, or had an opportunity of knowing, anything about the king's order. Cannon-balls and bullets were flying about too thickly to allow d'Hervilly to make any long stay. He was

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scarcely gone ere Westermann led the Marseillaise and Bretons to another assault in front of the palace, while another body of insurgents attacked it with artillery on the side of the Louvre. Long and bloody was the contest, and many a Marseillaise and Breton fell dead on the terrace and on the marble steps before Westermann forced an entrance by the great door; and then the Swiss obstinately defended every step of the broad staircase. But, as soon as the Marseillaise and Bretons got footing in the interior of the palace, they were followed by thousands of national guardsmen of the sans-culottic districts, and by thousands of pike-men from the faubourgs—by a living mass which might have seemed sufficient to make the old oak beams and rafters of the Tuileries crack and break, and so bury together in one hideous ruin Swiss and French, the assailants and the assailed. The republicans even dragged up heavy guns to burst open the inner doors with grape-shot. At last the Swiss, who were for the most part wounded and covered with blood, threw down their arms and cried for mercy. Never was such a cry more vainly raised; the French fell upon them, and commenced one of the most atrocious of massacres—a butchery in which mere children and women, armed with pikes and knives, took part. One division of the victims, from two to three hundred strong, formed into a column, rushed out of the palace, and endeavoured to cut their way to the Champs Elysées, and thence on to Courbevoie, where were hundreds of their brave countrymen and brothers in arms, in barracks and doing nothing, but who, had they been kept in Paris, might have given a very different turn to the fortune of the day. They kept together, and in perfect order for some time, defending themselves with their bayonets, for they had consumed all their cartridges before they quitted the palace; but attacked from every side, fired upon by artillery and musketry, and seeing every avenue blocked up, they hesitated, halted, consulted, and then broke and fled in small parties, and in every direction, crying, "Quarter! quarter! mercy!" Nearly every man of them was massacred by the ferocious mob, who mutilated their bodies, and stuck their heads upon pikes. Another party fled from the Tuileries by the Rue de l'Echelle, and were butchered to a man. A third party rushed across the garden and the Feuillant terrace to the Assembly; and of these the greater part were brought down by a keen fusillade, and the rest found refuge in the back benches of the house. Cléry, who had leaped out at the queen's window, and who had not known whither to go, was accosted by some Marseillaise, who had just butchered several of the Swiss, and were stripping them of their clothes. One of them went up to him with a bloody sword in his hand, saying, "How, citizen! without arms! Take this sword and help us to kill."—"I was," says the faithful valet-de-chambre, "without arms, and most fortunately in a plain frock coat; for if anything had betrayed that I belonged to the palace, I should not

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have escaped." He then ran and concealed himself in a stable, where some of the Swiss took refuge also; but they were watched and soon cut to pieces close to him. Attracted by the cries of these wretched victims, the master of the house ran down to the stable; he was too late to be of any service to the Swiss, but he conducted Cléry into his house, and kept him there till the massacre was over. Cléry had barely time to throw away some papers which might have disclosed the nature of his employment at court, ere a body of armed men broke into the house to see if any Swiss were concealed in it. After a keen search these ruffians, with their hands wet with blood, entered into conversation, and coolly related how many men they had massacred. "I remained at this asylum," adds Cléry, "from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, having constantly before my eyes a view of the horrors that were committed in the Place de Louis Quinze. Of the men, some were continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies, from which they tore pieces of flesh and carried them in triumph." For the horrors that were perpetrated within the Tuileries we have the authority of another eye-witness. Madame Campan, who was in the number of those who could not leap out of windows or escape in any other way—a very considerable number, and consisting for the most part of women and aged or feeble men—says that several noblemen, in attempting to fly by the long gallery that leads from the Tuileries to the Louvre, were poniarded or shot, and their dead bodies thrown out of the windows; that two ushers of the king's chamber were killed in defending with their swords the door of the council-room, and that another usher was slain at the door of the queen's bedchamber, all three protesting that it was their duty to die there. Madame Campan, the Princess de Tarente, and a good many more ladies, were in the queen's drawing-room, expecting death every instant, when a man with a long beard entered, crying out, in the name of Pétion, "Mercy for the women! Do not dishonour the nation!" Missing her sister, Madame Campan ran to an upper apartment, where she found two femmes-de-chambre and a tall Hungarian, one of the queen's chasseurs, who was sitting on the side of a bed pale as death, and utterly helpless through fright. She cried out to him to fly for his life. "I cannot," said the man; "I am dead with fear!" As he said the words a savage troop rushed up the stairs and into the room, and massacred him. They were falling upon Madame Campan and the two femmes-de-chambre, when a voice at the bottom of the stairs called out, "What are you doing up there? The women are not to be killed;" and thereupon a horrible Marseillaise said to Madame Campan, who was on her knees before him praying for mercy, "Get up, she-rogue, the nation pardons you! *Lève-toi, coquine, la nation te fait grâce.*"

Five or six men then carried her and the two waiting-women to one of the large windows of the palace, set them upon a table, and bade them cry "Vive la nation." After this they were allowed to quit the palace, which was re-echoing with the blows of men and women who were breaking the furniture and everything to pieces. "I was obliged to walk over several dead bodies," says the estimable woman, who has rendered even better service to the memory of Marie Antoinette than Cléry has done to that of Louis XVI., "and I recognised among them the body of the old Vicomte de Broves, to whom the queen had sent me at the beginning of the terrible night to beg him and another aged gentleman in her name to quit the palace and get to their homes. But the two old men had begged me to tell her majesty, that they had too often obeyed the king's orders in circumstances when it was their duty to have risked their lives for his defence; and that this time they were determined to be disobedient, and would only remember the kindness of the queen." As Madame Campan was quitting the Tuileries garden by one of the iron gates, the men who were conducting her asked whither she would go? She asked them whether they were at liberty to conduct her wherever she desired to go? Upon this one of them, a Marseillaise, pushed her with the butt-end of his musket, saying, "How! do you still doubt the power of the people!" Madame replied, "Certainly not." They told her that she might go wherever she liked. As she traversed the Place du Carrousel, in the midst of balls and bullets, she witnessed the massacre of several of the Swiss, and saw her own house in a blaze; for, partly through accidents likely to arise in such an incessant firing of cannons and muskets, and partly by design, fire was set to many of the buildings near the Tuileries, and even to a part of that palace itself. The skirts of her white dress had been stained with blood in sweeping over the floors of the palace. The pousardes, or fish-wives, who, like all the market-women of Paris, had long been such decided patriottes, followed her and her companions, hooting and hissing, and crying out that they belonged to the Austrian woman, and ought to be killed. The armed men that were conducting her led her and the two waiting-women under a doorway that they might take off their white gowns; but this seemed to make matters worse, for their under dresses, being too short, gave them the appearance of persons in disguise, and another troop of pousardes cried out that they were young Swiss dressed as women, and as such ought to be massacred. When this alarm was over, Madame Campan saw advancing along the street a group of she-cannibals carrying the head of poor commandant Mandat. Her escort made her and her companions hastily enter an obscure wine-shop, where they called for wine and bade the ladies drink with them, assuring the landlord that they were their sisters and good patriottes. By this time all the Marseillaise who had followed her from the palace had quitted her. One of the men that remained told her in an under

tone of voice that he had been forced to join the insurgents; that he disapproved of all their atrocities; that he had killed nobody, and saved her. "You have run," said he, "a great risk in meeting those furies that were carrying the head of Mandat. Yesterday, at midnight, in the Place de la Bastille, those horrible women took an oath to kill with their own hands the queen and all the females attached to her service. It is only the difficulty and danger of the deed that has saved you all." At last Madame Campan reached the house of her sister, where all the members of her family were assembled, and where every one believed that she had been murdered in the palace. But she could not long rest there, for the house was known, and it was presently surrounded by a furious mob, shouting that the confidante of Marie Antoinette was there, and that they would have her head. The numbers were never correctly ascertained, but it appears that five or six gentlemen of rank, twenty or thirty of the national guards, who either sided with the Swiss, or met death because they were known to have been friends of the court, and to have fought with the Marseillaise at the ill-omened dinner in the Champs Elysées, and about one hundred domestics of the royal family, were butchered in the Tuileries. As for the Swiss, out of seven or eight hundred men that had mustered in the palace on the preceding night, not more than one hundred and fifty, or at most one hundred and eighty, outlived this bloody day; and many of these poor fellows afterwards died of their wounds or of grief. So madly savage were the Parisian mobs, or patriots and patriotesses, that they murdered all the door-porters they could reach, as some of those men were Swiss, and as they were all called Swiss—the word *Suisse* having become, in Parisian French at least, a synonyme for "door-porter." As a large party of them—fifty, or, according to other accounts, eighty—were on their way to the Hôtel de Ville, under escort of a detachment of national guards to whom they had surrendered—a ferocious multitude in the Place de Grève burst through the ranks of the national guards, and murdered the helpless prisoners in cold blood to the last man, the guardsmen looking on, and, it is said, making not the slightest effort to save men whose lives ought to have been sacred in their eyes. But still there were some Frenchmen who were horror-stricken at these atrocities, and who risked their lives in endeavours to stop them—only, unfortunately for the national character, these noble efforts were spoiled in some cases by strut and theatrical display. One Clement, a wine-dealer, rushed to the bar of the Assembly, leading a rescued Swiss by the hand, set forth, in an artificial speech, the dangers he had undergone in the rescue, declared that he was childless himself and would adopt the Swiss he had saved, and then fell upon the poor soldier's neck and fainted away; at which that august Arcopagus clapped and applauded, as if it had been Talma enacting. Gorsas, the journalist, stood

fast at the door of a guard-room, within which were some Swiss prisoners, haranguing the mob, and doing all he could to save the prisoners—an action which would have been the more commendable if Gorsas had not himself been labouring for months in his newspaper to excite the people into insurrection and their present madness, or if either his efforts had been attended with success or he had ended his foul life by the door of that guard-house in pleading the cause of mercy. Some few other citizens generously exposed their lives in concealing Swiss or other fugitives in their houses.

The massacres were not all over till late in the evening; but as early as eleven o'clock in the morning the triumphant shouts of the people informed the republican deputies sitting in the Assembly, Jacobins and Girondists, who had set them to this work, that they had conquered and that the Tuileries was in their possession. Until the moment when this certain intelligence was received, these reformers and reconstructors of nations, though they had the king and his family in their hands, were quivering with agitation and alarm. The cannon which was fired close by—for their hall was not many hundred yards from the palace—shook the walls of their Arcopagus, and their windows were nearly all broken by the concussion of the atmosphere and by random musket-shots. Some of the illustrious deputies rose and went to the door; but to go out where balls were flying like hail was more dangerous than to remain in; and so they returned to their seats or vaulted into the speaking-place to talk about the glory of dying for the country, and the imperative duty of all representatives of the people to remain at their posts in the hour of danger. As the guns boomed and the House shook, they talked the louder to keep up what heart was left in them. A portion of the armed mob rushed in at the door of the hall; but it was not the mob that these orators feared, and so they greeted the in-comers with shouts of "Vive la Nation!" The next thing they did was to decree an address calling upon the people to respect, not the palace they were attacking, but "the Rights of Man, Liberty, and Equality," and to order that this brief address should instantly be printed and placarded. As soon as this was decreed they had recourse to some more swearing, which they always employed like a dram: they all rose on their feet, stretched out their right hands, and, to the loud accompaniment of the galleries, they swore that they would perish, if necessary, for the defence of liberty and equality. Then a deputation from one of the sections, composed of daring men who had ventured to come to the House through the terrible storm that was raging, appeared at the bar to say that their section fully concurred in the petition for *déchéance* which Mayor Pétion had presented, to declare that they too had sworn to die for liberty and equality, that they were all tired of the crimes of the court, and wanted to get rid of kings for ever. "O, legis-

lators," said their orator, in winding up his harangue, "only dare to swear that you will save the empire, and the empire is safe!" What! more swearing?—Yes! more and still more; for all the deputies rose simultaneously, and, again raising their right hands towards heaven, they shouted, almost loud enough to drown the roar of big guns and the crack and crash of small ones, "*Nous le jurons!* We swear it." The president—it was the Girondist Guadet, as the Girondist Vergniaud had been worn out by sitting all night—entreated this deputation to take charge of the address to the people which had just been voted, and cause the same to be placarded. Apparently the servants of the Assembly would not expose themselves to be shot by carrying out the paper. Next came a deputation from the insurrectional municipality, who had established themselves in the Hôtel de Ville. This deputation, consisting of six known men of the people, demanded that the Assembly should pronounce sentence of déchéance instanter, and that they should be permitted on the morrow to present to the Assembly a detailed account of all the occurrences "of this for ever memorable day," in order that it might be sent to all the forty-four thousand municipalities of France. And they also announced that, notwithstanding the suspension and changes which they had found themselves under the necessity of making in the Hôtel de Ville, Pétion, Manuel, and Danton were "still their colleagues," and that Santerre was put at the head of the national guards and all the armed force of Paris. Guadet, who was acting as president, and who was one of Pétion's closest friends, said to this deputation, "Gentlemen, you have spoken of Monsieur Pétion, but Pétion you know is detained a prisoner. He cannot speak to the people, and you may judge how much he wishes to do it. We invite you, therefore, to take off the order which prevents him from showing himself to his fellow-citizens." This was a conclusion to the farce of the virtuous mayor's duresse and restraint. Montaut Maribon, a decided Robespierist, who had been more than once president of the Jacobin Club, who was president there at the beginning of the present month of August, and who, in that capacity and otherwise, had materially aided and assisted in bringing about the insurrection, moved that the Assembly should be called over by muster-roll, and that every member should ascend the tribune as his name was called, and there separately and individually swear in the name of the nation to maintain liberty and equality, or die at his post. This motion was carried upon the ground that, when men swore in masses, their oaths were not so good or clear as when each man swore separately. This fresh swearing—the calling over the list of the members—the ascending and descending the steps of the tribune—must have occupied a considerable time; but we know not whether the proceeding was over or only in progress when the Assembly was informed that the insurgents had triumphed,

and that a deputation of patriots were coming to the bar to present several boxes full of papers which they had found in the Tuileries. Upon the motion of Lacroix, who said that the Assembly had no place set apart for the preservation of such documents, these papers were sent to the Hôtel de Ville. Then Lamarque acquainted the House that the extraordinary committee of twelve had thought fit to prevent the departure of any carriages or couriers from the capital, "in order that lying letters might not carry alarm into the departments;" and he advised the Assembly to draw up immediately an address to the French people, to assure them that their representatives, true to their oaths, would neglect nothing to save the country, and to let all the inhabitants of the rural districts know that the insurrection of to-day was only the effect of the weariness of the people, &c. The Assembly not only adopted the proposition, but intrusted the drawing up of this address to Lamarque himself. After this, a number of citizens and citizenesses, who had been attacking the palace, came to depose that all the bloodshed had been owing to the court and to the abominable Swiss, who had betrayed good patriots by their signs of amity, and had fired upon them when they confidently and peaceably approached the palace. According to their spokesman, the people had all been as innocent and as quiet as lambs, and it was the king, and not they, who had set the tocsins ringing. "For a long time," said he, "the people have been calling for déchéance, and you, legislators, have not yet so much as pronounced sentence of suspension. Learn, then, that we have set fire to the Tuileries, and that we will not extinguish it until the vengeance of the people is satisfied. I am charged to demand from you once more in the people's name the dethronement of the king." Guadet assured them that the Assembly was watching over the safety of the empire (the word *kingdom* was pronounced no more), and that they might assure the people that it was going instantly to adopt grand measures. Guadet then ceded the presidential chair to Gensonné, and assisted Vergniaud in bringing up a project of decree in the name of the extraordinary committee of twelve. Vergniaud, with the ordinary Girondine cant, spoke of his own tender feelings, and of the great grief the Assembly must necessarily feel in being obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures; but he ended with saying that these measures must be adopted instantly, or farewell liberty! farewell equality! farewell the existence of France as an independent nation! His propositions were simply these:—1. That the French people were invited to form a National Convention, to take place of the existing Assembly. 2. The king was provisionally suspended from his functions, until the National Convention should pronounce upon the measures proper to secure the sovereignty of the people and the tranquil reign of liberty and equality. 3. The extraordinary committee would present, within the day, the best method of organising a new mi-

nistry according to the wishes of the people. 4. The ministers actually in office were to continue their functions until the new cabinet should be formed. 5. The extraordinary committee would also prepare in the course of the day a project of decree touching the governor and the education of the prince royal. 6. The payment of the civil list was suspended until the National Convention should decide on that head; but the extraordinary committee would present, within four-and-twenty hours, a project of decree touching some allowance to be granted to the king during his suspension. 7. The National Assembly took charge of the money, books, &c., in the hands of the intendant of the civil list. 8. The king and his family were to remain within the walls of the Assembly until tranquillity should be re-established in Paris. The department was to give orders for preparing the palace of the Luxembourg for the future residence of the king and his family, who would be placed under the guard of citizens and the law. 10. Every public functionary, every soldier, non-commissioned officer, officer, or general that abandoned his post in these days of alarm was declared infamous and a traitor to his country. 11. The department and the municipality of Paris would instantly and solemnly proclaim the present decree. 12. And it would be sent by extraordinary couriers to the eighty-three departments, who would be bound to send it to all the municipalities, &c.

The uncrowned king, panting in the close hot box of the short-hand writers, had scarcely heard the Assembly vote this decree ere Guadet presented the plan for constructing a new popular ministry—a plain and simple rule, for the members of the Assembly were themselves to elect all the ministers for the present. And as soon as this was agreed to Guadet said that the same rule would do very well for choosing a governor for the king's son. Two things appear pretty certain; the Girondists must have had these decrees and projects of decrees and orations ready written in their pockets, and the *côté droit*, who had shown so much energy and boldness during the two or three preceding days, must either have kept away from the Assembly for fear of being massacred, or they must all have lifted hands and taken oaths with the republicans in dread of the armed patriots, who crowded both the galleries and the body of the House. Hitherto there had been no division, everything being carried by acclamation, nor can we find that, in the course of the whole day, or in the course of several following days, there was a single deputy that ventured to offer one word of opposition or remonstrance or protest. Brisot, who fondly fancied that they were now going to have the best of possible republics, and that he and his party would be, and would long remain, at the head of it as ministers or dictators, supported Guadet's propositions, but said he thought that the Assembly could not proceed to elect new ministers until they had decreed that the present cabinet had lost the

confidence of the nation—until they had been formally deprived of their functions, and until all their papers had been seized and sealed up by order of the Assembly. These propositions were adopted and decreed instantly and unanimously. A member then announced that a part of the Tuileries was still in a blaze, that the people were interrupting the firemen, and that the whole palace would be burnt to the ground unless the Assembly sent a deputation to restore order. But the Assembly decreed that this business did not concern them, and ought to be left to the care of the municipality. Jean Debrie then proposed, in the name of the extraordinary committee, that it should be declared—1. That every decree the Assembly had passed should have the force of law without the royal sanction: 2. That the new minister of justice should use the great seal without any sanction or consent of the king; 3. And that the new ministers should sign together and issue all addresses, proclamations, and other acts of that kind. All this was decreed in an instant. Duhem then said that he had been out of doors, and that the most excited and furious of the people were already rendered quiet as lambs by the decrees which the Assembly had passed, and were now doing nothing but swearing fidelity, tranquillity, and submission. Nevertheless, another body of patriots in a very excited state appeared at the bar to give vent to their indignation against the chief of the executive power, and to demand incontinently a decree of *déchéance*. Vergniaud, after declaring that he could not doubt the purity of their sentiments or their respect for the laws, told them that they must have a little patience; that the present representatives of the people had done all that their powers had permitted them to do in voting that a convention should be called to pronounce on the great question of *déchéance*. "And in the mean while," said he, "the Assembly has pronounced sentence of suspension, and this measure ought to be sufficient to remove from the people all further fear as to the treacheries and plots of the executive power. It is now a truth that the king can do no wrong; and we are here to die for the people and for liberty." But the Jacobins, who were determined not to leave all the honours of the day to the Girondists, now proceeded rapidly to propose and carry decrees which could not be otherwise than fatal to the Gironde, who had little or no hold on the popular masses. Jean Debrie proposed that the Assembly, having just sworn so solemnly to maintain and carry out the principles of liberty and equality, ought forthwith to admit the natural right of universal suffrage, and ought to decree that for the approaching convention every citizen of the age of twenty-five, and living by the produce of his labour, should have a vote; and this too was adopted unanimously. Choudieu demanded, as measures very essential to the general safety, that a camp should be formed under the walls of Paris, to be composed of the people of Paris and of all other patriots that chose to repair to it; that the

Parisian cannoneers, who had been so active this day, should be allowed to place their artillery in battery on the heights of Montmartre, which commanded the capital; and that from this moment the Assembly should remain in permanent session. As soon as all this had been decreed unanimously, Lacroix, another most thoroughpaced Jacobin, demanded that the Assembly should instantly appoint a committee, or commissaries, to go to the army on the frontiers to announce the changes which had taken place, and to keep the soldiers in the right path. And forthwith the Assembly named thirteen deputies of the deepest Jacobin hue, who set out for the army this very evening, being invested, on the motion of Gensonné, with powers to dismiss generals and all functionaries, civil or military, and to put them under arrest if they should think proper. Some citizens then came in to implore the Assembly to do something to stop the fire that was spreading in the buildings near the Tuileries; and the Assembly deputed Páloy, one of its members, who was considered a skilful man in such matters (there were hundreds there that were skilful enough in *lighting fires*), to go and put out the conflagration. When this was done Isnard called the attention of the House to the new cabinet that it was to form. "And," said this Girondist, "since the Assembly declared that *Roland, Clavières, and Servan* carried with them the regret of the nation, we owe it to public opinion to reinstate those three virtuous ministers immediately by a unanimous vote!" The House voted as he proposed, and thus, through the bloody paths of insurrection and anarchy, the husband of Madame Roland found his way back to the cabinet. Next a deputation of the cannoneers of Paris came in to declare that this was the most beautiful day of their lives, since they had saved the cause of liberty; that the Swiss had been the aggressors, having fired upon them out of the same windows from which Charles IX. had fired upon his subjects at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, &c. Deputy Montaut said that the attestation of these excellent citizens clearly proved that the Swiss guards had provoked the vengeance of the people by treacherously assassinating the citizens. "As it is good," said he, "that it should be known that the citizens of Paris have only repelled force by force, I demand that the Assembly order this address of the cannoneers to be printed and sent to the departments." This being agreed to, the Assembly proceeded to elect the three other ministers by simple vote. Danton, who had gone into the Tuileries when all the fighting was over with a drawn sword in his hand, was appointed minister of justice by an overwhelming majority; Monge, the mathematician, was named minister of marine, and Lebrun minister for foreign affairs. At half-past three in the morning the Assembly suspended their labours for a few hours. The king and his family were conducted to four small rooms on the upper floor which had been destined to the use of Camus the archivist. They had no change

of clothes, they had been able to bring nothing with them from the palace but the clothes on their backs; but the Countess of Sutherland, the wife of the British ambassador, hastened to send some things for their present use; and their gaolers, it appears, permitted these things to be delivered to them. On the following morning the queen sent for Madame Campan, who borrowed some more clothes, and went instantly to the narrow prison in which all the royalty in France was confined. In the outer room she found five or six gentlemen who had followed the court; in the second room she found the king, who was having his hair dressed, and who said not a word; and in the third room she found the queen stretched on a rude bed and in a state of grief passing description. Nobody was with the queen except a big woman, *une grosse femme*, who had been appointed her gaoler, but who yet looked a kind and good person. As soon as Marie Antoinette saw her faithful servant, she opened her arms to embrace her; but loud bursts of despair followed this first affectionate movement. She exclaimed, "We are all lost—all! This is where they have been leading us for these three years. We shall fall in this horrible revolution—many others will perish after us! All parties have contributed to our ruin; the innovators like madman, others out of ambition, for the most frantic of the Jacobins only wanted gold and place, and the mob are now looking for pillage. There is not a true patriot in all that infamous horde! And the emigrants, they have their intrigues and improper projects; and foreign nations are only wishing to profit by the dissensions of France: all, all have contributed to our calamities!" Here the little dauphin and Madame de Tourzel entered from the fourth room, and the sight of her poor child forced fresh exclamations of woe, woe and despair, from the fallen daughter of Maria Theresa. As soon as these natural emotions were over she spoke feelingly of the serious loss Madame must sustain by the burning of her house, inquired after the Princess de Tarante and her other friends whom she had left in the Tuileries, and hoped that they were safe. She complained, but in the gentlest terms, of the uneasiness the king's undignified and very unromantic behaviour occasioned her. She said that his habit of never checking himself in those things, and his strong appetite, had made him eat as heartily as he could have done in his own palace; that those who did not know the king as she did could not conceive what piety and real greatness there was in his resignation, and were unfavourably impressed with this behaviour; that several deputies, sincerely devoted to him, had warned her before now of these disadvantageous impressions, but that there was no doing anything with the king's appetite!

When the Assembly resumed its labours the king and his family were again conducted to the close, hot box, scarcely ten feet square—scarcely larger than a funeral vault—behind the president's chair, to hear obliquely heaped upon his name and

his race, to see the last remnants of monarchy entombed. In the destruction which had taken place at the time of the flight to Varennes, the people had respected the equestrian statue of Henry IV. on the Pont-Neuf, and a grand statue of Louis XIV. which stood on the Place Vendôme; but now they resolved that these, too, must come down, and that the last traces of royalty must be obliterated. A Jacobin deputy acquainted the House that the people were already engaged in these operations, and that, as serious accidents might happen from their inexperience, he would request that some engineers or architects should be sent to superintend the demolitions. An unnamed deputy ventured to say that the Assembly could not properly authorise the destruction of these monuments, and to call for the order of the day. L'achet opposed this call, saying that the Assembly ought to regulate the movements of the people. Thuriot thought that, as it was impossible to prevent the people from doing what they wished, some confidential men ought to be appointed to preside over their labours, in order that accidents might be prevented. "Some of these monuments," said he, "may be useful to the arts, and some may be cast into cannon or coined into money. The Assembly must in these circumstances display a greatness of character, and not fear to order the suppression of all the monuments raised to pride and despotism." Albitte, another furious Jacobin, exclaimed, "We must at length tear up by the roots all royal prejudices. I demand, as a proof that we are friends of liberty, that we order the statues of kings to be overthrown everywhere, and statues of Liberty to be placed on their pedestals." The Assembly voted a decree in conformity, and also instructed the several sections to send engineers to superintend the work of destruction. The new municipality or commune gave in their procès-verbal of all the great things that had been done yesterday; and Mayor Pétion, free as a bird in the air, and as merry too, came to the bar in the midst of a deputation of the new municipals, who said, in presenting him, "Legislators! the friends of the people come to deliver to the friends of the people the friend of the people!" When this conceit had been duly applauded, Pétion spoke for himself. He said that he could not express the satisfaction he had just experienced in traversing the tranquillised and happy capital. "Everywhere, O legislators," exclaimed the re-made mayor, "you are blessed by the people! Everywhere your last decrees are blessed! It is in the name of the Assembly that we have established peace and order. There will be no more slaughter! The citizens now feel the necessity of reposing on the laws, and expecting from them their just vengeance." The virtuous mayor's virtuous friends, Roland, Clavière, and Monge, and also Danton, who was not his friend, presented themselves to take the oath of office, and to swear once more to defend liberty and equality, or die at their posts. Danton, who said that he

had been led to the ministry "through the breach made by the cannon of patriots," delivered a short but sonorous harangue; and Roland solicited and obtained a decree authorising each of the new ministers to make whatever changes and new appointments in his department he might think proper. Arena, a deputy from the island of Corsica, called the attention of the Assembly to some of the poor Swiss prisoners who had escaped massacre, but who had not had a morsel of bread to eat for thirty hours. The gendarmes, who had done such good service, denounced the greater part of their officers as men gaugered with aristocracy: the Assembly allowed them to choose officers of their own; and this convenient rule was gradually extended to the whole army, until officers and men were alike sans-culottes. Guadet, working hard at what must inevitably ruin him and his party, brought up a decree regulating the elections for the National Convention, and the time when that new legislature was to assemble. According to his project, which was adopted and voted unanimously, the members of the Convention were to repair to Paris by the 20th of September, on which day, if only two hundred of them should have assembled, the present legislature would dissolve itself. At night the royal family were conveyed back to their four narrow rooms or cells, to be re-conducted on the morrow morning to the loge du logographe; and this was repeated on Sunday, the 12th, when Anarcharis Clootz, the Orator of Mankind, was introduced at the bar of the House to make one of his harangues upon the blessed rights of man and the execrable vices of all kings. He was surrounded by a group of nudmen and vagabonds, whom he represented as brave and enlightened Germans, who were disgusted with the injustice and tyranny of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, and only anxious to fight in the French ranks for liberty and equality. He declared that Prince Henry of Prussia, the king's brother, that the Prussian generals Mollendorff, Kalkreuth, and Siefen, were all ardent admirers of the French revolution; that the philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau had taken deep root in all parts of Germany, not excepting the dominions of the Duke of Brunswick, so that in a very short time all those well-peopled regions might be expected to be up in arms "for the eternal principle of the indivisible sovereignty of mankind, and for the rights of man." A committee appointed to examine the state of the Luxembourg reported that there were many cellars and subterranean passages under that palace, so that it would be extremely difficult to guard it. And hereupon the Assembly agreed that the dirty, dingy tower of the Temple would be a much safer place for the present residence of the royal family. They further determined that the guard should be placed under the orders and surveillance of Mayor Pétion and Santerre, now commandant-general of all the national guards; and that no one should be allowed

access to the king without a pass signed by the mayor or by the municipality. They liberally voted 500,000 livres to defray the king's expenses until the time of the meeting of the Convention—but they never paid, or caused to be paid, a single sous of this money. Citizens and citizenesses were admitted to heap horrible abuse upon the king and queen, who, penned up in the loge du logographe, could not avoid hearing all that was said. Some of these impatient patriots said it was not suspension, but déchéance, that they wanted—*instant déchéance*, and the trial of the king after it. Federates appeared to demand the immediate formation of a court-martial to avenge the blood of their brothers, who had perished by hundreds round the den of the tyrant; and addresses were presented from nearly all the sections congratulating the Assembly on all that it had done, and urging it to go on in the same glorious course. At a late hour the royal family were conveyed to their four cells, to be brought back again on Monday morning to the loge du logographe, where slow torture, more exquisite than any that could have been administered with fire and stake, had been inflicted on the king and queen. In the course of this Monday morning Robespierre, who had thrown off his coat of darkness as soon as the triumph of the insurgents was secure, and who had appeared at the club on the night of the 10th to point out to the Jacobins the best uses that might be made of the events of that day, presented himself at the bar of the Assembly at the head of a deputation from one of the sections. He was welcomed with tremendous applauses. He hoped the Assembly would make haste to honour the patriots who had fallen on the 10th, and whose heroism was equal to anything that Greece or Rome could show. These martyrs of liberty ought to be immortalized: it was not mere honours, but an apotheosis, that the nation owed them. "O people," said he, "now that tyranny is laid low in the dust, take care not to

give her time to get up again! Vigilance and rigour! We propose that you should decree that in the Place Vendôme, where stood the statue of Louis XIV., there shall be erected a pyramid to the honour of those who died fighting for liberty on the 10th. The Assembly referred this demand to the *committee of public instruction or education*; and the House and the galleries again applauded Robespierre, who, with his companions, took his seat on the benches, being allowed, as a matter of course, the honours of the séance. The rest of the day was chiefly spent in reading scraps of letters and papers which had been found in the Tuileries, and in hearing fresh denunciations of royalty, and fresh calls for its perpetual suppression.* In the afternoon the royal family were removed from the Assembly to be conveyed to the dismal tower of the Temple, a place surrounded on every side by strong lofty walls, and situated in the filthiest part of all Paris, which was then a very filthy city: they were put into an open carriage, in order that their degradation and wretchedness might be seen by all patriots. Virtue-Pétion rode in the same carriage with them, pretending that his presence was necessary to prevent their being torn to pieces. The national guards were drawn up in line all the way from the door of the Salle de Manège to the gate of the Temple; the carriage was preceded by a horde of ferocious-looking pikemen, who styled themselves the men of the 10th of August, or the conquerors of the Tuileries; and behind the carriage rolled several heavy cannon charged almost to the lips with grape-shot. With a refinement of cruelty, they made the carriage halt for some time in the Place Vendôme, in order that Louis might contemplate the prostrate and broken statue of his ancestor. A few devoted friends who would have approached the carriage if only to weep for the king, were brutally repulsed and ill treated. At last the iron-bound doors of the

* Hist. Parlement



LOUIS XVI. CONVEYED PRISONER TO THE TEMPLE. Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française.

Temple closed upon the royal captives and hid them from the insulting gaze of the populace. "And thus," says Dulaure, who is verily an historian worthy of his subject, "disappeared the throne; thus the antique monarchy of the Franks, the dynasty of the Capets, established by force in barbarous times, were annihilated by force in civilized times!"

The Temple—the building had belonged to the Knights Templars, and from its gates the last of those knights in France had gone forth to be tortured and burned five centuries before, when the national cruelty was as hideous as now—had several towers or donjons. That to which the royal family were consigned was a small tower that stood with its back against the great tower, and it was flanked by two turrets. The body of this building was four stories high, but the rooms on each floor were small, filthy, and inconvenient. The king's sister and daughter had no other bedroom than a small, dark ante-chamber, and this ante-chamber was the only way to one of the turrets, where servant, municipal, and common soldiers cooked their dinners and did other offices. The queen and the dauphin had rather a better room; but behind the king's sleeping room there was another kitchen. In one of the turrets there was a library containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes; and these books became a wonderful source of enjoyment to poor Louis, who had ever been a great reader. He had not been many days in this hard captivity when Cléry, who had implored and obtained permission to wait upon him and to be confined with him, found him amusing his children by making them guess riddles in a collection of the 'Mercurus de France' which he had found in that turret library. The Princess de Lamballe, who had so generously returned to France to share in the dangers of the queen, obtained permission to shut herself up in the Temple with her; but after five or six days the new commune, which usurped even more power and authority than the old one, tore her from her friend and committed her to the prison of La Force, where she was confined with felons and criminals of the worst description. Madame Campan supplicated Pétion for permission to wait upon her royal mistress; but the virtuous mayor not only refused, but threatened to send her to the prison of La Force; and, crueler still, in the kind of consolation he offered to her disappointment, he told her that none of the persons who had accompanied Louis XVI. or his family into the Temple would be allowed to remain there very long. And, in effect, a few days after Madame de Tourzel, her daughter, a woman that waited on the dauphin, and every one else was turned out of that prison, except only Cléry, who waited upon the king, the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal, and Madame Elizabeth, as best he could. But these discomforts were trifles compared to the vexations, alarms, and mental tortures that were constantly inflicted on the captives by the infernal

malice of their gaolers, and by the mob out of doors, that found delight in gathering under the grated windows of the tower, and there uttering ribald jests, blasphemy, obscenity, and sanguinary threats, even as they had done under the windows of the Tuileries. This, of course, became worse and worse as the Prussian army advanced into France. At one time the commune decreed that a deep ditch should be dug all round the Temple to keep the poor prisoners in surer custody; but on account of the labour and expense this excavation was never begun.

On the 14th of August, the day after the removal of the royal family to the Temple, Robespierre appeared again at the bar of the Assembly to petition for or demand the prompt punishment of all the enemies of the people, a punishment that should allow of no distinctions; and his friend Duquesnoy, an unfrocked monk, and now a member of the Assembly, proposed the instant arrest of all individuals known to be enemies to the revolution. For the present the Assembly got rid of Duquesnoy's arbitrary and horrible proposition by passing to the order of the day. But, upon the motion of Chabot, that other unfrocked monk, they decreed that there should be immediately erected a "popular court" to try the enemies of the people. Merlin announced that the Prussians and Austrians were advancing, that probably before this time they had opened trenches before Thionville; and he moved, in consequence, that Louis XVI. and his family, and the wives and children of all the emigrants, should be held as hostages; and this proposition was unanimously adopted, and a decree was instantly issued. On the 16th they voted that the camp already organising under the walls of Paris should consist of 40,000 men at the least. On the following day the impatient commune sent a deputation to announce to the august Areopagus that, if the new revolutionary tribunal were not put in activity at once, the tocsin would sound again at midnight, and the people, whose patience was worn out, would take the trial and execution of their enemies into their own hands. "I demand," said the municipal who was the orator of the party, "that you instantly decree that one patriot citizen be named from every section to form this new revolutionary tribunal. I demand that this tribunal be established in the palace of the Tuileries. I demand that Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who are so greedy for the blood of the people, have their appetites glutted with the blood of their infamous satellites!" Even some of the most violent Jacobins were revolted at these atrocities, and angrily expostulated with this new municipal; but anon another deputation appeared at the bar to urge the same demands in language equally atrocious. The orator of this party said, "Legislators, we are come to enlighten you, for you are quite in the dark as to all that is passing in Paris. If within two or three hours the trials of the traitors are not begun, grand calamities will promenade through

this capital. We invite you not to go loitering in the traces of the old jurisprudence, for a revolution requires a jurisprudence of its own. Your reserves and delays have put the people under the necessity of rising; and you know, legislators, that it is only the energy of the people that has saved them. Rise up, representatives, and be great and bold like the people, in order to merit their confidence." Thus goaded on, threatened and terrified, the Assembly organised the tribunal, which was generally called "The Tribunal of the 17th of August," and which was the precursor of the still more terrible "Tribunal Révolutionnaire." The appointment of both judges and juries was left to the commune and the sections, and there was to be no appeal whatever against the decisions and sentences of the court. The judges, the public accusers, and the *directors* of juries were all to swear before the commune to maintain liberty and equality, or die. The court was to be divided into two sections, so that between the two it might be in constant activity. By the next day, the 18th of August, this very popular tribunal was completed, and Robespierre was appointed to be president of it; but, although the Incorruptible had recommended the institution of the court, he refused the supreme post in it that was offered to him. He was looking forward to a seat in the National Convention; but he had probably other reasons for declining the present appointment: he must have wished certain dangers and obstructions to be removed before he completely committed himself, and he was averse to committing himself at all in company with or under the Girondists.* He preferred spending the short interval between the revolution of the 10th of August and the meeting of the Convention in establishing an ascendancy over the Parisian electors, in acting as orator to the impatient deputations that besieged and bewildered the Assembly, and in contributing with Danton to make the commune of Paris the real governing power of France. The Girondists had scarcely seen the king thrown at their feet ere they were scared by this rising Colossus, by this re-modelled and reinvigorated municipality, which took to itself whatsoever attributes and functions it chose. As the commune retained the absolute command and control of the national guards, it had always an armed force ready to

execute its will. At the end of a short debate in the Assembly upon the great question of divorce—a debate which ended in passing a resolution that the marriage contract was and ought to be dissoluble upon the easiest terms—Gensonné expressed his dissatisfaction at the manifest usurpations and daring abuses of power of the new commune. He complained more particularly of the commune having surrounded the war-office with an armed force, which completely blockaded the building, permitting no one to come out from it; and all this because the printer of the '*Patriote Français*,' Brissot's own newspaper, was said to be in the house. Gensonné was followed by Grangeueuve and Gudet. Grangeueuve said, "*Circumstances occasioned the establishment in Paris of this provisional municipality, but these circumstances are now changed. Perhaps we owe them a debt of gratitude for having brought about this new order of things, but now these municipals ought to withdraw from the scene; and I demand that the Assembly decree that the old municipality be reinstated in all its functions.*" A decree was carried to this effect; and it was further decreed that the national guards and the whole public force of Paris should be, as before, under the sole control of Mayor Pétion. But these votes signified next to nothing; the commune remained much as it was, and Pétion, by attempting to re-pos-ess himself of his former power, speedily lost all his popularity. Within a week or a fortnight the virtuous mayor, the idol of the mob, was held up or set down as one of the greatest rogues in France. It was under the guidance of this new commune that an armed mob broke open the Garde-Meuble, and carried off all the rich furniture and other valuable property, consisting of the objects of taste and curiosity therein deposited. Several of the leading members of the commune and chiefs of the Jacobin Club shared largely in this plunder. Danton is said to have gotten some hundred thousand livres; but no one has hinted that Robespierre ever took so much as a sou. It was Robespierre who demanded that the departmental directory should have no control whatever over the police of the capital, and that the new commune should correspond directly with the legislative body, by which it was understood that the commune was to dictate to the Assembly. And never did one body dictate and domineer more arbitrarily over another—never did inferior so insult superior. From the Hôtel-de-Ville there issued, as from a huge thunder-cloud, forked lightning that struck in all directions; statues, gates, triumphal arches, and even edifices, were destroyed with a rapidity which seemed to threaten the ruin of everything that was beautiful or ornamental in Paris. From the same black centre proceeded personal proscriptions and arrests. Accompanied by locksmiths skilled in the art of opening locks with false keys, and by blacksmiths and carpenters who beat down or cut away doors that could not be opened by picklocks, the new municipals made domiciliary visits to get at the papers and other

* Robespierre sent the following letter to the 'Monteurs' of the 25th of August:—"Certain persons having endeavoured to throw suspicion on my refusal of the place of president of the tribunal appointed to try the conspirators, I owe to the public an account of my motives. I have combated, since the beginning of the revolution, the greater part of those criminals guilty of high treason against the nation. I have myself denounced the greatest number of them. I predicted all their attempts and crimes when other people believed in their civism. I could not be the judge of those of whom I had been the adversary; and I have been obliged to remember that, if they were the enemies of the country, they were also my personal and declared enemies. This maxim, good in all circumstances, is particularly applicable to the present case. The justice of the people ought to bear a character worthy of them: it ought to be as imposing as it is prompt and terrible. Besides, the exercise of these new functions was incompatible with my functions as a member of the commune to which I have been elected. I was obliged to choose between the two: I have remained at the post where I was, convinced that, for the present, it was there that I could best serve my country."

effects of such as they suspected, hated, or feared. An order of arrest was launched against Girey-Dupré, the printer and co-laborateur of Brissot's journal, which had accused the new commune of making anarchy and terror the order of the day. The Girondists, who were now completely terrified at the devil they had helped to raise, brought this matter before the Assembly, and Vergniaud harangued upon the deep iniquity of permitting such horrible attempts against personal liberty at the very beginning of the reign of universal liberty, concluding with a motion that the Assembly should declare the order to arrest Girey-Dupré a vile attempt against individual liberty and the liberty of the press, and that as such it was null and void; and that the Assembly should enjoin the municipality to confine itself for the future within its proper functions and limits. Reboul, in supporting Vergniaud, said he was astonished to hear some members of the Assembly defending the conduct of the municipality in issuing an order to arrest Girey-Dupré for a few harmless reflections, when all Paris was placarded with printed papers which called down fire and sword upon the National Assembly itself, and which were signed *Marat*. The Girondists were strong enough in the House to carry Vergniaud's resolutions; but Larivière now mournfully confessed in the Assembly that its resolutions were a waste of words and of paper—that the Assembly had not the power to carry its decrees into execution. "I ask," said he, "of the deputies of the eighty-three departments, whether they can still consider themselves as the representatives of the empire? whether they will have energy enough to demand from the people of Paris respect, obedience, submission to the laws? I ask those who flatter themselves that they have thrown down all tyrannies, whether they will suffer a new despotism to arise among us? whether they will be so pusillanimous as to permit some citizen or citizens to set the law and the general will at defiance? We have called to the bar the president of this new commune, that he might explain the motives of his conduct; but this citizen has not deigned to appear—he even refuses to obey the law! I demand, therefore, for our honour, for the honour of the empire, and even for the justification of the citizens of Paris, that this president of the commune, who has only been called to the bar, be forcibly brought to the bar before we adjourn." This motion was carried. Then Pétion, sadly embarrassed, came into the Assembly to say that the council-general of the commune had sent a deputation to explain the motives of its conduct. This deputation was forthwith admitted, and Tallien, who had become secretary-general to the new commune, and who was spokesman for the deputation, delivered a long harangue, which rather taunted and accused the Assembly than excused the municipality. In other words, Tallien told that august Areopagus that its reign was over—a simple fact which ought to have required no repetition or comment after the insurrection of the

10th, and the vote for calling the Convention. Tallien told these representatives that the right of the new commune was at least as indisputable as



TALLIEN.

its power; and that it could acknowledge no authority whatever save that of the people. "Called upon by the people," said he, "on the night of the 9th to save the country, we have done what we ought to do. The people never limited our powers—they only said, 'Go and act in our name, and we will approve whatever you may do.' But what signify these present complaints of the Assembly? We ask you, gentlemen, whether the legislative body has not always been surrounded by the respect of the citizens of Paris? This Hall has never been contaminated except by the presence of the worthy descendant of Louis XI. and of the woman that rivals in crime Catherine de' Medici. If these tyrants still live, is it not to the respect of the people for this Assembly that they owe their lives? But, gentlemen, you yourselves have applauded whatever we did on the 10th of August! [And Tallien might have added, you yourselves knew beforehand all that we were going to do—you Girondists, who now complain of our speed, because you fancy you are not to win by the race, helped to set us going.] You were the first to wish to overthrow the authorities of the department, and to communicate with us directly. You approved of whatever we did, and the people have sanctioned whatever we may have done since. We were charged to save the country, and we swore to save it: we have dismissed unworthy justices of the peace; we have broken up a Feuillant municipality. We have issued no orders against the liberty of *good citizens*, but we glory in having sequestered the property of emigrants, and in having arrested conspirators against liberty! We have driven out monks and nuns in order to sell the houses they occupied. We have put down incendiary journals which corrupted public opinion (meaning all newspapers that were not thoroughly republican and sans-culottic). We have made domiciliary visits; but who first ordered them? *You*. The arms seized in the houses of the suspect (*chez les gens suspects*), we have put into the hands of the defenders of the country.

We have arrested the turbulent priests; they are all locked up in a certain house, and within a very few days the soil of liberty will be purged of their presence. We have been accused of disorganising the civic administration, and of neglecting the important article of provisions for the capital; but whose fault is that? Not ours. The administrators appointed by the late municipality vanished on the day of danger, and have not re-appeared since in the Hôtel-de-Ville. But the people do not complain of us:—only yesterday, in the galleries of our own house, they solemnly swore that they would continue to repose confidence in us. If you strike us, strike also the people who made the revolution of the 14th of July, 1789, who have consolidated it by the 10th of August, and who will maintain it with the sword. The people are now engaged in the elections for the Convention; the people are now exercising their sovereignty; only consult them, and let them decide whether our conduct deserves blame or praise. You have heard us, and we are here to hear you. As men of the 10th of August, we only wish to have justice, and to obey the will of the people!" Then Manuel, procureur of the commune, begged to observe that the National Assembly had issued two contradictory decrees, one dissolving the new commune, and the other declaring that it had merited well of the country. The president of the Assembly begged to say that different constituted authorities, though all derived from the same source, or from the sovereign people, had different duties, functions, and limits; that the formation of the provisory commune was certainly contrary to existing laws: that it was the effect of an *extraordinary and necessary crisis*; but that as soon as these perilous circumstances should cease, the provisory authority ought to cease with them. The president also said he hoped that the city of Paris would not dishonour *la belle révolution* by setting an example of scandal and of rebellion to the law. "But, no," exclaimed he, "Paris will not set this evil example! We have issued our decree. The National Assembly has done its duty, and you, gentlemen of the commune, will do yours. The Assembly invites you to the honours of the séance." Three citizens were next admitted to the bar: they came to speak more unceremoniously than Tallien and Manuel, and to tell the House that the galleries were the better part of it—a thing well known before, but never so plainly expressed in words. "People of the galleries, National Assembly, and you, Mr. President," said the plain-speaking orator of this trio, "we come in the name of the people who are waiting outside the door to demand to defile in the Hall, in order to see the representatives of the commune who are here. We will die, if need be, with them!" Several members, feeling their own danger, cried out in a breath that really the gentlemen of the commune were in no danger; and the president, after some commonplace gabble about the dignity of the Assembly and the importance of

the business it had on hand, requested the trio to go back and tell their fellow-citizens that the Assembly would equally maintain the liberty of the people and the respect due to the constituted authorities. Lacroix added that the Assembly was on the point of occupying itself with decrees for the sale of all the property of the emigrants; that, if the multitude at the door defiled, a precious space of time would be lost, and that, therefore, he should propose that those citizens should select twenty of their number, who should have the honours of the séance. The spokesman of the trio grumbled, and said that the people were free, but that the Assembly was trying to deprive them of their liberty. Lacroix asked whether the Assembly itself was free? At a late hour of the evening the president of the commune, a sans-culotte of the most vulgar kind, condescended to appear at the bar, but only to insult the august Areopagus, and to tell it that the Hôtel-de-Ville was stronger than the Salle-de-Manège.

The activity of the new commune went on increasing, and there was an energy and a decision in all it did—an energy which was not ill adapted to the circumstances of the case and to the proper way of meeting the dangers of invasion—an energy which would have been admirable but for the ferocity which accompanied it. Under the mighty wing of the commune the new tribunal began to try and condemn with a rapidity which would be astonishing but for the still more astounding rapidity of the Tribunal Révolutionnaire which so soon followed. This commune and the Jacobin Club, which were but as one, regulated the elections for the Convention, the club tracing out the plan in the first instance. Robespierre, who had been the first to propose the Convention, recommended that the commune should send commissaries into all the departments, to prevent the possibility of the people being duped and misled by unpatriotic, unrepubli- can men; and the commune, acting on this suggestion, sent forth its agents and its committees, who exercised in all parts of France a most despotic power. He also recommended that in future all popular petitions should be addressed, not to the expiring and incompetent National Assembly, but to the new-born and vigorous commune of Paris; and this advice was taken immediately. The club named a committee of forty-eight to examine the conduct and character of its members, in order that it might be further purified by the expulsion of all such as were not honest republicans. It laid down as a plain and simple rule that no man was to be elected to the Convention that had ever belonged to anti-revolutionary clubs, or that had ever been suspected either of absolute or constitutional royalism, or that had ever signed any petition in favour of the king or of any of the royal party. A member of the club proposed that every member elected to the Convention should be a mere delegate, that he should have his instructions given to him in writing by his constituents, that it should be unlawful for him

to depart in any degree from these instructions ; and that the principle should be adopted that no laws or decrees of the future Convention should have any force unless they were sanctioned and confirmed by the majority of the people in their primary assemblies. The club printed this discourse, and furthermore drew up an address to all the affiliated societies on the subject of the elections. Instead of a patron saint the club chose a patron patriot. Le Nain, a sculptor of the day (we have noted the excessive republicanism of the French artists), sent in a bust of the elder Brutus, which was received with universal applause. Manuel, the orator of the inauguration, said, " It was in this club that the ruin of kings, the fall of Louis the Last, was prepared. Here ought to repose the image of him who first undertook to purge the earth of kings. Gentlemen, here is Brutus, who will every instant remind you that, in order to be a good citizen, one must be always ready to sacrifice everything, and even one's own children, for the good of the country. Let us, above all things, remember, at a moment when we are engaged in the elections, that, if in the National Convention there shall be found a single head like his, France will be saved, because France will have no more kings. We ought all to swear—and I myself take the oath the first—that all our efforts shall be directed to the destruction of royalty!" All the Jacobins raised their right hands and swore. An unnamed member of the club then said that all the affiliated societies ought to be written to, and invited to place in their halls a bust of Brutus. It appears that Le Nain, with all his republicanism and patriotism, had an eye to business ; for this orator added that the artist had a subscription for making Brutus busts at a very moderate price ; and he (the orator) demanded that the club should recommend this subscription to all the affiliated clubs, &c. Manuel said that the best way of recommending the subscription would be to write at the bottom of the artist's prospectus, "The Mother Society has taken Brutus for its patron." Manuel's proposition was adopted, and, in order that honour might walk hand-in-hand with profit, Le Nain, the sculptor, was elected a member of the club by acclamation. The bust of Brutus made the club very impatient for the blood of a king. Terrasson exclaimed, " We must now unite in demanding justice on the traitor! We must now join all our efforts to obtain the judgment of Louis the Last!" Voices from the galleries roared " Cry 'Yes!' Let every man present say 'Yes!' He who says not 'Yes' is no patriot!" And then a thousand voices shouted, "Yes! yes! yes!" The federates who had remained in Paris came to the club to swear that they would not march to the frontiers to meet the Prussians and Austrians until the king and queen were brought to judgment, and a terrible vengeance executed upon all the enemies of liberty in the capital. Everything announced that some frightful massacre was at hand, and there is nothing whatever

to show that the Girondists or any section of them, or of the Jacobin party, made the slightest effort to prevent the atrocities which it was utterly impossible for any of them not to foresee. Indeed, several of the Girondists contributed to these atrocities by adding to the panic terrors and the suspicions which were, as we believe, the principal cause of the massacres of September. Thus the immaculate Roland, as minister of the interior, reported to the Assembly on the very eve of those massacres that a terrible conspiracy against liberty had been discovered in the provinces—a conspiracy which probably only existed in his imagination or in the imagination of the provincial Jacobins, who had written to him or to his wife, or to some of the flaming republicans by whom his wife was constantly surrounded.

The commune, almost immediately after the attack on the Tuileries of the 10th of August, closed all the gates and barriers of the capital, in order to prevent deputies of the Assembly and others from flying to some provincial town where they might make a new legislature, or at least form a party. The guards were vigilant ; but the barriers were still more thoroughly closed sixteen or seventeen days after, when the massacres were determined upon. In ordering and managing the levies of troops the commune issued a decree or decrees importing that all the copper and bronze belonging to the churches, all the bronze statues of saints, and even all the crucifixes that were made of metal, should be seized, melted down, and converted into cannon ; that all the iron railings of churches and palaces should be converted into pikes ; that all the silver chalices and vessels, and silver candlesticks and church bells, should be seized, and melted and coined into money, with the exception only of two church bells for every parish. Even in the capital there was some opposition made to these decrees, but Manuel put forth a proclamation explanatory of "the social necessity" of the measures, and a strong armed force constantly attended those who were charged with the execution of the decrees. In the ancient metropolitan church of Notre Dame there was, however, a battle before the commissaries of the municipality could despoil the altars and pull down the bells. The commune assembled and deliberated as a legislative body, having its galleries open to the people like those of the National Assembly. The president of the commune frequently referred questions to the decision of the mob in these galleries. Marat, who has been called "the mind and conscience of the majority of this assembly," had a private gallery or lodge reserved for his own use, and he was charged with the important duty of reporting in a journal all that passed and all that was spoken in the Hôtel de Ville. But the genius of the friend of the people could not descend to such dry mechanical work : he never reported a line, but suggested most of the things that were done, and paved his way to a supreme authority in that place. As soon as the massacres

were begun he was elected a member of the commune's committee of surveillance. As early as the 18th of August the commune ordered that all the women and children of emigrants should be shut up in prisons or in strong houses as hostages, and the principle was established that the lives of these captives should be answerable for the lives of the patriots in the field against the coalition of kings. They decided that all public acts from this time should be dated the first year of Equality, &c.; that all officers, including commanders-in-chief of armies, should wear worsted epaulettes like the common men; that in all diplomatic or ministerial correspondence the word *monsieur* should give place to the more correct and more honourable epithet of *citizen*; that in trials before the Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal no advocate should be allowed to plead for prisoners accused of high treason against the nation, unless he produced a certificate of his own patriotism and civism signed by his section; and that all conferences or consultations between such prisoners and their counsel should be public, or take place before the officers of the municipality. The elections of all the Paris members for the Convention were indisputably settled in the Hôtel de Ville and in the great club-hall in the Rue St. Honoré. That silly herd the Gironde fancied that they could carry these elections in their own way, although they knew that they had no influence in either of these places, while Robespierre and Danton, Marat and Manuel were omnipotent both in the Jacobin club and in the commune. Madame Roland, who at one time had written flattering letters to Robespierre, who had expressed the greatest sympathy for him, and who condemned him only when she saw that he was aiming at the destruction of her party, talks vaguely of plots and manoeuvres to seduce the good people of Paris into voting for the Terrorists; but neither manoeuvres nor plots were necessary; the election of the Terrorists, the choice of men who would go all lengths, being secured, first, by the ascendancy the clubs had been allowed to acquire, and next, by the sanguinary revolution of the 10th of August, which the Girondists themselves had indisputably promoted.

It has been conjectured that the September massacres—"the most atrocious crime that stains the annals of mankind"—were perpetrated for the chief, if not for the sole, purpose of securing the elections of Robespierre and his partisans for the city of Paris, even as, at the beginning of the revolution, the *Reveillon émeute* was got up to secure the election of the friends of the Duke of Orleans to the *States-General*.^{*} This may indeed have been one of the causes of the massacres, but we think it was far from being the only cause, or even the *chief* cause, as the elections of the Terrorists were quite sure without these wholesale murders. The commune, and the Assembly too, had completely done away with the elective qualification of pro-

perty; every man that lived by his labour now had a vote in the sections and in the primary assemblies, so that the sans-culottes must inevitably be an immense majority in Paris as everywhere else, and sans-culottes could only be expected to vote for sans-culottes—for Robespierre, who had so long been their idol, and for the friends he recommended, and who recommended themselves by their ultra-democratic and levelling principles, and by their incessant flattery of the vices and passions of the sovereign mob. Some memoirs and papers of the time affirm that the commune resolved to proceed to the bloodiest extremities to preserve that power a part of the Assembly were now attacking; but the *chief* cause of the September massacres we take to be that madness of fear which had already given rise to so many atrocities; and it was because they felt a panic terror themselves, and confessed in their own bosoms to the mighty agency of fear, that Danton and the rest recommended terror as the best means of acting upon others. Nor was there any want of things and circumstances proper to alarm and exasperate so excitable a people. Lafayette had essentially contributed to get up this madness of suspicion and fear. When the three commissaries sent by the National Assembly to cull him to account, or to seduce his army from their obedience to him, reached his head-quarters at Sedan, he caused them to be arrested and thrown into the tower of that town, alleging that the National Assembly had been violated and reduced to less than a third of its members; that the members who had come to him on such a mission could only be the chiefs or the instruments of the faction who had equally usurped the authority of the Assembly and that of the King; that the commune freely elected by the people had been violently replaced by the commune of the 10th of August; and, finally, that there was nothing in Paris but anarchy and lawless violence. The mayor of Sedan concurred with Lafayette, who flattered himself that he might be sure of his troops and of some of the neighbouring towns in the Ardennes, and with them might set "the example of a holy resistance to oppression." He wrote to old Luckner to invite him to join with his army in this generous effort for securing the constitution they were all sworn to defend; but Luckner, knowing better what was in the minds of his men, hesitated, half promised, and retracted, muddled his head with wine, lost his wits altogether, called the revolution of the 10th of August "a very great accident that had happened in Paris," laughed at it one minute, wept at it the next, and did nothing but harangue the soldiers in very German French. At the same time General Arthur Dillon, who had been left with a small force on the other side of the Flanders frontier, showed no alacrity in concerting measures with Lafayette. This, Lafayette says, was owing to Dillon's too great royalism; but it might proceed from Dillon's doubt as to the wisdom of Lafayette's plan and of the means of carrying it into execution with troops

^{*} Quarterly Review, article on *Memoirs of Robespierre*.

that had made their camps almost counterparts of the mother society in the Rue St. Honoré; and Dillon had had a brother massacred by his own soldiers. Dumouriez, who had contrived since the breaking up of his ministry to get appointed to the command of a part of the army of the North, had established himself with 20,000 good troops in a fortified camp at Maulde, fully determined to have nothing to do either with Lafayette or with Luckner, although he had been placed under the orders of the old marshal, but to wait events and act by and for himself, with a very confident hope that this course would soon lead him to the entire command of the army, upon which, sooner or later, the entire subjection of France with all its factions must depend. Dumouriez, however, was too stirring and active a man to remain in camp doing nothing like Lafayette: he took up and fortified with great skill various posts, which enabled him to make incursions into the enemy's territories, and which could not but seriously interfere with the enemy's advance; he multiplied his incursions, to make the Austrians believe he was in great force, to raise the spirits of his own men by good forage and plunder, and to injure them to the habits of active warfare. He boasts that the soldiers stationed in the camp of Maulde acquired a degree of hardihood and discipline, which distinguished them during the whole of the campaign; and that everywhere else, along the French lines and in the very front of the main army, the emperor's light cavalry laid waste the plains of France, while the troops trifled away their time in shameful inactivity. Well aware of the effect to be produced on French soldiers by such dramatic means, he encouraged two young women, the daughters of an ex-quartermaster of hussars, to gird on the sword, and accompany the detachments in their incursions; and he published very poetical accounts of the exploits and bravery of these modern Joans of Arc. When Lafayette ordered or requested Dumouriez to administer to his troops the old oath to be true to the nation, the law, and the king, the shifty man refused to do anything of the kind; and, in consequence or this refusal and of other parts of his artfully studied conduct, Dumouriez soon received a letter from the National Assembly, engaging him to march with his army against the rebellious Lafayette, who was obliged to run before Dumouriez could move. The municipality of Sedan very speedily repented of the part they had taken in arresting the three deputies of the Assembly; three more commissaries arrived from Paris to harangue and threaten; the soldiers declared that they were all sans-culottes; the captives in the tower of Sedan were liberated, only four or five days after their arrest; and the hero of two worlds, as early as the 19th of August, found himself under the humiliating necessity of flying from the fury of his own army into the territories of the emperor of Austria. His wish was to go through Belgium into Holland, where he hoped for the countenance of the democratic party: he would

have claimed the protection of the American minister at the Hague, and from that place he would have gone to Rotterdam to his friend Peter Paulus, one of the leaders of the Dutch patriots. He tells us that he would have been exceedingly happy to make a new insurrection in Holland, and a diversion in favour of France by leading an army of Dutchmen on the rear of the enemies that were invading her; but he adds that the Orange influence and the aristocratic party were too powerful to permit the realization of this brilliant scheme, and that therefore he determined to go to England, and there "wait until some auspicious opportunity presented itself of connecting himself in France with new efforts in the cause of liberty." He says he knew that England was the only country in which he could be safe from arrest and captivity, and that he was fully convinced he would be lost if he fell into the hands of the Austrians or Prussians, or of any of the despotic sovereigns of the Continent. With an attendance as thin as that which had fled with his cousin de Bouillé he crossed the frontiers. Perhaps it would not have been easy for the most ingenious of men to traverse the Low Countries at such a moment; but Lafayette chose his course so badly that he went but a very few miles ere he fell into the hands of an Austrian detachment, and was taken prisoner, together with all the companions of his flight. They were conveyed in the first instance to Namur, whence they were soon removed to Nivelles, where they were closely guarded and treated rather as felons than as prisoners of war. Lafayette represented that it was contrary to the law of nations to hold him in captivity, and he and his twenty-two companions signed a letter or declaration, stating that they were French citizens, "deprived, by an irresistible concurrence of extraordinary events, of the happiness of serving their country and liberty;" that, "unable any longer to resist the violation of a constitution, the offspring of the nation's choice," they had withdrawn from France; that they could not be considered as enemies in arms, "inasmuch as they had abandoned their respective posts in the French army;" that still less could they be confounded "with that portion of their countrymen whose interests, feelings, and opinions, diametrically opposed to theirs, had leagued them with powers at war with France." and that, in fine, they ought to be regarded merely as foreigners claiming a free passage in order to reach with all dispatch some neutral territory. But the allied sovereigns were not in a humour to take this reading of the law of nations. The fugitives were divided into three parties: such as had not served in the national guard, or rather, such as had not distinguished themselves at all in the revolution, were released, with orders to quit the country as speedily as might be; others were sent to be confined for a time in the citadel of Antwerp; and Lafayette, with three others, who had been members of the States General and the Constituent Assembly, were conveyed as close prisoners to Luxembourg, where they were reproached,

taunted, and insulted by many of their countrymen of the emigrant party, and where the Baron de Breteuil, who was figuring as ambassador from Louis XVI., is reported to have said that Lafayette's existence was incompatible with the safety of the governments of Europe. From Luxembourg Lafayette was soon transferred to the Prussian fortress of Magdeburg, where he suffered close confinement for about a year. He was then carried to the Prussian fortress of Neisse, where he lay till the month of May, 1794, when the King of Prussia found it expedient to hand him over to the Emperor of Austria, who caused him to be removed to the dreary fortress and state prison of Olmutz, and who would never consent to release him until the victories of Napoleon Bonaparte enabled him to dictate whatever terms he chose at the peace of Campo Formio in 1797. His flight from Sedan justified in the popular mind every accusation that had ever been brought against him by Robespierre and Marat, and increased immensely the universal proneness to suspicion and alarm. The Assembly issued sentence of outlawry against him and against those who had fled with him; the commune ordered the die of the medal which had been voted to him by the municipality at the beginning of the revolution to be destroyed by the hand of the common hangman; and the Parisians, whose ingenuity in such matters was great, exhausted their invention in heaping abuse and contempt upon his name and his exploits. Dumouriez, who did not foresee how soon he would be obliged to fly himself from his army and from the all-devouring Jacobinism, chuckled over Lafayette's flight, and afterwards, when he was himself a fugitive, he reflected upon the prisoner of Olmutz in a style of contempt and sarcasm, in which, however, some truths are recognisable. "Perhaps," says he, "some respect ought to have been shown to him on account of the effort he had made to save Louis XVI. If he had not been considered in the smallest degree serviceable, or likely to be of any use as a friend, it would have been but just to have allowed him to pass through Holland, and get back to America, where he might have wept over the evils he had brought upon his country by an ill-directed revolutionary zeal, and by a bad imitation of his model, Washington. But the unreflecting rage of the emigrants misled the justice of the Prussian monarch, who became the instrument of their vengeance."

At the baths of St. Amand, near the entrenched camp of Maulde, there had been domiciliated for some time a close friend of Robespierre, a member of the extreme gauche of the Assembly and a dominant debater in the Jacobins. This was no less a personage than Couthon, who had lost the use of both his legs, and who had come to seek some cure or relief to the diseases that were consuming him. According to Dumouriez, who was little disposed to look too closely into the character of a political chief who might forward his own promotion and aggrandizement, he had a

very mild appearance, and enjoyed the reputation of being a good friend, a good husband, and a good father. He admits that he had several conferences with him, and that they became very intimate, but he does not add that it was Couthon who won for him the suffrages of the Jacobin leaders, and mainly contributed to his being appointed commander-in-chief as soon as Lafayette had absconded. The Girondists, Roland, Servan, and Clavières, who had been turned out of office in the month of June by Dumouriez, and who had regained office by the revolution of the 10th of August, would assuredly have opposed this appointment if they had been able; but, lacking that ability, they wrote complimentary letters to the new commander-in-chief. Lafayette, in quitting France, had boasted that he had put his lives in excellent order for repelling the foreign invaders. Dumouriez says that he found all the dispositions Lafayette had made as bad as they could well be: the army was divided into two bodies; the advanced guard, consisting only of 6000 men, occupied an extensive camp on the right banks of the Meuse, which it would have required 40,000 men to defend; the main body, consisting of 17,000 men, was posted three leagues in the rear, in a bad camp on the heights that overlook Sedan. He says that the consternation was general; that the soldiers considered all their officers as traitors;



DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

that no one took upon him to issue orders, and that, assuredly, if the Duke of Brunswick, any time between the 22nd and 28th of August, had but pushed forward 10,000 men towards Sedan, Lafayette's army would either have dispersed itself among the fortified places, or have fled as far as Paris. But the Duke of Brunswick was moving in a different direction, and by marches that were not forced marches. Slow, however, as was their progress, the Prussians sat down before Longwi on the 23rd of August. This town, on the Moselle and the north-eastern frontier of France, was small and poor, but it had a fortress on a rock, which had been constructed by the great Vauban. After summoning the place the Prussians commenced bombarding it. The garrison was in a

terrible state of disorder and indiscipline, their commandant had no control over them, and the inhabitants, although they had all sworn to die for the country, had not fixed the when or the where, and were anxious not to die just yet. In a very few hours the place was surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick, who allowed the garrison and the commandant to retire to other fortresses more in the interior of France. The Prussians then blockaded Thionville, and advanced upon Verdun. On the 26th the news of the surrender of Longwi was known all over Paris. It produced the greatest alarm and rage: the people, who attributed the surrender to treachery, believed that they and their cause would be betrayed everywhere, and that the Duke of Brunswick would be allowed to reach the capital and execute his tremendous threats without any valid opposition. Some of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers, who very possibly had been the cause of the surrender, sent a letter to the National Assembly to throw all the blame on Laverne, their commandant, and to ask what they could have done in the midst of deception and treachery? Many of the deputies responded, like the Roman father in Cornille's tragedy, that they ought to have died! When the intelligence first reached the House many of the members were absent attending a grand funeral service and procession which had been voted in honour of the 1200 French patriots who had fallen on the 10th of August under the Swiss fire: ushers were sent to call them to their seats, and then a tremendous storm roared in the Salle de Manège, where every man agreed that nothing but treachery could account for what had taken place at Longwi. Cambon said it was time to call upon the citizens to perform the promises and abide by the solemn oaths they had so often taken at that bar to die for their country. He could not doubt but that the patriotism of the citizens of Paris would be equal to the emergency; he could not doubt but that the federates would now eagerly rush towards the frontiers; and he demanded that the Assembly should instantly decree a levy of 30,000 men in the department of Paris and the departments nearest to the capital. The proposition was voted by acclamation. It was then hinted that though men might be ready enough to march, they could not well march without muskets; and this led to the passing of resolutions, that all those citizens who were not going to march to the frontiers should deliver up their guns to those who were; that domiciliary visits should be made, and that muskets and all other arms should be seized wherever they could be found. "It is time," exclaimed Cambon, "that men of property should go themselves and fight for what they possess; but, if they will remain inactive, we must take from them their uniforms and their muskets, and dress and arm with them the sans-culottes, who have no property at all, but who are willing enough to march and fight. We must also take all the horses of the idle and luxurious men in Paris, and give

them to the citizens who have already served in the cavalry." Other decrees were voted for stripping towns and fortresses, which lay out of the line of attack of their artillery, and bringing it all up to Paris. The cannoners of the capital came to the bar to offer twenty-four pieces of artillery and their own services with them on the frontiers; but Cambon suggested that these heroes had better remain to form part of the levy of 30,000 men which had just been voted. Vergniaud, in the name of the Extraordinary Committee, presented a project of decree declaring that every citizen who in a besieged town should talk of surrendering should be punished with death; and this too was voted by acclamation.

But it was in the commune that the greatest fervour and energy were displayed. Danton, who attended there much more constantly than in the council of ministers, recommended the measures of vigour and rigour that ought to be adopted at the present crisis. It was he that suggested the taking into pay and arming all the indigent men in and about Paris; and nearly every revolutionary measure that was adopted either originated with him or was recommended and enforced by his bold oratory. It was Danton's plan that the barriers should be strictly guarded and closed for forty-eight hours, counting from the 29th in the evening, and that the domiciliary visits should not be made merely in search of arms, but also for the arrest of all aristocrats, of all unsworn priests, of all who had put their names to anti-revolutionary petitions, of all, in short, who were in any way *suspect*. In order that all these victims might be seized within Paris, the strictest and most terrible orders were given to let no living being pass the barriers; and the pikemen and the sans-culotte national guardsmen, who watched those barriers and every issue from the capital, wanted neither threatening nor prompting to make them keen in their duty. Boats and barges were moored across the Seine to prevent any escape up or down that river; and all the communes of the neighbouring towns were instructed to arrest every soul they found either on the high roads or in the fields and bye paths. The Paris sections, who had been for some time in permanent session, were to close their meetings in order to attend to the proper execution of these decrees, and even the Extraordinary Tribunal, which had begun to give active employment to the guillotine, was to suspend proceedings for these two days. From ten o'clock of the evening of the 29th all carriages were to cease circulating in Paris, and every house was to put forth a light or lights and keep them burning all through the night. Visits to all manner of houses were to be made by commissioners of the commune assisted by the armed force. At the beat of drum every citizen was to go to his own house or lodging, under pain of being treated as *suspect*. On the morning of the terrible 29th news was received that the Austrians, under Saxe-Teschén were advancing rapidly in the north, and that

nearly the whole of La Vendée was up in arms. The panic and the fury were trebled. The Girondist ministers lost what little heart had been left in them, and proposed abandoning the capital and retiring to Saumur. But here Danton raised his sonorous voice and said—"You cannot be ignorant of the fact that all France is in Paris! If you abandon the capital you are lost for ever, and you deliver up all France to the enemy. You must maintain yourselves in Paris, cost what efforts it may. It is also impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital: the 10th of August has divided France into two parts, one attached to royalty, and the other wishing for a republic. The republicans, whose extreme minority in the state you cannot conceal from yourselves, are the only men upon whom you can rely—are the only men that will fight. The rest will refuse to march; they will agitate Paris in favour of the emigrants and foreigners, while your republican defenders, placed between two fires, will get themselves killed in endeavouring to repel the invasion. If they fail—as it seems to me they must do—the ruin of France and your own ruin are certain: if, contrary to every expectation, they should return as conquerors of the coalition, still this very victory will be a defeat for you; for it will have cost you the lives of thousands of brave republicans, while the royalists, even now more numerous than you, will have lost none of their force or influence. My opinion, therefore, is, that, to disconcert their measures and stop the foreign enemy on his march, we must strike terror into the hearts of the royalists!" The Girondist ministers understood the sense of these terrible words: it is said they shuddered at them and remained speechless. "I tell you," rejoined Danton, "that there is nothing for us but terror! We must terrify the royalists and all our enemies here at Paris! (*Il faut faire peur!*)" Gentle Roland, honest Clavière, amiable Servan, mathematical Monge, are said to have continued to sit silent and horror-stricken, staring with eyes of wonder at Danton and one another; but, whatever was their wonder, whatever their horror, it is not shown or even said by any one that they made the slightest effort to stop the realization of the scheme of terror and slaughter proposed by this truly revolutionary minister of justice. We know their utter powerlessness, we know that no efforts that they could have made would have prevented the massacres which had already been determined upon; but just and brave men, enthusiasts in all the higher virtues—as the Girondists pretended to be—would have made the attempt, and would have been massacred themselves rather than have lived to witness such infernal cruelties, such an eternal disgrace on the character of their country. But these men were hollow pretenders: they only felt for their own personal danger, which is said to have been great, inasmuch as some of the directors of the massacre wished to include them in it; and when their own danger was over they would have shaken

hands with the blood-stained ruffians who had relieved them from all future dread of royalty and aristocracy. From the council Danton strode to the Hôtel de Ville, to give the last directions as to the proper means of beginning the Reign of Terror. The chief men who acted under him or with him were Marat, Tallien, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Panis, (a little lawyer, and brother-in-law to brewer Santerre), Sergeant (an engraver and Cordelier), Duplain, Lefort, and Jourdeuil; but the active agents in the arrests, which were preparatory to the massacre, included nearly every member of the commune, whose total number was at this moment from five to six hundred. All kinds of subterfuges and suppressions are employed by French writers to diminish the numbers of the butchers of the revolution, and to make the world believe that all the worst crimes were not only conceived, but were absolutely perpetrated by a few individuals; but their ingenuity can deceive no one that will look into the facts. Before these hundreds of municipals began the domiciliary visits they knew as well as Danton himself the meaning and the object of them.

At the appointed hour the drums beat to arms, the tocsin was sounded, alarm-guns were fired, and the visitations were begun. Many hundreds of victims of both sexes and of all ages were torn from their homes or from their hiding-places, and crowded in upon the many thousands that already occupied the prisons. Nobles, officers, men of letters and journalists that had taken the wrong side, or that had not gone far enough or fast enough with the revolution,—ladies who had belonged to the old court, and ladies who had never belonged to any court, but who had emigrated or some other aristocrats for their husbands or lovers,—priests who had not taken the civic oath, and priests who had taken it and repented of it afterwards,—men, and women too, who had never taken any part in political matters, but who had been denounced as *suspect*, by personal enemies or by busy-bodies, to the committees of research and surveillance, were all clutched by the municipals and their armed force, and put into prison like sheep into pens to be ready for slaughter. These operations were continued during the following day and night. On Saturday, the 1st of September, they ceased, and the barriers were once more opened for a few hours. But in the course of the day it was reported (prematurely) that Verdun had fallen—and fallen, like Longwi, through treachery. Hence fresh panic, and fury, and madness, and hence a cry for blood from every faubourg and section, from every street, lane, place, and corner of that vast madhouse—a cry which encouraged Danton, and gave him the assurance that all Paris, or the sans-culotte part of it to a man, would either co-operate in his great work of terror or look on complacently. The burly minister of justice or blood went again to the Hôtel de Ville, and helped the commune to decree that on the morrow the tocsin should be sounded, the

guns of alarm should be fired, and the citizens should all meet in arms, with their muskets or with their pikes, in the Champ de Mars. The decree added, for form sake, that these armed citizens were to march off on Monday morning towards Verdun; but no one was deceived by this pretence, and those who had relations or friends in the prisons, and who had courage enough to show their interest in them, well knowing that the prisons were to be forced and that all in them were to be murdered, hastened to supplicate and implore Manuel, the procureur of the commune, to liberate the objects of their affection. Manuel, it is said, enlarged two or three persons of distinction, and two or three more appear to have been liberated at the instance of Danton. To a lady who offered to share the captivity of her uncle, an old abbé, Sergeant said, "Madame, you are very imprudent; the prisons are not safe!" On this day Virtue Pétion presided for the first time over the new council of the commune formed on the 10th of August; and yet Thiers and others have endeavoured to make the world believe that he knew nothing of the extermination that was preparing in the commune. Others have conjectured that Pétion might have presided only in order to prevent the execution of the infernal project; but no one has adduced any proof of his having attempted anything of the sort. If he had made an effort, some evidence of it must have been left. There is a great deal more evidence to show that he tacitly approved everything that was done in the Hôtel de Ville. On the same day Robespierre appeared in the council of the commune, as a member of it, and in a discourse, described as eloquent, he developed all the manoeuvres which had been employed to make that council lose the public confidence, and all the good deeds by which the council had proved themselves worthy of that confidence. This seems to prove that *one* of the avowed objects of the arrests and massacres was to save the commune from the decrees and interference of the Assembly.

The morrow, the 2nd of September, was a Sunday; it had been chosen because most of the people would be idle, and so have time to spare for the bloody work. Most of the grand crimes of the revolution were, for the same reason, committed on Sabbath days. The commune issued a proclamation to tell the people that the country was in far greater danger than ever, that the enemy was almost at the gates of Paris, that there was nothing but Verdun between them and the capital. A report was also circulated that the aristocrats in the prisons had formed a horrible plot with the aristocrats in the town and without, and that they were going to break out of prison that very night in order to put Paris to fire and sword. The National Assembly met in the morning, and, while the sans-culottes were assembling in the streets or marching to the Champ de Mars, the honourable deputies, who must have known what was coming, spent their time in speech-making

and in spinning rhetorical figures. That there might be no mistake, two members of the commune came to the bar to announce that the tocsin was going to sound, and that all the patriot citizens of Paris were assembling in the Champ de Mars in order to march against the enemy. The Assembly thanked these municipals in the name of all France for their beautiful patriotism, and invited them to the honours of the séance. Orator Vergniaud poured out a long rhapsody. "It is to-day," said this great Girondist, "that Paris will really show herself in all her grandeur! I



VERGNAUD.

recognise her high courage in the step she has just taken, and now we may say that the country is saved. From this day forward we have nothing to fear!" After talking about the corrupting gold which the enemies of liberty were distributing, and after making use of other arguments and figures which, however he might mean it, certainly tended to keep up the popular fury and thirst for blood, Vergniaud proposed that the Assembly should every day send twelve of its members to work with the people in digging trenches on Montmartre. At this proposition all the House rose and shouted, and all the galleries did the same; the decree was passed in a whirlwind of enthusiasm. Soon after this scene the tocsin was heard ringing from the Hotel de-Ville and all the church towers, and the Salle de Manège was shaken by tremendous discharges of artillery, and Danton came to the bar with a radiant countenance. "Gentlemen," said this minister of justice, "it is very satisfactory to the mini-ters of a free people to have to announce that the country is going to be saved. Everything is moving, everything is shaking itself, every man is burning with anxiety to fight. You now know that Verdun is not taken, but only invested. You know that the garrison have sworn to immolate the first man that proposes a surrender. One portion of the people of Paris are going to march to the frontiers, another portion are going to work at the entrenchments, and a third will defend the interior of the city with their pikes! The tocsin

that you hear is not the signal of alarm; it is only sounding the charge on the enemies of the country! To conquer them, to annihilate them, what is wanting? Audacity, audacity, and still audacity! —*toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée.*" The Assembly applauded, the Assembly approved all that he and the commune had done, saying nothing, hinting nothing about the first and immediate consequences of this universal insurrection and meeting in the Champ de Mars. The honourable members went quietly to their dinners at four o'clock, and returned to the House at six, with a fuller knowledge than ever of what was to be done; but still no generous effort was made, no voice was raised to plead the sacred cause of humanity. They knew that the barriers were again closed, that the prisoners in all the prisons and strong houses in Paris, that the royal family in the Temple were in agonies of alarm and expecting instant death; yet they passed their time in listening to deputations who came to make vapid speeches, and to offer for the service of the country a new musket, an assignat of fifty livres (not then worth five pence), a pair of hackney-coach horses, a uniform coat, &c., &c. A deputation of citizenesses came into the Hall to make the significant demand that all such as were detained in prison merely for debt should be instantly liberated in order that they might not be confounded and punished with the traitors. Yet still the Assembly did nothing, said nothing, to avert the horrible doom that was hanging over many thousands of their countrymen and countrywomen; nay, at this very moment they agreed to a demand that the state prisoners at Orleans should be brought nearer to Paris, or nearer to torture and death. Some mad Englishman had just offered a musket for the defence of liberty, when news was brought that the prisons were forced, and that the massacres were beginning; and a minute or two after Fauchet announced that two hundred priests had been already butchered in the church of the Carmelites, which, like other churches, had been converted into a prison. Then the Assembly, without any evident or extraordinary emotion, appointed a deputation to go forth and tranquillise the people; and for this object they selected only five of their members, and those five were men more likely to encourage the people than to check their savage rage: they were the ultra-Cordelier-Jacobin Bazire, the Jacobins François de Neufchâteau, Dussaulx, and Lequinio, and the Girondist Isnard, who is generally reputed the most enthusiastic or maddest of his faction. As soon as these members had quitted the Hall, other deputations arrived to make more speeches about dying for one's country; and there sat the Assembly listening to these orations, while young and old, the innocent and the helpless, were dying in heaps all round them. Minister Servan came to the bar to ask for four millions of livres for the volunteers that were marching towards the frontiers; and this question was debated, and put to the vote with all the usual

formality. When this important matter had been settled, the House returned to its vagaries and nonsense, and were thus engaged when the deputation of five members returned. One of them reported that all was quiet within the Temple and round about it. Another (Dussaulx) said that they had with great difficulty penetrated as far as the Abbaye, in front of which the people were killing priests and others; that they had endeavoured to harangue the people; that one of them had even got upon a chair, but that he had scarcely pronounced a word ere his voice was drowned by tumultuous cries; that another orator, M. Bazire, had endeavoured to get a hearing by making an ingenious beginning to his speech, but that, as soon as the people heard he was not really speaking according to their notions, they had forced him to hold his tongue. "Each of us," said he, "spoke to the people that were near him, right and left; but the pacific intentions of those who heard us could not be communicated to a crowd of many thousands. *We, therefore, retired, and the darkness of night prevented our seeing what was passing.*" The darkness of night—and the nights at the beginning of September are not usually very dark—was lighted up by lamps and candles in the windows, and by lanterns and torches which the murderers carried about with them. Dussaulx and his companions must have seen very well what was passing; and, even if the night and the city had been as dark as Tophet, the cries and shrieks of the victims, and the shouts, oaths, and exclamations of the murderers must have told them what was passing. A man who could speak as Dussaulx did of such horrors was assuredly not the man to make any efforts or run any risk to prevent them. After the Assembly had heard his report, they proceeded to debate about arms and uniforms for the patriots who were going to march to the frontiers, taking no further notice of the massacres. At eleven o'clock at night they suspended their debates, but most of the members—that is to say, most of the Girondists and Jacobins, for the rest had absented themselves from the House ever since the 10th—remained in the hall, as the House had been declared in permanent session. At one o'clock in the morning it was reported in the hall "that the *disorder* continued, and that the people were still killing the prisoners." Then, for the first time—when the massacres had been going on for nine hours—the Assembly made an application to the omnipotent commune. And what was the nature of this application? Was it an earnest entreaty, a solemn injunction, a passionate appeal to the commune to put forth its whole strength, and stop these murders en masse? No! it was nothing of the sort: it was merely to request the commune to give the Assembly "precise information" as to what was passing. At half-past two in the morning three commissaries of the commune, Tallien, Truchot, and Giraud, presented themselves in the hall, in order to give this "precise information." Tru-

shot, who spoke first, said with a coolness that could only have proceeded from his approbation of all that had been done, "Gentlemen, most of the prisons are now empty; about four hundred prisoners have perished. At the prison of La Force, to which I repaired, I thought it my duty to get out all the persons detained there only for debt. I did the same at the prison of Sainte-Pélagie. Having returned to the commune, I be- thought myself that I had forgotten at the prison of La Force the ward where the women were confined. I went and got out twenty-four women. We principally took under our protection Made- moiselle de Tourzel and Madame Sainte-Brice. I observe that the latter lady is with child. For our own safety we retired, for they threatened us also. We conducted these two ladies to the section of the Rights of Man, in order that they may be detained for trial." Tallien, who spoke next, was equally cold-blooded. "The people," said he, "went first to the Abbaye. They demanded from the governor of the prison his register and list of prisoners. All the prisoners detained for the affair of the 10th of August, or for forging assignats, perished at once. Only eleven of them have been saved. The council of the commune sent a deputation to oppose this *disorder* [the villains would not even call it a massacre]; the procureur of the commune employed all the means suggested by his zeal and humanity. He could do nothing, and saw several victims perish at his feet. He himself ran great risks, and his friends were obliged to carry him off lest he should fall a victim to his zeal. From the Abbaye the people went to the Châtelet, where all the prisoners have also been immolated. About midnight the prison of La Force was attacked. Our commissaries went there too, but could do nothing. Several deputations were sent afterwards. An order has been given to the commandant-general (Santerre) to move some detach- ments; but the service at the barriers requires so great a number of men, that there do not remain enough to restore order. Our commissaries did what they could to prevent the hôtel of La Force from being pillaged; but they could not in any way stop the just vengeance of the people; for we ought to mention that their blows have fallen upon forgers of assignats, who had been confined there a very long time. What excited their ven- geance was that there were none there except well-known rascals!" Giraud, the third commissary, said, "They went likewise to Bicêtre prison with seven pieces of cannon. The people, in exercising their vengeance, showed their justice: at the Châtelet several prisoners were enlarged in the midst of cries of 'Vive la Nation!' and the rattling of arms. The prisons of the Palais-de-Justice are absolutely empty, and very few of the prisoners have escaped death." Tallien then begged to notice an important fact, a fact very honourable to the people: a man had just brought to the commune five golden louis and eighty-three livres in silver; and a dépôt had been established in the

Hôtel-de-Ville for the money and effects found upon the dead prisoners. Giraud, continuing his panegyric, said that the people on the Pont Neuf searched the dead bodies, and deposited the money and pocket-books they found upon them. "They have just killed a man," said he, "for stealing a pocket-handkerchief." When the Assembly had done marvelling at this sublime honesty, Giraud continued, "But I had forgotten a fact very im- portant for the honour of the people. The people organised in the prisons a tribunal composed of twelve persons. After the mittimus had been read, and after divers questions had been put to the prisoner, the judges placed their hands upon his head, and said, 'Do you believe that in our consciences we can turn this gentleman out of the prison?' The answer to this was the sentence of the court. When they said *Yes*, the accused was let go, and he rushed out upon the pikes out- side the prison, and so was dispatched. If they said *No*, the cries of 'Vive la Nation' were heard, and the prisoner was saved." By the time these precious orators of the commune had done speak- ing it was broad day-light. What the Assembly did for some hours after we know not; we only know that the massacres continued, and that no effort was made by them or by any of the Gi- rondist ministers to stop them. This duty more especially concerned the virtuous Roland, as mi- nister for the home department; and Roland did nothing until the evening of the 3rd, when he *complained* to the Assembly—or rather until the 4th, when he wrote a pressing letter to Santerre for a military force, which Santerre never sent. Such was the conduct of the "courageous Gi- rondists," such the conduct of the "afflicted As- sembly," at this bloody crisis; yet Thiers, who excuses and even approves of everything they did or left undone, says that the Assembly issued decree upon decree to demand from the commune an account of the state of Paris, and that the commune replied that it was making every effort to re-establish order and law. We have shown from the most authentic of all records of the night's proceedings* that the Assembly never sent to the commune at all until one o'clock in the morning—that it never sent again—and that, when the commissaries of the commune appeared in the hall at half-past two in the morning, it was rather to praise the people for what they had done, than to talk about order and law. They said, indeed, that they had made efforts, which was not true; and they intimated that the massacres were over, because the prisons were emptied, which was another falsehood. "However," says Thiers, in his tortuous way, "the Assembly certainly had not the idea of transporting itself as a whole, *tout entière*, into the prisons, and of placing itself be- tween the murderers and the victims. If this generous idea did not present itself to the members to drag them from their benches and carry them to the theatre of carnage, it must be attributed to

* Hist. Parlement.

surprise, to the consciousness of their own powerlessness, perhaps also to the insufficient devotedness inspired by the danger of an enemy—in fine, to that disastrous opinion, in which some of the deputies participated, that the victims were so many conspirators from whom one would have received death if one had not given death to them.* Madame Roland speaks somewhat more openly, and gets a little nearer to the truth in admitting that the Assembly was struck with stupor and terror, that the members who disapproved of the massacres were completely unmanned by their own personal fears.

We cannot enter upon anything like a complete account of the orgies of human blood which lasted all through the following day and night, and which did not entirely cease until the 6th. Such an account, compiled from the innumerable narratives left by eye-witnesses, would fill a larger volume than ever has been written upon the Sicilian Vespers or the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and would contain details infinitely more atrocious than any connected with those two celebrated butcheries of human beings. We can only select some of the most striking incidents. The first victims were twenty-four priests, who had been arrested and carried to the Hôtel de Ville, charged with having refused the serment civique; and it appears that their massacre began as early as three or four o'clock in the afternoon, or about the time that the members of the Assembly were adjourning to eat their dinners. At a moment when the Place de Grève was crowded by men and women of the people driven to frenzy by the tocsin and the alarm-guns that were ringing in their ears, at a moment when there was one continuous mob from the Champ de Mars to the heart of the city (for all the sans-culottes of the towns and villages for leagues round had come into Paris), the council of the commune chose to send forth the priests to be conducted to the Abbaye prison. The captives were placed in six hackney-coaches, and escorted by federates, Marseillaise and Bretons, who marched very slowly, and who, as they marched, loaded the helpless priests with abuse and execration. "Here are the conspirators," said they, "who were to cut the throats of our wives and children while we were marching to the frontiers!" The mob crowded round the hackney-coaches, spitting at the priests and striking at them. The priests endeavoured to close the coach-doors, which were left open, but they were not allowed to do it. They were men, and Frenchmen; and it is said that one of them, of a quicker temper than the rest, struck a ruffian with his cane, first over the hand and then over the head, and several times. The people, who had sworn before that they would have the life-blood of every one of them, now fell upon this carriage, which, together with the other five, had arrived close in front of the Abbaye. Vain were cries for mercy, vain the appeal to their grey hairs and their calling; the four priests were butchered,

and then the four in the next carriage, and then those in the next, until not one was left alive except the Abbé Sicard, the celebrated teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was recognised by a watchmaker named Monnot, who bravely and miraculously rescued him, throwing himself before him, opening his bosom, and saying to the people, "You shall pierce this heart before you reach that of the good Abbé Sicard!" At this moment Billaud-Varennes, a member of the council of the commune, arrived on the spot with his municipal scarf and insignia of office about him, and, stepping among the hacked and blood-covered corpses of the twenty-three priests, he told the slaughterers that they had made a good beginning. "People," cried he, "you are immolating your enemies; you are doing your duty!" Then Maillard, who had led the she-devils to Versailles, proposed that some of the mob should go with him to the church of the Carmelites, where there were many more conspiring priests to be disposed of; and at his terrible *Allons aux Carmes!* a multitude began to march with him in that direction. Two hundred priests lay under lock and key in the church of the Carmelites—according to some accounts the number was much larger—expecting death, which they presently found. Some were slaughtered on their knees and in the act of prayer; some were thrust through the heart with pikes as they endeavoured to fly, or had their skulls cleft with sabres as they grasped the pikes in their hands, and struggled with the pikemen with the superhuman strength of despair; others were driven into corners, and dispatched, more easily and expeditiously, with fire of musketry; and others were shot in the garden of the monastery, and in trees there, to which they had climbed, as also on the garden walls, not without much laughter and many jests on the part of their murderers. Not one found mercy, not one escaped: archbishop and bishops, men high in the church and poor parish priests, were all murdered; and, that there might be no chance of recovery from gun-shot wounds, the pikemen examined those who had only been shot, and thrust their bloody blades through their hearts. When this double hecatomb of human bodies had been heaped up there, Maillard and his merry men, all covered with blood and sweat, went away to the hall or assembling room of the nearest section to demand wine—"Wine for the brave workmen who are delivering France from its enemies!" And the committee of the section gave them twenty-four quarts to drink. The monsters carried out the wine and drank it in the midst of the dead bodies. As soon as they had thus refreshed themselves, Maillard cried out, "And now to the Abbaye!" In that old prison there were confined from two to three hundred persons for political offences, including Swiss, gentlemen who had belonged to the *gardes-du-corps* or to the king's constitutional guard, deputies of the first Assembly, priests, ladies, and others, who must all have been warned by the tocsin and the artillery, and the massacre of the twenty-four eccle-

* Hist. de la Révolution Française.

nastics in front of the Abbaye, of the fate that awaited them. "Towards seven o'clock on this Sunday night," says one of the few captives who escaped by miracle, "we saw two men enter our apartment, their hands bloody, and armed with sabres; a turnkey with a torch lighted them; he pointed to the bed of an unfortunate Swiss, Reding. Reding (who had been wounded on the 10th of August) spoke with a dying voice. One of the men paused; but the other cried *Allons donc!* lifted the unfortunate man, and carried him out on his back to the street, where he was massacred. We all looked at one another in silence; we clasped each other's hands. Motionless, with fixed eyes, we gazed on the floor of our prison, on which lay the moonlight, chequered with the triple stanchions of our windows." * While the mob were beginning to massacre indiscriminately, some one observed that there were others beside aristocrats and conspirators in the prison, and that it would not be fair to sacrifice the innocent with the guilty; and Maillard demanded the keys of the different wards, and the *écrous*, or registers on which were written the names of all the prisoners and the offences for which they were committed. The gnomes delivered up the keys and the papers. It was then agreed that there should be a court and a president to read these registers and pronounce judgment with all possible speed. "Let Maillard be president!" cried the mob. And Maillard, sitting down to a table and opening the prison books, entered upon his functions. He chose some ten or twenty men that were near him to assist him in his summary trials; he sent others into the interior of the Abbaye to bring down the prisoners in small parties at a time; and he left the mass of the bloodthirsty mob outside the gates, to execute, with their pikes, and their sabres, bludgeons, and knives, the sentences that might be pronounced. It was also agreed among these hell-hounds that the sentence should be expressed in these short and indirect words, "Sir, to la Force,—*Monsieur, à la Force!*" and that as soon as these words were said the victim should be thrust out through a wicket of the gate. The improvised tribunal began with the Swiss; and in their case it was not deemed necessary to read names. "It was you," cried Maillard, "that murdered the people on the 10th of August!" "We were attacked," said the poor Swiss, "and we obeyed our chiefs." "As for that matter," said Maillard, "we have only to send you to *la Force*,"—speaking coolly, and laying his emphasis on the two death-words. The Swiss, who could see the pikes and swords glittering beyond the open wicket, and who could hear the people crying for their blood,

knew very well that there was no intention to convey them merely from one prison to another: they fell back, rushed towards the interior of the prison, and cried piteously for mercy, mercy! But the stone walls of the prison were not deaf to that cry than Maillard and his mob; they were dragged forward, goaded on towards the fatal wicket by pike and sword. Suddenly one of the Swiss, a man who seemed about thirty, whose stature was above the common, and whose look was noble and martial, stepped forward and said, "I go first, since it must be so: farewell!" Then, dashing his hat behind him, he cried to the butchers, "Show me the way." They opened the wicket: he plunged forward among the pikes, and died of a thousand wounds. Some of his comrades rushed after him, others were dragged to the wicket and thrust out by main force: they all perished—their total number was thirty-eight. When the Swiss were dispatched to a man, Maillard and his tribunal pronounced the words *à la Force* upon a few men who had been accused of falsifying the paper-money. Some of these individuals had possibly been guilty of forgery, which had never been in France a crime punishable with death; others are asserted to have been entirely innocent: but the united numbers of the two classes were so very small as to make horribly ridiculous the discourse of Tallien about the just vengeance of the people. As soon as these cases had been disposed of, they brought to Maillard's bar the Marquis de Montmorin—elder brother of the unfortunate minister of that name—who had been tried a few days before, and even acquitted, by the new special tribunal, but who had nevertheless been carried back to prison by the people. In reply to some questions put to him, the old nobleman said that he submitted to a regular tribunal, but could not recognise or plead before any other. "Be it so," replied Maillard; "you shall go then to await another trial at *la Force*." Deceived by these words, the marquis asked for a coach to carry him. He was told, with the usual Parisian smartness, that he would find a coach at the door. He stepped through the wicket, and found death—happy at least in this, that he did not live to see his eldest son and his wife conducted on one day to the guillotine by sentence of the Tribunal Révolutionnaire. The next victim was Thierry, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. "Like master like man; *à la Force!*" said President Maillard; and Thierry was cast out to the butchers. Shortly after this, Montmorin, the minister, who had concealed himself in the house of a washerwoman in the Faubourg St. Antoine, but who had been discovered or betrayed in the nocturnal domiciliary visits, was dragged to the table and the wicket to meet the doom which he had foreseen for months.

But by this time the same murderous work with the same extemporised tribunal was begun at the other prisons. At La Force the shibboleth of sentence was "To the Abbaye," and there, and at the

* *Mon Agonie de Trente-huit Heures; ou, Récit de ce qui m'est arrivé, de ce que j'ai vu et entendu, pendant ma détention dans la Prison de l'Abbaye Saint Germain, depuis le 22 Août jusqu'au 4 Septembre, 1792, par M. de Jourdan, Saint Mouri, ci-devant capitaine-commandant des chasseurs du régiment d'infanterie du roi.* This terrible narrative, which was printed on the 20th of September, 1792, and which went through an amazing number of editions (the author says that two hundred and eighty thousand copies of it had been sold before the month of May, 1793), is reprinted in *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*.

Châtelet, at Bicêtre, at the Conciergerie, the victims were thrust out through gate or wicket to be massacred in the streets. Detachments of national guards mounted guard by day and by night at each of the prisons, but they joined in the slaughter, instead of endeavouring to prevent it, and before the murders began they had received orders from the commune or from Santerre, or from others whose orders they deemed worthy of attention, to permit who would to enter, but to allow none to come out. And, while Tallien and that trio were appearing publicly and officially in the scene of carnage as if to recommend mercy and peace and a cessation of the massacres, other members of the commune—colleagues and brothers of their own—went from place to place to encourage the murderers, to ask whether they were making clean work of it as at the Carmélites, to tell them that they should have aid from the commune if requisite. At each prison a certain number of women burst in with the men, and women took an active part in the massacres outside the gates. In the front of every prison, and there were five or six besides those we have named, there was, before morning, a heap, a mound of dead bodies, and as the sun rose nearly every stone thereabout was seen wetted with blood. The butchers, when tired at that work, passed within the wickets and became judges, and the judges passing outwards became butchers. There was an abundance of wine distributed to keep up their spirits, and when they had drunk they put down on the table their glasses stained with blood, which also stained the judgment-seat. Blood was the one predominant idea. In the Abbaye, Sonibrcuil, the venerable governor of the Invalides, was brought up to the table, and Millard had pronounced the words “à la force,” when the governor’s daughter, likewise a prisoner, rushed through pikes and sabres, clasped her old father in her arms so tightly that none could separate her from him, and made such piteous cries and prayers that some were touched. She vowed that her father was no aristocrat, that she herself hated aristocrats. But to put her to a further proof, or to indulge their bestial caprices, the ruffians presented to her a cup full of blood and said, “Drink, drink of the blood of the aristocrats, and your father shall be saved!” The lady took the horrible cup and drank, and the monsters kept their promise. Nay, they carried the old man and his daughter in their bloody arms safe to their own home, shedding tears, shouting “Vive la Nation,” and refusing money which the Sonibreuils offered them. In the same prison the Marquis de Cazotte owed his life to his young daughter, who clung to him when under the pikes, and who poured forth such passionate filial eloquence that the hands raised to kill refused their office, and both were let go without any blood-drinking. Yet in ten days the grand tribunal, more merciless than the mob, or not acted upon by a touching scene, condemned the old marquis to die, and he perished on the scaffold, bequeathing to his daughter—

all he could bequeath—a lock of his grey hair. Two or three other prisoners were allowed to escape death at the Abbaye. A section, or a committee of a section, interceded in behalf of a young man, with solemn attestations that he was pure from aristocracy. He was acquitted with cries of “Vive la Nation,” and conducted to his home in triumph. The agonies of the prisoners, who passed long hours expecting death every moment were worse than the pangs of death itself. Jourgnac de Saint Meard, who was among those in the Abbaye, has recorded some of these sufferings. “It is utterly impossible,” says he, “to express the horror of the profound and sombre silence which reigned during these executions. It was only interrupted by the cries of those that were being murdered and by the strokes of their assassins. As soon as one man was dispatched there rose a cry for another, and shouts of ‘Vive la Nation’ a thousand times more terrible than the horrors of the preceding silence. In the interval between one massacre and another we heard the people saying under our window, ‘We must not let one of them escape, we must kill them all, all! and, above all, those that are in the chapel, for they are all conspirators!’ It was of us they were speaking. There was silence in the streets, but a noise in the interior of the prison, where they were selecting fresh victims.”

But presently fresh screams and cries were heard outside, and we trembled again, and recalled to our minds the list of M. Chantreine, who, plunging a knife into his heart, had said, “We are all destined to be murdered!” At midnight ten men, sword in hand, and preceded by two turnkeys who carried torches entered into our prison, the chapel and visited each of us to place himself at the foot of his bed. After they had visited us, they told us that we should answer for one another, and they swore that if one of us tried to escape we should all be murdered *with utting heard by M. Sureau le Président*. These last words, however, gave us a glimmering of hope, for we did not know until then that we should be *heard* before being killed. At two o’clock in the morning we heard a terrible beating on one of the inner doors of the prison. We thought it was the door that gave access to the passage which led to the chapel, and that they were coming to butcher us there, but we were somewhat reassured and comforted when we heard that it was the door of a dungeon which some prisoners within had barricaded. Soon after we learned that the door had been forced open, and that the people had butchered every man they found in the dungeon. At ten o’clock on Monday morning [his agony had already lasted twenty hours] the Abbe Lanfant, confessor to the king, and the Abbe Chapt de Rastignac appeared in the pulpit of the chapel which served as our prison, and which they had entered by a back door. They told us that our last hour was at hand, that we must compose our minds, and receive their

benediction. An electrical movement, not to be defined, threw us all on our knees, and, with our hands joined, we received the blessing. This moment, although consolatory, was one of the most awful that we experienced. On the eve of appearing before the Supreme Being, kneeling before two of his ministers, we presented a spectacle which is not to be described. The venerable age of those two priests, their position above us, death hovering over our heads and environing us on every side—everything made the ceremony of that benediction sublime and awful. It drew us near to the Divinity; it restored us our courage; all reasoning was suspended; and the coldest and most incredulous amongst us was as deeply impressed by the scene as the most ardent and the most devout. Half an hour after these two priests were dragged out and massacred, and we heard their cries! . . . Is there a man whose hair does not stand on end with horror? Our principal occupation now was to endeavour to learn how to be massacred with the least suffering. From time to time we sent some of our comrades to look out at the window of the chapel tower in order to instruct us. . . . They reported that the victims who held up their hands suffered most, because the blows of the sabres were deadened before they reached the head; that some of them had their hands and arms chopped off before they fell, and that those who placed their hands behind their backs and presented their heads and breasts to the pikes and sabres seemed to suffer the least. . . . We advised one another to be firm, and to assume this attitude when our turns should come. Towards the hour of noon, worn out by my long agony, I threw myself on a bed and fell into a profound sleep. Everything makes me believe that I owe my life to that moment of sleep. I dreamed that I was appearing before the terrible tribunal which was to judge me; that I was heard with attention in spite of the dreadful tocsin and the horrible cries of the people; that I finished my pleading, and was acquitted. I woke with the happy presentiment that this dream would be realised. I related it to my companions in misfortune, who were astonished at my confidence—a confidence which I preserved until I appeared before my terrible judges. . . . But the torments of the most devouring thirst were added to our other anguishes. At last our turnkey, Bertrand, came alone into the chapel, and we induced him to bring us a jug of water. We drank it with desperate avidity, for during twenty-six hours we had not been able to obtain one drop of water. We spoke of this cruel negligence to a federate, who came with some other persons to visit our prison: he was so enraged that he asked the name of the turnkey who had refused us water, assuring us that he would go and put him to death; and he would have done it if we had not hindered him. Shortly after we were disturbed by a sad moaning overhead. We discovered that the sounds proceeded from the pulpit, and we begged those we heard passing and re-

passing on the staircase behind to open the door and see what it was. At last some of them entered the pulpit, and told us that it was a young officer who had given himself several wounds, but without killing himself, as his knife had bent at the point, and would not penetrate. The young man was dragged out and dispatched. . . . Several other prisoners killed themselves in their chambers in different parts of the Abbaye: among others there was one who beat out his brains against the lock of his cell." By this time it was late in the afternoon of Monday the 3rd.

Maton de la Varenne, who was a prisoner in La Force, tells us what was doing there, while these things were doing at the Abbaye. "About two o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday the 2nd," says Maton, "I saw a tall, ill-dressed man come in and whisper to our gaoler, who presently said aloud, 'Let them come if they will, and massacre them; by my faith I am not going to be such a fool as to get myself killed for the prisoners.' . . . About three o'clock a gendarme came in and told us that the people had massacred seven persons on the Pont Neuf; and that on the preceding evening women in a state of intoxication had been heard saying on the Feuillant terrace, 'It is to-morrow that souls will be driven out of bodies in the prisons!' Towards seven o'clock prisoners were called frequently, and they did not reappear. Each of us reasoned in his own way on this singularity; but our ideas became calm, as we persuaded ourselves that a memorial I had drawn up and got sent to the National Assembly was producing good effect. This was particularly the opinion of my unfortunate companions de Rulhière and de la Chenaye, with whom I was conversing when, at about eight o'clock, our turnkeys separated us and shut us all up in our several cells or wards."* [It should appear that the narrator and many others of the captives were confined in parts of the prison where the noise of the massacres, loud and frightful as it was, could not reach them; for during several hours they had no notion of the bloody work that was doing in front of the gates of La Force.] "I was trying to sleep," continues Maton, "when the door of our chamber was burst open with a terrible noise, and one Delange was dragged out. An instant after he was followed by Berger, an old man of seventy-three. The doors of the other cells along our corridor were opened successively. There were still five of us in my cell, and all except myself were giving themselves up to the consoling hope of being liberated before day, when the people came to seek Durand. Durand was lying on his bed ready dressed, in order not to keep them waiting. He squeezed my hand, promised to send me

* Le Rulhière, who was presently massacred, was younger brother to Rulhière the historian, author of 'L'Anarchie de la Pologne' and other well-known works. He was a military man, and had commanded a part of the gendarmerie on the 10th of August. The immediate cause of his captivity was his conduct on that fatal day. He had endeavoured to make his men oppose the march of the mob on the Tuilleries, and, not succeeding in that, he had quitted his post and his command. Chenaye, we believe, was a man of letters.

his news, and went out. At the same moment we distinguished the voice of Delange, who, after having obtained his liberty, insisted absolutely upon returning to his room to take his effects away with him, and above all a little white poodle dog, which had been his only amusement during his captivity. His solicitations were unsuccessful, because they wished the prisoners above to remain ignorant of the horrible scenes that were passing. . . . About midnight a man named Barat, who, from the situation of his cell, could better hear what was going on, called my comrade Gérard towards him and said, 'My friend, we are all dead men! They are assassinating the prisoners as fast as they go out at the gate—I hear their cries!' Gérard came back to us with this fatal news, and exclaimed, 'Our last hour is come! There is no help for us.' I replied to him—and I tried to force myself to believe it—that the tremendous noise came only from the Faubourg St. Antoine men who were to march for Verdun, and who, no doubt, were going first to the Hôtel-de-Ville. At one o'clock in the morning the wicket gate which led to our quarter opened anew. Four men in uniform, each with a naked sword and a blazing torch, came up to our corridor, preceded by a turnkey, and entered a chamber adjoining ours to break open and examine a box. This done, they stopped in the gallery and questioned a man named Cuissa to know where was Lamotte (the widower of the notorious woman of the diamond necklace, &c.). This Lamotte, they said, had some months ago, under pretext of a hidden treasure he knew of, swindled one of them out of 300 livres, inviting him expressly to dine with him. The wretched Cuissa, who was in their grip, and who, in fact, lost his life this night, answered trembling, that he remembered the circumstance well, but could not tell what had become of Lamotte.* Determined to find Lamotte and confront him with Cuissa, they dragged the latter along with them, and made a fresh search in several other apartments, but apparently without success, for we heard them say to one another, 'Let us go and search among the dead bodies; for, *nom de Dieu!* we must know what has become of him.' At this same time I heard them call for the Abbé Bardy, who was dragged out and directly massacred, as I learned afterwards. He had been accused of having, in concert with his concubine, murdered and cut into pieces, five or six years before, his own brother, an auditor of the *Chambre des Comptes* of Montpellier; but had by his subtlety, address, and eloquence outwitted his judges and hitherto escaped. One may fancy what terror I had been thrown into by the words, 'Let us go and search among the dead bodies.' I saw nothing to do but resign myself to death. I wrote my last will, terminating it with the request that whoever found it in my pocket when dead would carry it to its address. Scarcely had I quitted

the pen when there came into the corridor two other men in uniform; one of them, whose arm and coat-sleeve up to the very shoulder, as well as his sabre, were covered with blood, said, 'For these two hours I have been dispatching members right and left! I am more tired than a mason's labourer that has been beating plaster for two days!' I afterwards heard them talking about Rulhière. They promised themselves the pleasure of prolonging his torture, to make him pass slowly through all degrees of the cruelest sufferings; and they swore with frightful oaths that they would cut off the head of any man that thrust at him with the point of his sword, or that attempted to give him a *coup de grace*. The unhappy officer being delivered to them, they dragged him along crying '*Force à la loi!*' then they stripped him almost naked, and began to beat him to death with the flats of their swords." We cannot translate what follows. It was half an hour before death relieved poor Rulhière from these fiends of hell.

Maton de la Varenne continues: "It was three-quarters of an hour after this, that is to say, about four in the morning, when they came to seek Rulhière's comrade, la Chenaye. As his room was immediately under mine, and as the window was open, I heard the turnkey say to him as he was asking for his hat, 'Leave it where it is; you have no more need of it.' He walked out of his room—he underwent a sort of interrogatory—they pronounced the words *à l'Abbaye*, which meant massacre him; he passed out by the fatal wicket, and was massacred. He gave one cry of terror at sight of the heap of corpses, covered his eyes and face with his hands, and then fell dead upon the heap. Sixty years of virtue, which had ever been hereditary in his family, seemed to promise him a better end. After his death his murderers confessed that they had committed a mistake, having discovered that he was not guilty of any plot against liberty or the people. . . . An infinity of prisoners, such as René-François Gentilhomme, Staude, called the German, André Rousseau, the Abbé de la Gardette, Simonot, de Louze de la Neufville, Etienne Deroncières, were dragged one by one from my part of the prison to meet the same fate as la Chenaye. At every opening of the grate I expected to hear them call my name. . . . I flung off my robe-de-chambre and my nightcap; I put on a coarse and very dirty shirt, an old frock-coat, without a waistcoat, and an old round hat: these things I had procured a day or two before, in the apprehension of what was going to happen. I imagined that, thus dressed, I should not be suspected of being one of those that were to be murdered. The disguise was not useless to me. About five o'clock in the morning they came to drag down the Abbés de Blinières and Bertrand. I know not the fate of the first of these ecclesiastics; but the second escaped, for I saw him more than a year after. At about half-past six they came back to the room where the two abbés had been lodged, to seize M. Guillaume, a notary-

* Lamotte had been in prison, but had been liberated just before the massacres began.

public, who, instead of opening the door at their summons, barred and barricaded it within. Then the men beat at the door, blasphemed horribly, called him a villain and an enemy to the nation, and went to seek a reinforcement. . . . At length he was obliged to open the door. He was seized. I was uncertain as to his fate for fifteen days; but then I learned that he had been saved. . . . By this time all the chambers on our corridor had been emptied except our own. We were four together, and seemed to have been forgotten: we addressed our prayers in common to the Eternal to deliver us from this peril. While we were in this situation, a thousand times more horrible than death, our turnkey (Baptiste) came to visit us by himself. I took him by the hands; I conjured him to save us, promising him a hundred golden louis if he would conduct me home or to the house of one of my relations. A noise proceeding from the grate made him withdraw precipitately. We heard the noise; we also saw from our windows, near to which we were lying flat on our bellies to escape being seen, twelve or fifteen men armed to the teeth and covered with blood, who were holding council in the garden below, and saying to one another, 'Let us go again up-stairs there—into all the chambers:—let not one remain—no pity.' I took out my pen-knife; I considered where I should strike myself—but then I reflected that the blade was too short; and religion came to my aid. I encouraged my companions, and above all Gérard, to renounce the thought of suicide and rely upon Providence. Between seven and eight o'clock four men armed with bludgeons and sabres came to our room and told us that we must follow them. Gérard whispered earnestly, apart, with one of them, whose uniform appeared to be that of a gendarme. They both spoke very low, and made use of gestures, which made me suspect that Gérard was trying to save himself by sacrificing us. The conversation finished with these words, which Gérard pronounced aloud—'As you see, comrade, I was arrested only for having given a beating to an aristocrat.' The gendarme took Gérard under his protection. During their colloquy I searched everywhere for a pair of old shoes, that I might get rid of the advocate slippers (*pantoufles de palais*) I had on. But, forced to give up my search, I descended the stairs with my three companions. Constant, called le Sauvage, Gérard, and the third, whose name escapes my memory, were let off at once, without appearing at the dreadful bar. But four sabres were crossed over my breast, and I was led to the table before a person wearing a municipal scarf, who was sitting there as judge. He was a lame man, tall, and very thin. As I crossed the court to get at him, I saw it crowded with the *égorgeurs* (slaughterers or cut-throats), who were being harangued by Manuel, then procureur of the commune, afterwards deputy of the Convention, and last of all food for the guillotine, to which he was justly condemned on the 14th of November,

1794. Arrived at the bar, I was thus interrogated: 'What is your name? What is your quality? How long have you been here?' My answers were simple: 'My name is Pierre Anne Louis Maton de la Varenne; I am an old advocate; I have been detained here these eight days, without knowing why or wherefore; I hoped to have been liberated last Saturday; but public affairs have retarded it.' A fellow behind me said, 'Va! Mr. Fineskin, I am going to treat myself with a cup of your blood!' The soi-disant judge of the people gave over questioning me, in order to save time. He looked into the prison register, and then said, 'I can absolutely see nothing against him.' Then their faces brightened up, and there rose the cry of 'Vive la nation!' which was the signal of my deliverance."*

The National Assembly opened their debates at the usual hour this morning (the morning of Monday, the 3rd of September), and apparently without feeling any interest in the massacres that were going on. Roland, as minister of the interior, transmitted a letter he had received from Mayor Pétion, who coldly and lyngly affirmed that he knew nothing of the events of the night, until it was too late to apply any remedy! Brissot announced that Verdun was still holding out, and that the enemy had met with a repulse at Montmedy; and was honoured with loud applauses. A milliner came to present some trinkets for the service of the country, and to offer to mount guard in Paris as a soldier: her patriotic daughter, who came with her, presented a silver thimble and fifteen sous. The students of surgery came to offer their services either as soldiers or as surgeons, and to deposit on the altar of the country two or three thousand tenpenny pieces. A long letter was read from the Jacobinized commune of Troyes, in Champagne, reporting that everybody was armed or arming. A decree was issued for seizing and bringing instantly to Paris all the gold and silver and rich ornaments that might be found in the ex-dévant royal palaces and in the houses of the emigrants. Letters were read from different commissaries who had been sent by the Assembly or by the commune to look after the recruiting and the levies in the departments. Not a word was said about the butcheries which were going on more actively than ever at some of the prisons, and no further allusion was made to them until Deputy Jounneau, who had been lying in the Abbaye for the beating he had given Grangeneuve, appeared at the bar, accompanied by ten or a dozen of the people who were serving as his escort. Jounneau was applauded, and invited to ascend the tribune. His escape from a horrible death was too recent, and the ground which he still stood upon too volcanic, to allow his language to be other than complimentary. Besides, the Assembly in the course of the preceding night had issued a de-

* *Ma Résurrection*, par Maton de la Varenne. This brochure which was first published in 1795, is reprinted in *Histoire Parlementaire*.

erree to guarantee his life. "With your decree upon my breast," said Jounneau, "I have just come out of my prison in the midst of the acclamations of the people. These brave citizens here have accompanied me with the greatest good will. Their zeal attests the respect which your decrees meet with everywhere." [If this was really the case, why did not the Assembly issue thousands of such life-saving decrees?] He was going to take his usual seat as a member of the House, when Montaut cried out that it was against the ordinary rules to permit a member against whom there was a decree of accusation to sit in the House; and that he ought to be "left under the sword of the law." Lacroix said, with more liberality and mercy, that M. Jounneau was not under a decree of accusation; that he had been under arrest only on account of a private quarrel and fight with one of his colleagues; and that this was so true, that, if M. Grangeneuve would give up his prosecution, M. Jounneau would be free to take his seat. "I demand, therefore," said he, "that the Assembly, considering that M. Jounneau could not, *without risking his life*, remain in the prison to which he was committed, do allow him to remain on parole in one of the committee-rooms of the Assembly." This delicate resolution was adopted. Then a letter was read from the council of the commune. It briefly said.—"The asylum of Louis XVI is threatened. Resistance would be impolitic, dangerous, perhaps unjust. The harmony of the representatives of the people with the commissaries of the commune might guarantee the Temple. We demand that you please to name six of your members to act conjointly with us in calming the effervescence." [The most atrocious, the most immense and astounding of crimes was, in the language of Pétion's colleagues, only *disorder or effervescence*.] The Assembly instantly did as they were ordered, and named six deputies to act with the commune—Bazire, Chabot, Choudieu, Thuriot, Dussaults, and Lacroix. Four of these six were disciples or admirers of Marat—were Jacobins of the very worst kind; and the remaining two, to say the least of them, were men impatient for a republic, and who were sure not to expose themselves to danger by counteracting their blood-thirsty colleagues, or by opposing the will and energy of the sovereign people. The individuals selected by the council-general of the commune to act with them in calming the effervescence were Robespierre, Manuel, and Deltroy.* Busi-

* We learn from Cléry what was passing in the Temple. "On the 2nd of September there were great tumults about the Temple. The king and the family having come down as usual to walk in the garden, a municipal officer that followed the king said to one of his associates, 'We are wrong in allowing them to walk this afternoon.' I had taken notice in the morning that the commissioners from the municipality were uneasy. They made the royal family return in a violent hurry, but they were scarcely assembled in the queen's chamber when two of the officers, who were not on duty at the tower, came in, one of whom, whose name was Mathieu, formerly a Capuchin, thus addressed the king.—'You are unpainted, Sir, with what is passing. The country is in the greatest danger, the enemy have entered Champagne, and the King of Prussia is marching into Châlons. You will have to answer for all the mischief that may follow. We know that we, our wives, and children must perish, but the people shall be avenged. You shall be the first to

ness was then suspended in order that the deputies might have time to dine;—for men dined in the midst of all these atrocities, sipped their coffee and their *chasse café* while the streets of Paris were running with blood; and the graceful and gracious Madame Roland was giving her dinner-parties and displaying such wit as she had, and turning fine phrases in her *hôtel du ministère* all the while—at least she gave her usual five o'clock dinner to her husband's colleagues in office and the select members of the Gironde on this very day, the 3rd of September, entertaining, as we have seen, the madman Anacharsis Clootz, who then and there undertook to prove that the massacres in progress were indispensable and salutary.* Yet this woman, who tells us these facts about the dinner, tells us also that the massacres were continuing; that they lasted at the Abbaye from Sunday afternoon till Tuesday morning; at la Force still longer; at Bicêtre four days, &c.

When the honourable deputies returned to their hall after their dinner, they talked about Verdun, and the beauty of dying for one's country, as the commandant and garrison of that place were said to have sworn to do rather than surrender; they

die; however, there is yet time and you may'—Here the king replied, that he had done everything for the people and had nothing to reproach himself with. On which the same fellow, turning to M. Hue, said,—'The council of the commune have charged me to take you into custody.' Whom cried the king, 'Your valet de chambre, is that reply.' The king desired to know of what crime he was accused but not being able to obtain information became the more uneasy for his fate, and recommended him, with great concern, to the two officers. He was not put, in the presence of M. Hue, on the small room occupied by him and he was taken away at six in the evening, after having been twenty days in the Temple. Three or four days after, told me to take care how I conducted myself. 'For,' said he, 'it may be your turn next.' The king then called me to him and gave me some papers which he had received from M. Hue, containing accounts of capes. 'The disturbed looks of the municipal officers, and the clamours of the populace in the neighbourhood of the tower affected him exceedingly. After the king went to bed he desired me to sleep near him and I placed my bed near his majesty's. On the 3rd of September his majesty, when I was dressing him, asked me if I had any news of M. Hue, and if I knew anything of the communists in Paris. I told him that in the course of the night I had heard an officer say the people were going to the prisons, but I would try if I could learn anything more. 'I take care,' said his majesty, 'not to expose yourself, for we should then be left alone, and indeed I fear it is their intention to put strangers about us.' At eleven in the forenoon, the king having joined the family in the queen's chamber, a municipal officer desired me to go up to his king's, where I found Manuel and some members of the commune. Manuel asked me what the king had said of M. Hue being taken away. I answered, that it had made his majesty very uneasy. 'He will come to no harm,' said he, 'but I am (you may be sure) to inform the king that he is not to return, but that the council will put a person in his place. You may go and break this to him.' I begged to be excused, adding, that the king desired to see him respecting several things of which the royal family stood in great need. Manuel could scarcely prevail upon himself to go down to the queen's chamber, where his majesty was. He communicated the order of the council of the commune concerning M. Hue, and informed him that another person was to be sent. 'By no means,' replied the king, 'I will make use of my son's valet de chambre, and if the council is object to that I will wait upon myself, I am resolved. His majesty then mentioned that the family were in want of linen and their clothing. Manuel and he would go and make it known to the council, and returned. I asked him, as he conducted him out, if the tumults continued, and his answers evinced my apprehensions that the populace might visit the Temple. 'You have undertaken a perilous service,' added he, 'and I advise you to prepare all your courage. —' *Journal of Occurrences at the Temple during the Confinement of Louis XVI.*

We believe honest Cléry to have been in every part of his narrative minutely and most scrupulously correct. In looking into the reports of the proceedings of the commune, this morning, we find this passage.—'The commissaries of the council on service at the Temple transmit a note of different articles which *Monsieur Capet* demands. Adjoined till to-morrow.' They had begun to call Louis XVI by no other name than Monsieur Capet, taking that for his family name, which it was not any more than Plantagenet, or Tudor, or Stuart in the name of our Queen Victoria.

* See ante, vol. ii. p. 499.

received deputations of actors and actresses, school-boys and dames de la Halle, who came to offer livres and assignats, and other patriotic gifts of infinitesimal value, and to make interminable speeches, all tuned to the same key. At a late hour in the evening ministers Servan and Roland came to the bar of the House. It was the painful duty of Servan, as minister of war, to announce that, in spite of all the swearing, Verdun had surrendered to the Prussians. He also begged to submit to the consideration of the Assembly a few observations on the state of France and of Paris. Yet, true to the connivance or to the dastardly character of his party, Servan expressed no indignation at the horrors which had been committed, or the horrors which were still in progress. "The enemies of France," said he, "have never counted on their armies for subjugating a great people, but on the internal disorders of this empire. Shall their hopes be realised? It is said that private animosities are kindling—that the men who signed certain petitions are proscribed: the most alarming and most contradictory ideas are circulating. It is said in the departments near the frontiers that one would give France a king in the person of the Duke of York, and that it is the people of Paris who entertain this project. In Paris, it is insinuated that the National Assembly wishes to re-establish Louis XVI. on the throne." All the propositions he had to offer were, that the Assembly should make an address to the people to disabuse them; that the House should sit *complete* (the majority of the House had been scared away) all through the night; that it should demand an account of the situation of Paris, and put the national guards under arms. These propositions were referred to the extraordinary committee; and after a time Gensonné, in the name of the committee, presented a project of decree in eight articles. In a very wordy *considerando*, Gensonné or the committee spoke somewhat more clearly as to the effect of the fury of proscription and the resistance to the laws and the Assembly; but still there was no indignant burst against the cruelty of the sovereign people. The execration of all France and all posterity was held up to the people, not on account of their butcheries, but only hypothetically, in case they should continue to resist the authority of the Assembly, which "had always merited an entire confidence"—"which was the only authority that free men could possibly recognise." Any one coming upon this legislative act by itself, and not looking at the date, would never suspect that anything very extraordinary was doing in Paris—could never fancy that it had reference to anything more serious than some popular excitement produced by a few malicious men. As for the eight articles of the decree, they were worth next to nothing: they charged the municipality, the general council of the commune, and the commandant Santerre, who among them had organised the massacres, to give the necessary orders for causing the persons and properties of citizens to

be respected; they called upon Mayor Pétion to give a daily account of the state of Paris; they recommended more oath-taking; they called upon the municipality, the council-general of the commune, the presidents of the sections, the commandant of the national guards, &c., to come to the bar, and swear individually to maintain liberty and equality, security of persons and property, and to die, if necessary, for the execution of the law; they ordered the president of each section to administer the same oath to all the citizens of his section; they called upon all the constituted authorities in France to take the same oath, and to administer it to the people; they ordered that the present decree should be solemnly proclaimed in every one of the forty-eight sections of Paris by forty-eight members of their own House—and this was all. They, however, afterwards agreed on a proclamation to the people, which was to be read to sound of trumpet, &c.; and in this paper they conjured the citizen—, "in the name of the country, of humanity, of liberty, to dread the men that were inviting discord and provoking them to excess." But it was late in the evening of the 3rd before this proclamation was drawn up, although, from morning till noon, from noon till night, the *égorgés*, with short intervals for rest, continued their work. Roland, who had accompanied Servan to the bar, did not speak, but he handed in a long-winded, pragmatical, pedantic letter, full of generalities, commonplace axioms, and self-laudation. Madame, his wife, applauds his wondrous courage in being the first to raise his voice against the massacres. Yet how did virtuous Roland speak of these multitudinous and gigantic abominations? Why, he mingled praise with his blame, and, in most gently condemning what had happened, half hinted at the usefulness of the popular fury, and he openly and directly eulogised the 10th of August, which threw both the throne and the Assembly under the feet of a rabid democracy, and which led directly to these very massacres. "The wrath of the people," said this self-sufficient, cold-blooded formalist, in this letter to the Assembly, "the wrath of the people and the movement of the insurrection are to be compared to the action of a torrent which sweeps away obstacles which no other power could remove, but the overflowing and rush of which spreads ravage and devastation, unless it return very soon into its bed. Without the day of the 10th of August [*a day rendered, by the massacre of the Swiss, as atrocious as any single day of blood that followed it*], it is quite evident that we were all lost; the court, fully prepared long before, was only waiting the moment to fill up its treasons, to spread over Paris the flag of death, and to reign by terror! The feeling of the people, always just and prompt when their opinions are not corrupted, anticipated the moment marked for their ruin, and rendered it fatal to the conspirators! It is in the nature of things, and in the nature of the human heart, that victory should bring with it some excesses: the sea, agitated by a

violent storm, continues to roll and roar for a long time after the tempest is over; but all things have their limits." Could Danton, could Robespierre at any time, could Marat himself have spoken of blood and horror with more coolness than this? In another part of his letter, virtuous Roland said, "Yesterday was a day on the events of which we ought perhaps to throw a veil. I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, yet observe a sort of justice: they do not take for their victim every man that is presented to their fury; they direct their fury against those whom they believe to have been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the perilous circumstances of the times persuade them to immolate without delay. But I know that it is easy for scoundrels, for some traitors, to bring about an abuse of this effervescence, and I, therefore, know that it ought to be stopped. I know that we owe to all France the solemn declaration, that the executive power has been able neither to foresee nor to prevent these excesses; I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them, or consider themselves annihilated. I also know that this declaration exposes me to the rage of some agitators: well, then, let them take my life; I only wish to preserve it for liberty and equality, &c." He eulogised the gentleness and docility of the French people, and said he was quite sure that if they were only properly informed, and placed "on a level with the circumstances of the times," all would go well until the meeting of the Convention, which was close at hand, and which could not fail of securing tranquillity and happiness under the best of institutions. His letter, the reading of which was several times interrupted by applause, was ordered to be printed, placarded in the streets of Paris, and sent to the departments.* Shortly after this a deputation from the commune assured the House that Paris was perfectly tranquil, *parfaitement tranquille*. And at eleven o'clock at night, when massacres were going on at the Abbaye, at La Force, at Bicêtre, and at other public prisons and private houses, this assembly of villains and cowards suspended business. The council-general of the commune passed the whole day in issuing decrees, which had far more weight and force than those of the Assembly, but not one

of which had really for its object the putting an end to the carnage. They committed several new victims to the Abbaye, where a horrible death was inevitable. Among these unfortunate men was Duplain, a printer and journalist, who was accused of having written some anti-civic articles. They listened complacently to a deputation from one of the sections, who proposed that all the aristocrats should be put to death before any of the patriots should march against the Prussians. They issued a series of decrees which had been arranged with Mayor Pétion on the preceding day, ordering, among other things, that the leaden coffins of the dead should be taken up and cast into ball; that the churches should be turned into workshops for making tents, &c. Late in the night, "sensibly alarmed and touched by the rigorous measures the people are employing against the prisoners," the council general named another deputation or committee of six (six of the worst cut-throats that appertained to the commune) to calm the effervescence; and they providently agreed that these six should be accompanied by *two* gendarmes on horseback, and that they might call out the armed force if they thought it needful.

It was on the morning of this day, the 3rd of September, and while the Assembly and the council of the commune were both sitting, that one of the most damnable of all the murders—that of the Princess de Lamballe—was committed. This lady, a foreigner of royal blood, descended from the ancient house of Savoy, had come into France at an early age to be married to the Prince de Lamballe, a branch of the House of Bourbon-Penthievre. Marie Antoinette had become greatly attached to her, and had lived with her for many years as an equal and a sister. Hence, when that torrent of obscene slander and libel began, which preceded the revolution, the name of the princess was always coupled with that of the queen, and she was charged with nearly every vice and turpitude that is to be found in Juvenal's sixth satire. At the time when the reign of liberty began, the princess was a widow, and superintendent of the queen's household. She was and ever had been gentle in her manners, generous in her actions, graceful and kind-hearted to all people, and, though in her fortieth year, her face and form were eminently beautiful. She had never interfered in any business in court or cabinet, except to procure pardons for offences, or promotions and favours for others. but all these things weighed lighter than a feather in the balance against the foul imputations which had been cast upon her for years, and the fact of her being the friend and confidante of the defamed queen, next to whom she was the most hated woman in all France. Her life had been repeatedly threatened—had at one time, when the court was brought from Versailles to be imprisoned in the Tuileries, been threatened daily—and the poisardes, the dames de la Halle, and the other furies who had been wont to sit "knitting" the sun under the walls of the

* Hist. Parlement.—Thus is the letter of which Madame Roland, who probably wrote the whole in the greater part of herself, speaks, in a thapsely, as a paper replete with justice, wisdom, and the most heroic courage!

"We agreed, says she, "that there was nothing for a minister, who was an honest man, to do but to denounce these abominable crimes with the greatest free to interest the Assembly to stop them, to raise against them the indignation of all virtuous men, to wash his own hands of the foul dishonour to expose himself if needful, to the dangers of the assassin to escape the guilt and the shame of being in any manner an accomplice. It is quite certain, said I to my husband, that resolutions of courage are as suitable to self-preservation as to justice, and that it is only put down by firmness. If the denunciation of these crimes were not a duty, it would be an act of justice: the people who are committing these crimes must hate you, for you have made efforts to hinder them.—(At this time she was Julie, R. and had made no efforts whatever)—there is nothing for you to do but to make them fear you, and to impose upon them by their fears.—Il ne vous reste qu'à vous faire craindre et à les en empêcher. Roland, therefore, went to the Assembly this letter of the 3rd of September, which became as famous as the letter which he had addressed to the king."—*Memoires.*

palace and in the Tuileries gardens, had often sung in her hearing songs which expressed the happiness they should feel in carrying her bowels on their pike-heads, along with those of the Austrian woman. At the time of the flight to Varennes, the princess got safely out of this Pandemonium; she was living in security and honour in England when the king accepted the constitution, and when her generous affection and devotion to the queen induced her to return to Paris. We have seen how she followed her royal mistress to the dungeons of the Temple, and how barbarously she was torn from her at the end of a few days, to be sent alone to the prison of la Force. She was there when the massacres began on Sunday afternoon; she was there when Maton de la Varenne obtained his release, and thought the massacres were over on this Monday morning; and, about an hour after Maton had obtained his deliverance, her chamber door was burst open, and she was told that she must go to the Abbaye. She said she did not wish to be removed; that she was as well at la Force as she could be at the Abbaye, or in any other better prison. A national guardsmen approached her bedside—for she was lying on her bed, though not to sleep—and told her that she must go; that her life depended on her obedience. Having with difficulty obtained permission to be left alone for a minute, she rose from the bed and arranged her dress. When the ruffians went in with their infernal "Allons, marchons," and when she saw the blood upon their faces and their hands, she almost sank to the earth or into it; but two men supported her, and leaning upon them she walked or was dragged down to the terrible table. There more blood and clearer evidences of the executions of the night met her eye, and she could hear the exclamations and cries of the slaughterers outside the gates. She swooned away. When she recovered her senses the lame thin monster that had examined Maton, or some other monster that had succeeded him as chief of the popular tribunal—for these presidents, it appears, were frequently changed—put the usual questions to her, beginning with, "Who are you?" "Maria Louise, Princess of Savoy-Carignan," replied the royal lady. "What is your employment?" "Superintendent of the queen's house." "Have you knowledge of the plots of the court on the 10th of August?" "I know not whether there were any plots on the 10th of August; but I know that I have not the slightest knowledge of any." "Swear to love liberty and equality, and to hate the king, the queen, and all royalty!" "I will readily take the first oath, but I cannot take the last; it is not in my heart." Here a man, standing near, whispered, "Take it, take it! If you do not swear, you are dead!" The high-minded woman replied not, and made one step towards the death-wicket. The president pronounced the words, "Let Madame go out!"* Then two men

took her by the arms, and the wicket was thrown open. Some who are anxious to reduce the amount of atrocity, and to make it be believed—what is altogether incredible—that there was really an intention on the part of many present to save her life—say that she was advised to cry out, "Vive la nation!" and that it was the men who led her out that gave her this advice; and they add that instead of pronouncing these words she cried, "*Fi, l'horreur!*" or "*Je suis perdue!*" (I am lost). The most natural supposition is, that at sight of the mound of corpses she shrieked and fainted. All agree in relating that she had scarcely crossed the threshold of the prison ere she received a blow on the head from a sabre which made her blood spout; that the blow was presently repeated; that she fell dead among the heaps of dead, and that then the people (horrible to be told!) women mixed with men, stripped her beautiful body stark naked, cut off her head, and committed other mutilations and acts which none but a French pen would dare describe—which cause the pen to drop from one's hand in thinking of them. They stuck her head, her heart, her limbs, and other parts of her body upon pikes, and singing and dancing they promenaded them through Paris. When they had done their worst there was a woe behind—when all that they could do to the remains of a beautiful, noble-hearted woman could only damn them to eternal fame without hurting her, an accused villain cried out, "We must carry her to the foot of the throne; *Allons, au Temple!*" and to the Temple they ran with their horrible shrieks and hell songs, rounded off from time to time with the "*Ça ira*," "*Vive la nation*," "*Vive la liberté*," and the Marseillaise hymn, the only hymn now sung in revolutionised France. Cléry shall inform the reader of what took place at the Temple—we cannot trust our own feelings:—

"It was one o'clock. The king and his family had expressed a desire to walk in the garden, but had been refused. While they were dining, drums were heard, and, soon after, the cries of the populace. The royal family rose from table with great uneasiness and assembled in the queen's chamber. I went down to dine with Tison and his wife, who were employed for the service of the Tower. We were scarcely seated when a head, on the point of a pike, was held up to our window. Tison's wife gave a violent scream, which the murderers supposed to have proceeded from the queen, and we heard the savages laughing immoderately at it. Imagining that her majesty was there at dinner, they placed their victim in such a manner that they thought it could not have escaped her sight. The head was the head of the Princess de Lamballe, which, though bleeding, was not disfigured; and her fine light hair, still curling, waved round the pike. I ran instantly to the king. My countenance was so altered by terror that it was remarked by the queen, from whom it was ne-

* Peltier, Histoire de la Révolution du 10 Août.—Peltier declares

that this examination was collected by the family of the princess from the mouth of an ear-witness.

cessary to hide the cause. I wished to speak to the king only, or to Madame Elizabeth, but two commissioners of the municipality were present. 'Why do you not go and dine?' said the queen. I replied that I was not well. At that moment another municipal officer, entering the tower, came and spoke to his associates with an air of mystery. On the king's asking whether his family were in safety, one of the municipals answered—'It has been reported that you and your family are gone from the Temple, and the people are calling for you to appear at the window; but we shall not suffer it, for they ought to show more confidence in their magistrates.' In the mean time the clamour without increased, and horrible insults, addressed to the queen, were distinctly heard; when another municipal officer came in, followed by four men, deputed by the populace to ascertain whether the royal family were or were not in the tower. One of them, dressed in the uniform of the national guards, with two epaulettes, and a huge sabre in his hand, insisted that the prisoners should show themselves at the windows, but the municipal officers would not allow it; upon which the fellow said to the queen, 'They want to keep you from seeing Lamballe's head, which has been brought you, that you may know how the people avenge themselves upon their tyrants! I advise you to show yourself at the window, if you would not have them come up here.' At these words the queen fainted away. I flew to support her, and Madame Elizabeth assisted me in placing her upon a chair, while her two children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their caresses to bring her to herself. The wretch kept looking on. The king with a firm voice said to him, 'Sir, we are prepared for everything; but you might have dispensed with relating this horrible event to the queen.' Their purpose being accomplished, the monster went away with his companions. The queen, coming to herself, mingled her tears with the tears of her children; and all the family removed to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, where the noises of the mob were less heard. I remained a short time in the queen's room, and on looking out at the window, through the blinds, I again saw the Princess de Lamballe's head. The man that carried it was mounted upon the ruins of some houses which had been ordered to be pulled down for the purpose of insulating the Temple: another person stood behind him holding the head of the princess on the point of a sabre. The crowd, being still inclined to force the gates, were harangued by a municipal officer, named Daujon; and I very distinctly heard him say—'The head of Antoinette does not belong to you; the departments have their respective rights to it. France has confided these great culprits to the care of the city of Paris; and it is your part to assist in securing them, until the national justice shall take vengeance for the people.' He was more than an hour debating with them before he could get them away. In the evening one of the municipal officers told me that the mob had

attempted to rush in with their four deputies, and to carry into the tower the body of the princess, naked and bloody as it had been dragged from the prison of la Force to the Temple: that some municipals, after struggling with them, had hung a tri-colored riband across the principal gate as a bar against them; that the commune of Paris, General Santerre, and the National Assembly, had all been called upon in vain for assistance to put a stop to designs which no pains had been taken to conceal; and that, for six hours, it had really been very doubtful whether the royal family would be massacred or not. In truth, it appears that the faction was not yet sufficiently powerful: the chiefs, although they were unanimous as to the regicide, were not so as to the means of perpetrating it; and the Assembly were perhaps willing that any other hands but theirs should be the instruments of the conspirators. It struck me as a remarkable circumstance, that the municipal officer, after giving me this account, made me pay him five-and-forty sous, as the price of the tri-colored riband which they had hung before the gate. At eight in the evening all was calm in the neighbourhood of the Temple; but the same tranquillity was far from reigning throughout Paris, where the massacres were continued."

In the course of this day Tallien and another member of the commune are reported to have said that, including the departments, these massacres must last thirty days! It was on the evening of this day, and also while the Assembly and the commune were sitting, that the most frightful carnage took place at the Bicêtre. That building, which served the double purpose of a prison and a madhouse, a Newgate and a Bedlam, was crammed full to choking with maniacs and insane persons, with political prisoners, and with all manner of prisoners: it was the receptacle of innocence and crime, of madness in all its gradations, of disease, misery, and woe. Even as Giraud, the commissary of the commune, had reported to the Assembly on the Sunday night, the mob attacked this place with artillery. The keeper, who appears to have been the only one of his class that attempted any resistance, not only refused to open his gates, but pointed two pieces of cannon against the multitude. He had the match in his hand, but before he could fire he fell mortally wounded. The assailants then burst open the gates and forced an entrance with cannon-ball; and then occurred a scene which we believe to be unequalled in the annals of the world. The lunatics rushed from their cells, the doors of which were thrown open by the keepers, with horrible shrieks; some full upon the égorgeurs and fought them with the links of their chains and fetters; some tore down parts of the building to furnish themselves with stones and clubs and iron bars. In many cases it is said the maniacs recovered a momentary possession of their reason, were fully sensible of the nature of the attack, and adopted the very best means of defence that were possible: others grew madder than ever, and

laughed and grinned horribly, yelled and shrieked, rushing on the pikes and sabres, clutching their assailants by the throat, biting them with their teeth, and not all dying without dealing death or terrible wounds on their assailants. Others again, in the idiotic state, sat down moping in corners, or gazed on the bloody affray with wide, vacant, unmeaning eyes—incapable of being roused even by the roar of cannon and the immediate presence of death. So great were the numbers confined in Bicêtre, and so fierce and terrible were a part of the inmates, that the *égorgeurs* sustained some considerable loss, and would have been repulsed and defeated altogether if it had not been for their artillery, which they loaded with grape-shot. While the unprecedented combat was lasting, a member of the council of the commune demanded in form an armed force from the Hôtel de Ville to reduce the prisoners, who, he said, were daringly resisting the justice of the people. The massacre, which began here on Sunday night, did not end until Wednesday morning, when an immense number of victims had perished, and when there remained no more to be slain. Lunatics, idiots, felons, persons confined for misdemeanours, political prisoners, were all butchered together. "The thirst for blood," says Thiers, for once speaking truth and speaking out, "animated the multitude; the fury of fighting and massacring had succeeded to their political fanaticism, and they were now killing for the sake of killing." At the Grand-Châtelet, where there were no political prisoners at all, every man, every woman, that was found was murdered in cold blood; the total number amounted to some hundreds. At the Châtelet, where there were some priests and aristocrats, a few were saved, but about two hundred perished. At the Salpêtrière, a prison reserved for women of bad life, every one was murdered with circumstances of beastliness and atrocity. The number of women in the place was forty-five. At the Conciergerie there were, among other prisoners, all the Swiss officers (with two or three exceptions) who had escaped the massacre of the 10th of August, and who had been promised the protection of the Assembly: they were all butchered except Count d'Affry, their colonel, who was let off, on account of his great age say some, but rather, as we presume, on account of the not very honourable part he had played at the time of the flight to Varennes, when he was among the first, or the very first, to swear that he would serve the National Assembly against the king.* Altogether the Conciergerie was nearly as much crowded as Bicêtre when the massacres began. All the hellish ingenuity of the mob in tormenting and in degrading the human species was exhausted upon a woman confined here—a seller of bouquets in the Palais-Royal, who in a fit of jealousy had mutilated her lover, a grenadier of the ex Gardes-Françaises, and as such

a patriot of the first order. In the cloisters of the Bernardins there were some sixty or seventy criminals who had been condemned to the guillotine: they were all butchered. In the ancient college of Bons Enfans there were a great many ecclesiastics who had chiefly been swept in during the last domiciliary visits, and who were now all swept out and butchered to a man. In other places of confinement scarcely one in twenty escaped. After the first fury the *égorgeurs* proceeded with their bloody work in a cool methodical manner. Their wives and women were seen carrying them their dinners to the Abbaye while they were engaged in hacking and stabbing. "*Où allez vous? where are you going?*" "To our men who are *working* at the Abbaye," said these Parisiennes. Others were heard crying "Wine! wine! *du vin pour nos braves égorgeurs*—wine for our brave slaughterers, who are finishing the enemies of the people!"

It was in the course of this dismal Monday—the 3rd of September—that one of the committees of the commune, which had now assumed the name of Comité de Salut Public (of Public Health or Salvation), publicly issued, and sent to the municipalities in the provinces, the most horrible of letters, in which they not only justified all that had been done or was doing in Paris, but also invited the people in the departments to follow the good example which had been set them. This letter was regularly, and officially signed—"Pierre Duplain, Paris, Sergeant, Lefant, Jourdeuil, Marat (the friend of the people), Deforgues, Leclerc, Dufort, Cally, constituted by the commune, and sitting in the mayor's house." The letter began:—"Friends and brothers, a frightful plot woven by the court to massacre (*égorger*) all the patriots of the French empire—a plot in which a great number of the members of the National Assembly are found to be implicated—having reduced, on the 9th of last month, the commune of Paris to the cruel necessity of seizing the power of the people to save the nation, it neglected nothing to merit well of the country; witness the honourable testimony which the National Assembly itself has given of its conduct. Could any one have thought it! From that moment new plots, not less atrocious, were laid in silence and secrecy; they broke out at the very moment when the National Assembly, forgetting it had just declared that the commune of Paris had saved the country, *was hastening to dissolve it*, as the reward of its burning civism. At this news, public clamours were raised on every side, and these cries made the National Assembly feel the urgent necessity of uniting with the people, and of restoring to the commune all the powers with which it had been invested." After describing the pride the commune felt in enjoying this plenitude of power and confidence, &c., the circular continued:—"Sincerely professing the principles of the most perfect equality, being ambitious of no other privilege than that of being the first to mount the breach, the commune of Paris will hurry to put itself upon a level with the

* D'Affry's son was killed at the Tuilleries on the 10th of August. It is said he never recovered from the blow. He died in his bed in Paris sometime in 1794.

smallest commune in the state, the very instant that the country has nothing more to fear from the clouds of ferocious satellites that are now advancing upon the capital. The commune of Paris hastens to inform its friends and brothers in all the departments, that a part of the ferocious conspirators detained in the prisons have been put to death by the people; acts of justice which have appeared indispensable, in order to restrain by terror (*pour relever par la terreur*) those legions of traitors concealed within their walls, at a moment when they were going to march to meet the enemy; and, without doubt, the whole nation, after the long series of treasons and treacheries which have conducted it to the brink of ruin, will make haste to adopt this so necessary means of public salvation, and all the French will cry, like the Parisians, 'We are going to march against the enemy; but we will not leave behind us brigands to massacre our children and our women.' It was added in a post-script: "N.B. Our brothers are invited to print this letter, and to transmit it to all the municipalities of their arrondissements." We cannot discover that the National Assembly took any notice of this monstrous address, which must have been perfectly well known to them, and which proposed nothing less than a universal massacre—a butchery in every town, city, and hamlet in France. No doubt such of the deputies as did not approve of it as salutary advice, were too much scared and terrified for their own worthless lives to think of entering into any contest with the omnipotent commune.

In the course of the same busy day—the 3rd—some commissaries of the commune proceeded to the house or lodgings of Brissot, and seized and examined all his papers. The said commissaries, however, reported that, after making a most careful search, and after examining him, they had found "absolutely nothing that seemed contrary to the interest of the public good;" and that therefore they had left the said sieur Brissot all his papers, &c. A report was spread that eight orders of arrest had at first (on the evening of the 2nd) been issued against the Girondists by the committee of research and surveillance of the commune, and that these were afterwards converted into mere orders to search their houses and examine their papers: but it appears there is no proof of this beyond the visit paid by the municipals to Brissot, the personal enemy of Robespierre, the hated of all the ultra-Jacobins. "However this may be," say the editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' who tell us they have carefully examined all manner of documents, "this bold attempt against Brissot awoke the Girondist ministers; and on the next day, the 4th, Roland wrote a very sharp letter to Santerre." We can very easily credit that more than one of the dastardly and imbecile Girondists were really in danger during the massacres, from the scorn and hatred with which the people regarded them, and from the effect of Marat's long-continued predications against them; we can believe still more easily

that not only eight of them, but that all of them may have trembled for their lives, and fancied that their names were down in the lists of proscription; but what we cannot so easily credit is, that there was really any fixed determination on the part of the commune which directed the massacres to cut them off or to get them cut off. It was not a moment when such designs were let sleep. If there was such a design, what was there to prevent its execution? Madame Roland tells a not very clear story about a visit paid to her house on the Sunday afternoon at five o'clock, (just as the mob were beginning to invest the prisons,) by some two hundred men, who demanded arms, who wanted to see her husband, and who called him and all the ministers a set of infamous traitors; and she insinuates that, if Roland had not fortunately been absent at the time at the hôtel of the minister of marine, he must have been murdered; but, if the virtuous citizen and minister of the interior was absent from his home that time, he was not absent on the morrow, when he gave a dinner party and dispensed his hospitality to Anacharsis Clootz, and when the égorgeurs were continuing their devourings, with appetite increased by the blood it fed on. There could then have been no difficulty in finding Roland; and in the course of the day two or three of the Girondist ministers were at the bar of the House, while Gensonné and others of their orators were sitting in their seats, and went to and came from the Assembly. Roland did indeed try to conceal his whereabouts, quitting his stately official residence every night to hide himself in friends' houses, and never sleeping two nights in the same house; but this was a good many weeks later, when his party had thrown down the gauntlet to the ultra-Jacobins in the Convention, when all the Girondists, by attempting to bring Robespierre to the guillotine, had left that abler and scarcely worse man no alternative but to cut them off or be cut off by them. On the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September, a hint from Robespierre or Marat, a word from the commune, would assuredly have sent these Gironde chiefs to a certain death—would have sent their mutilated bodies to be piled with the corpses of those whom, first by their republican zeal, folly, short-sightedness, and madness, and then by their cowardice and selfishness, they had helped to consign to bloody graves. And, as has been properly observed, by an English writer who feels these things as Englishmen ought to feel them:—"Happier would it have been for them, both in their persons and reputation, if they had then died, instead of basely living, as they did, to palliate and excuse these atrocities, and to fall within a few months, by a variety of lingering deaths, the dishonoured victims of the same assassins whom they had at first flattered and screened."^a On the next day—the 4th—Brissot complained in his newspaper, 'Le Patriote Français,' of the treatment he had received; but complained gently, as a man does that fears and trembles; and as a safeguard

^a Article in Quarterly Review, on Memoires of Robespierre.

he inserted the *procès verbal* of the lawless committee of the commune, which declared that nothing was found in his papers against him. Brissot also said in this article, that he, together with a part of the deputies of the Gironde, and with other men as virtuous as they, had been denounced to the commune—had been accused of plotting to deliver up France to the Duke of Brunswick, of having received millions of livres, and of having taken measures for escaping into England. He thundered out protestations of republicanism, called himself the eternal enemy of all kings, complained of the cruelty of his enemies in denouncing him at a moment when the people were greatly excited, and were killing in the prisons, but neither now nor later did Brissot venture to give any details of the massacres, or to express any indignation at them. The other journalists were at the least as cautious as he. The royalist papers, the constitutional monarchy papers, had all been prohibited and suppressed, as things incompatible with liberty—the first exercise of French liberty ever being to persecute and diminish all opinions but its own, and to allow no voice, to allow not even the minutely privileged complaint, to the minority or defeated party. The Girondist newspapers, such as *Gazette des Départemens*, the *Annales Politiques*, &c., the official or ministerial paper, the *Moniteur*, never spoke of the massacres until they were over, and during the four days that they lasted these journals seemed wholly absorbed by what was passing, on the frontiers, and altogether indifferent to what was doing in the capital. Afterwards they promised from day to day to give details, which were never given, but when all was over Gorsas coolly said that it was quite clear that there was no other alternative than that the traitors should perish by the hands of the people, or the people perish by the hands of the traitors! (that is to say, by the hands of helpless men cowed up in prisons). He called the events that had passed nothing but the exercise of the terrible but necessary justice of the people! As for the ultra-Jacobin journalists, like Prudhomme, they harked on the egorgers while they were at their work, and they applauded them when they had done it. Prudhomme the socialist, Prudhomme the perfectibilian and disciple of Fauchet, who had undertaken to establish truth and universal love and peace upon earth, rapturously applauded everything, justified everything, even to the massacre of the Princess de Lamballe, and “*the indignities committed on her dead body*.”*

* You wrote the printer the people had killed many royalists, giving themselves out that fury against the king and his family. The Bull of the Gueux (anther being many for it is in French) the people that the Austrians and Prussians cut the case of every French municipal officer they can catch and not his core put only on the top of his head. The people know very well that many of the houses in Paris were aristocrats that kill their own with little or no times and of making any these villonies are put in the table with the desecrated and eyes were exactly under their own eyes to be well be made in the same line of the same representation in a painting, let it from the table (such are the lot of a happy red like bit of all the present the way in a word. It is not to dip their hands in this blood, which is found to be a scented water very agreeable to the nose . . .

He praised the justice and severity of the people, and the expeditious processes of the same culotte tribunals established at each of the prisons. “The people,” exclaimed he, “are humane but the people are incapable of weakness! I everywhere where they smell crime they throw themselves upon it without regard for the age, the sex, or condition of the criminal . . . Oh, judges! all the blood shed on the 2nd and 3rd of September must fall upon your heads. It was your criminal delays that carried the people to extremities, for which you alone ought to be answerable. The people, because their patience was worn out, snatched the sword of justice from your hands and executed your function! Oh, judges! be admonished! Stick henceforward to do what is right, and no longer despise the people!” He extolled to the skies the clemency of the Parisians in not exterminating some Swiss who had thrown down their arms or deserted from the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and who had been lodged under the safeguard of the nation in the Palais-Bourbon. He said that some people of the neighbourhood, anxious to take part in the great act of justice performing in Paris, went straight to the Palais Bourbon seized those Swiss, carried them under a good escort to the Abbaye, that the people of Paris, although the view of those Swiss recalled the memory of the horrible massacres which they had committed at the Tuileries on the 10th of August, remembered also that those same Swiss had not fired upon the people, and nobly conducted them to the Hôtel de Ville, where the said Swiss took the oath, enrolled themselves, and were incorporated in different regiments about to march for the frontiers. He called the horrors committed at Bicêtre a purification, and praised the order observed in the massacres. He denied—though the fact must have been known to all Paris—that the egorgers had massacred the lunatics, the sick, and the poor debtors confined there. “Many citizens,” said he, “whose misery condemned them to that place of captivity, ran no danger whatever, but all the rest fell under the sabres, pikes, and clubs of the Hercules-people (*peuple Hercule*), who were only cleansing the Argivean stable of the king. There were a great many killed there.” Next to the Jacobin clubs and their affiliations, these revolutionary journalists (who were, however, all leading members of the clubs or in the affiliated societies, and therefore entitled to a share of that pre-eminence in guilt) contributed most directly and most largely to this carnival of blood. The tales they told, and had so long been telling, the logic they used to keep up the popular fury, were loose, vague, ridiculous, more incredible than ogre-tales made use of to terrify naughty children, more visionary than any fairy or nursery

The people have promised to beat the head of Lamballe round the Tuileries and perhaps burn for a banner of triumph and, if they were to be taken to the Abbaye, the people would have carried them to the dining room of the Abbaye and his family. No thing can be more ridiculous and reasonable than this. The salutary warning may perhaps produce some good effects. —*Journal des Paris.*



PLATE 1. THE ABBAYE DE ST. MEARD.

tales—they were things that, even under the same circumstances in which the French were placed, would have excited the laughter or the contempt of any other people in Europe—would have failed to dupe for a moment the most ignorant, credulous, and superstitious of people; but the French had made an anomalous mixture of the two extremes of incredulity and credulity—they could not and would not believe in gospels, or prophets, or traditions—they could not believe in any revealed or natural religion—they could not believe in a God—they could not believe in anything less demonstrable to the senses than the truths that blood is red and iron heavy and hard, but they would believe in whatever a sans-cultivated newspaper would tell them in print—they could swallow the most monstrous lies, if invented by a printer's devil or a devil of a printer, and in this most miserable, most false, and contradictory state of mind, there was nothing too horrible to be credited by them, and nothing too monstrous to be expected from them. Such were these modern Athenians, and, as their fears are removed by their victories and the miscalculations and blunders of their adversaries, as atheism becomes legalized and codified, we shall find their credulity taking the boldest flights in other directions, and rivalling the faith of the alchemist and the hunters after the philosopher's stone.

At an early hour on the morning of the 4th, Journiac de St. Meard, after what he properly calls an agony of thirty-eight hours, escaped out of the jaws of death, chiefly, it should seem, through his interesting one of the federates, a man from his native province of Provence, by speaking with him in the now degraded tongue of the Troubadours. But Journiac spoke also boldly before the

blood-stained table and the tribunal at the Abbaye—and this, too, may have done him good service. “By the glare of two torches,” says he, “I despised the terrible tribunal which was going to give me life or death. The president, in grey coat, with a sabbat at his side, stood leaning against a table, on which were papers, an inkstand, tobacco-pipes, and bottles.* The table was surrounded by ten men seated or standing. Two of them wore jackets and aprons. Some other men were sleeping stretched upon benches. Two men, in bloody shirts and with swords in their hands, guarded the fatal wicket, and an old turnkey had his hand on the lock, ready to draw the bolt as notice should be given. In front of the president three men held a prisoner, who seemed to be about sixty years old, but whose face was unknown to me. They placed me in a corner, and my guards crossed their sabres on my breast, warning me that if I made any resistance, or attempted to escape, they would stab me. I was looking for my Provincial federate, when I saw two national guards present to the president an appeal from the section of Croix-Rouge in favour of the old prisoner, who was standing opposite to him. The president said, ‘These appeals are useless for traitors.’ Then the prisoner exclaimed, ‘This is horrible! Your sentence is a murder!’ The president merely replied, ‘I wash my hands of it. Lead out M. Maillé!’ It was the brave old marshal, who had stood by the king to the last—who had descended to the gardens with Louis on the morning of the fatal

* “The register of the Abbaye still exists. It is covered with wine stains. Some of the stains of a dagger wound may be taken for spots of blood. This must confirm the account in that the members of these tribunals arranged themselves in a room, in 1793, forming their frightful function. —Note by the editors of *History of the Revolution*.”

10th to pass the troops in review. He had been wounded that day at the Tuileries, had managed to escape and conceal himself, but a surgeon, who had long been employed by him, and in whom he placed an entire confidence, had denounced him to the commune and he had been seized in his hiding-place, upon his sick-bed, and carried to the Abbaye. The president had scarcely pronounced the words 'Lead him out!' ere they thrust him into the street, and through the open wicket I saw the veteran massacred. The two national guards who presented the appeal or petition did not behave as they ought, one of them was drunk. I thought I perceived that the president pronounced the sentence with regret, but a great many of the killers (*tuur*) had come in, and were making a terrible disturbance. The president said I went to write, registering, I suppose the name of the victim just dispatched, and then I heard him say, 'Another!' Instantly I was dragged before this swift and bloody judgment-seat where the best protection was to have no protection, and where all the resources of ingenuity were null. Two of my guards held me each by a hand the third by the collar of my coat. 'Your name?' 'Your profession?' said the president. 'He is a lawyer and you are lost' said one of the judges. 'I am named Journeac Saint-Meard, I have served as an officer twenty years, and I appear at your tribunal with the assurance of an innocent man, who thinks he will die.' 'We shall see that,' said the president. 'Do you know why you are arrested?' 'Yes Monsieur le President' and I explained, from the falsity of the denunciations made against me, that the committee of the commune would not have thrown me into prison but for the precautions which the safety of the people demanded them to take. I then accused them of the anti-Faillit newspaper entitled *Jurnal de la Cour et de la Ville*, 'But the truth is, that is not the case. The editor of that paper is a man named Gautier, who bears no resemblance to me, and, if I could only put my hand into my pocket'.

One of the judges perceiving that I wanted to get my pocket-book, said to the men who held me, 'Leave his hands free.' Then I laid upon the table a variety of papers, which I proved that Gautier and not I, was the editor of that revolutionary journal—that Gautier was a liar and a leech proper to it. 'But' said one of the judges, 'there is no smoke without some fire, you must tell us why you were accused about this paper.' I confessed that, though I had never edited this paper, or written for it, I had sometimes given Gautier some pleasant ideas and bons mots.

'Here, gentlemen,' said I, 'is the groundwork of this great denunciation, which is as absurd as what I am now going to speak about is monstrous. I am even accused of having been to the frontiers, and of having recruited for the emigrants!' At those words there arose a general murmur, which, however, did not disconcert me, and I exclaimed, raising my voice, 'Eh! gentlemen, gentlemen, it

is my turn to speak, I beg Monsieur le President to have the kindness to let me be heard, I never needed it more!' 'That is true enough,' said nearly all the judges, laughing. 'Silence!' [Journeac pleaded away as best he could. He begged them to examine his testimonials, and a national guardsman attested that he knew the signature to one of his certificates to be that of a good patriot of his section.] While they were examining the testimonials, another prisoner was brought in and placed before the president. The men who held him said it was one priest more that they had ferreted out in the chapel. After a very short interrogation, the president said, '*À la Perru!*' He flung his breviary upon the table, was hurled through the gate, and massacred. I re-appeared before the tribunal. I harangued at some length, I abused the nobles of the Constituent Assembly, I criticised with severity the Feuillants, I showed how the constitution which had been made could not suit or last, I was going to give a *requisitoire* of the thousand reasons which made me prefer a republic to that constitution, when the keeper of the prison entered all in a fright, to give notice that a prisoner was escaping; one of the clowns. The president told him to make people fire just as up the chimney after him, and that if he escaped I should answer for it with his head. It was the unhappy Maus who had fled to camp to the Duke of Brissot, who had fought bravely at the Tuileries on the 10th. They went and fired several muskets up the chimney, and the keeper of the prison, seeing that this did not bring him down, set fire to a quantity of damp straw. The smoke made himself half smothered, he was finished out with what remained of the judges cried out among the by, 'You tell us always that you are not this but you rent that what are you then?' 'I was an originalist!' There arose a general murmur, which was miraculously appeased by one of my judges, who had seemed to take an interest in me. 'We are not here to judge opinions,' said he, 'but to judge the results of them.' [Journeac was a disciple of the new school, and, as we take it, rather a contemptible fellow besides. He exclaims in a footnote, 'Could the united genius of Rousseau and Voltaire, if they had been pleading my cause, have said anything better than this?'] 'Yes, gentlemen,' cried I, 'I was an open royalist always till the 10th of August, but I was never partial to being one. I was a royalist because I believed the monarchic form of government suited my country. I have been a kind master and landlord. The peasants on my estate planted a Mai before my house, while the chateaux of all my neighbours were burning around.' After more of this, and a great many more protestations, Journeac had the satisfaction of hearing the president say 'I see nothing to suspect in this man, I am for granting him his liberty. Is this your opinion?' All the judges and killers standing by cried, 'Yes! yes! it is just!' and there rose merry vivats inside the

Abbaye and outside the wicket, and Journiac was hugged and kissed by the égorgeurs, and escorted to his home, his escort vowing that they would massacre the man that dared touch a hair of his head.* We trust we have said enough to convey a clear idea of these long-continued massacres—of these revolutionary horrors, which some writers, even in our own language, have affected to consider as pardonable trifles—the thoroughly authenticated accounts of which some have attempted to treat as mere bugbears to frighten children.†

In the letter which Roland wrote on the 4th, and not before, this minister of the interior enjoined commandant-general Santerre, in the name of the nation, and by order of the National Assembly and of the executive power, to employ all his forces in defence of the persons and properties of the citizens of Paris; declaring that he would be held answerable for any further crimes that might be committed. The brewer replied that his heart had bled every moment during these violations of the laws; that he had given orders to his commandants and battalions to protect the Temple, &c; that he was now going to redouble his efforts, and that his body should serve as breast-plate and buckler to the first citizen attacked. The reader may be reminded that Santerre was brother-in-law to Paris, who was one of the committee of the commune which had organised the massacres, and signed the address to the other municipalities of the kingdom. In the course of the 4th the commune issued the following order — “IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE. Comrades, you are enjoined to carry off the dead bodies, to clean and wash out all the marks of blood, particularly in the courts, chambers, and staircases of the Abbaye. To this end you are authorised to impress scavengers, carters, and workmen — At the Hôtel-de-Ville, this 4th of September. (Signed) Paris, Sergeant, administrators; Méheuc, secretary.” The National Assembly met in the morning as usual. Not a word was said about the massacres, which, though finished at the Abbaye because there no longer remained any to kill, were certainly not over in other parts of Paris until the afternoon or evening of the 5th. Ex-apuchin Chabot explained the great danger arising to the Assembly out of reports that they had suspended Louis XVI only in order to place upon the throne the Duke of Brunswick or the Duke of York. “For my part,” said he, “I know all this is false! I can read in your hearts that you equally abhor all kings whatsoever! But if you would deprive your enemies of this dangerous weapon of attack, let every one of you declare individually that he is convinced by a sad experience of the incurable vices of kings and of royalty, and that he will detest them unto death.” The Assembly rose to a man, and shouted, “Yes! We swear it! No more kings!” Another Jacobin of the same party said that they swore by the most

sacred oath that no king, foreigner or French, should ever be allowed to contaminate with his presence that land of liberty; and he demanded that Chabot should be intrusted with the drawing up of a regular form of oath to be taken individually by all the deputies that remained. Here the Girondists struck in, in evident fear that the ultra-Jacobins were going to lay claim to all the honour of the day, to all the glory and popularity resulting from the republican vow or vows. “Gentlemen,” said Guadet, “you have been anticipated; our extraordinary committee last night agreed in a project of address which contains the oath you have just taken. We are anxious to manifest our sentiments aloud. I will read our project of address.” Guadet read his paper. Thuriot, one of the fiercest of the Jacobins, then said that the address and Guadet’s form of oath might do very well, but that he feared the Assembly was proceeding without sufficient precaution — was going to anticipate the Convention, and to decide upon matters which they had agreed to leave to the free decision of the Convention and of the people. Vergniaud rose to declare that the address presented by Guadet was essential to the security of himself and friends and party, whose views had been cruelly misrepresented. He said that they had been attacked by the calumnies of able men; that absurd reports had been circulated to ruin them; that they had been completely misrepresented in divers sections of the capital, and even in the bosom of the commune; that prudence, that self-preservation made them urge the passing of this decree. But Vergniaud’s eloquence produced no effect; the House, without dividing, passed to the order of the day.

On the 5th, when the massacres were over, the council-general of the commune, with Mayor Pétion at their head, repaired to the prison of La Force; and in the course of the same day the commune ordered that the barriers, which had been shut ever since Sunday, should be thrown open. On the 6th Pétion presented himself at the bar of the Assembly to promise the speedy return of order and tranquillity. Little now remained to be done but to get the bodies of the victims out of sight, and pay some of those who had worked in the massacres. The bodies were collected and thrown upon carts; all the cemeteries of Paris and the environs, as at Clamart, Montrouge, Vaugirard, Tombe-Issoire, and Montsouris, were opened to receive them; they were cast pêle-mêle into enormous graves, and quicklime was thrown over them to hasten their decomposition. Billaud Varennes, as substitute to Manuel, procureur of the commune, and other individuals, had scattered a good deal of money among the égorgeurs while they were actively employed; and on the 6th the council-general of the commune came to the following ingenious and periphrastic resolution: — “The council-general decrees that there shall be delivered an order upon the treasurer of the city for the sum of 1463

* *Mons Agnew de Treut hunt Hares.*

† See *Lady Morgan's France*, and other works of that kind.

livres, as salary due to the persons who *worked* at the peril of their lives in order to preserve the salubrity of the air on the days of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September last, as well as to those who presided over operations as important for society as dangerous to themselves.* Louvet, in one of his printed attacks on Robespierre† (which were not written or published until months after), says that Roland, or some of his clerks, saw an order of the commune upon the treasurer of the city, M. Valet-de-Villeneuve, for forty-eight livres, to be paid to four men "for expediting the priests in the cloisters of Saint-Firmin;" and in another work, more worthy of credit than Louvet's paper, an extract is given from the city-treasurer's books, in which there is the entry of forty-eight livres, paid to Gil... Pct... and three of his comrades "for the time they had employed in expediting the priests at Saint-Firmin on two different days, according to the requisition made by the section of sans-culottes, who had set them to that work."‡

These things did not pass as trifles, "as huggens dressed to frighten children," at the time they happened, at least they did not so pass with the *generality* of enlightened and thinking Englishmen; but, as we shall have occasion to show, there were un-English Englishmen among us who grasped the bloody hands of the makers of the French republic after all these deeds; and it was after the massacres of September that Doctor Priestley became a French citizen, and was elected a deputy of that Convention which, from the first, showed its determination of pursuing the same monstrous career of cruelty and murder. "Oh!" exclaimed Romilly, "how could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation as to think them capable of liberty! Wretches, who, after all their professions and boasts about liberty, and patriotism, and courage, and dying, and after taking oath after oath, at the very moment when their country is invaded and the enemy is marching through it unresisted, employ whole days in murdering women, and priests, and prisoners! Others who can deliberately load whole waggons full of victims, and bring them, like beasts, to be butchered in the metropolis, and then (who are worse even than these) the cold instigators of these murders, who, while blood is streaming round them on every side, permit this carnage to go on, and reason about it, and talk about the example they are setting to all nations! One might as well think of establishing a republic of tigers in some forest of Africa, as of maintaining a free government among such monsters!" From the same correspondence we derive one of the most characteristic and horrible traits of these wholesale butcheries. Romilly had the account from M. Guyot, a Swiss gentleman, who fled from Paris to London. "He left Paris immediately after the massacres of September; and, although he was a

foreigner, it was with great difficulty that he obtained a passport. Finding all other resources fail him, he resolved to try what influence he might have on Manuel, with whom he had once been intimate. . . . Accordingly he went to the Hôtel de Ville, and was there conducted into a room where a number of persons were assembled, and all waiting to have an audience with Manuel. A profound silence prevailed among them, and the deepest melancholy and dejection was painted on every countenance. Guyot could not conjecture who they were; but he soon found that they were the relations and friends of persons who had been confined in different prisons, come to inquire what had been their fate. The mode adopted to answer their inquiries, and to remove their anxious uncertainty, was this: they were taken one by one into a room, where were strewed about a number of fragments of clothes, torn, stained with dirt, or soaked in blood; and if, upon minutely examining these vestiges of massacre, they could discover nothing which they recollected, there was some faint hope that the son or the husband they were trembling for had escaped."§

We have mentioned how and when the Assembly itself passed a decree for removing the state prisoners from Orleans. While the massacres were raging in the capital, and when the circular of the commune was sent everywhere to recommend the salutary example, these unhappy captives, fifty-three in number, including ex-ministers, general officers, and other persons of high rank, were dragged from their prison, thrown into carts and tumbrils, and carried towards Versailles by a frantic mob, and under a strong escort of national guardsmen, fédérés, and volunteers, who marched with artillery, and with ammunition and baggage-waggons. The escort, by order of the commune, was commanded by Fournier, surnamed the American, one of the greatest monsters of the revolution. On the 8th of September Roland, as minister of the interior, wrote to the municipality of Versailles to request that they would provide safe lodging and food both for the prisoners and for their escort, and adopt precautions for protecting the lives of men, who, "though under the sword of the law, merited the attentions of humanity." Attempts have been made to shift all blame from the Versailles municipality: it is said that they felt it was dangerous to bring the prisoners into their town; that, in consequence, they prepared lodgings for them in the building called the Menagerie, which appertained to the palace, and which was situated outside; that they had agreed that the escort should not march through the town, but that the artillery and heavy baggage obliged them so to do; but we believe that that commune was just as atrocious as the great Paris commune, of which it was but an offshoot, and even if they had been ever so well dis-

* Procès-verbaux de la Commune de Paris. Mémoires sur les Journees de Septembre, 1792 as quoted by Dulaure, *Requisiens*.

† A Maximilien Robespierre et ses Royalistes, par Louvet.

‡ Mémoires sur les Journees de Septembre, 1792.

§ Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, written by himself, with a Selection from his Correspondence, edited by his Sons. For the description of "a most disgusting farce" which was performed in the court below while this tragedy was acting in the rooms of the Hôtel de Ville, our readers may consult the remainder of Romilly's account.

posed they could not have been able to prevent what happened, and what evidently had been determined upon. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th the prisoners arrived, and were made to go right through the town. As soon as they were in the heart of Versailles hundreds of egorgers fell upon them, and by half-past two the massacre was completed. Of the whole fifty-three, only four, or, at most, five, escaped with life: all the rest were murdered, tortured, hacked to pieces, in the most frightful manner. "Never," says the register of the general council of the commune of Versailles, "did man witness so much fury and cruelty! All the prisoners were struck nearly at the same instant: some succeeded in escaping through the crowd, the rest were cut to pieces there." As soon as they were all finished, the egorgers went to the town-prison, and there treated twenty-three individuals in the same manner. The mayor went to the prison, but the crowd prevented his entering it, he saw naked swords flashing about, and learned that all the prisoners had been killed already. Some of the mob followed him to his house, shouting "Vive la nation! Vive le maire de Versailles!" To his remonstrance they replied, "This is only what has been done at Paris! This is nothing but justice! We must purge the interior before we think of the frontiers!" In the evening, the murderers, or a part of them, returned to Paris, and passed in front of the house of the minister of justice in the Place Vendôme, and Danton, from a balcony of that house, thanked them for the good services they had rendered to liberty.

In various towns and municipalities the people rose with the avowed intention of murdering all political prisoners, all priests, all aristocrats—all men whatsoever who outraged the principle of equality by possessing property and elegant houses or dresses, but in many instances the communes would not consent to take their lesson from Paris, and the national guards, not yet sufficiently sanguinized, courageously opposed the egorgers. At Meaux fourteen individuals were butchered in the prison of the fort, and a day or two later a good many priests of the town and neighbourhood were put to death by the mob, who carried their heads upon pikes through the streets. At Caen, at Rouen, other horrors were committed, at Rouen seventeen heads of priests and officers were proclaimed on pikes, at Gisors the Duke de la Rochefortault, ex-president of the directors of the department of Paris was cut to pieces under the eyes of his mother and his wife,* at Rheims eight priests and laymen were put to death. In the south there

were many massacres, at Lyons nearly every prisoner in the château Pierre-Encise was dispatched, and Avignon, where fighting and massacring had never ceased since the expulsion of the papal authorities and its annexation to France, became one slaughterhouse. At Bordeaux, the headquarters of Girondism, attempts were made to clear the prisons, but the mayor and the municipality made head against the insurrection and it appears that not many were murdered.

No two accounts agree as to the total amount of these wide-spread massacres. Nothing like an exact count was attainable at the time, and now no such thing is to be expected. The 'Histoire de l'Espion' a work of some authority, states broadly that the number of all who were massacred in the course of the month of September, at Paris and in all parts of France, was 15 000. Barriere and Berville, who published their *Memoires* in 1823, make the numbers of those who were *egorgés* in the prisons of Paris alone, amount to 12 800. In this calculation there is evidently some great exaggeration. Piche, the radical writer calculates the number killed in the prisons at 1000, but he omits several of the prisons in his count, and among them that of Bicêtre, where, according to every relation, the murders were the most numerous, and attended with the most horrible circumstances. Matton de Livarion, speaking only of the prisons, and not of all of them, sets down the number of the killed at 1049, of whom 202 were priests, but he relied upon private registers, which were very imperfectly kept, and took no account of the murders that were committed in the streets and in private houses, or of the massacres perpetrated in Paris after the 5th. There was only a lull then, and, though the prisons were emptied by the butcheries of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, the work of killing was slowly renewed on the 6th and 7th, and was not entirely over on the 9th, while the massacres were well nigh recommencing with as much fury as ever on the 16th and 17th. On the 7th, Governor Morris, went to the Duchesse of Orleans, and distinctly that the horrors had not reached their limit, and as late as the evening of the 17th we find the captives of Saint-Pelagie, which was then, as now, a prison merely for debt, imploring the Assembly to send them some protection, as they were expecting every moment to be butchered. The editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' in the very act of seeking to diminish the amount of the atrocities, add fresh circumstances of horror to them by showing the perfect *sans froude* with which they were perpetrated. They inform us that they have handled and carefully examined

* According to Matton de Livarion, this nobleman the best of his class, was a splendid example of a man who arrested the order of the commune on the day of September and with the recommendation of Condorcet.

Dumost was now in England enjoying the hospitality of Lord Lansdowne at Bloomsbury. He was the first to be murdered by this mob of men who were highly praised and who had known very intimately. In a letter to his mother he says: "We tried to persuade ourselves that it was the cardinal and not the duke for although these wild beasts had no more right to kill than the other yet the virtues the services the patriotism of the latter would add much to the horror of this butchery."

* This is a list of names —

Aux Carmes et a Saint Firmin	• • •	244
A l'Auberge Saint Germain	• • •	180
Au Collège des Bernardins	• • •	74
A l'Hôtel de la Salpêtrière	• • •	48
A la Conciergerie	• • •	80
Au Châtelet	• • •	214
A l'Hôtel de la Force	• • •	164

the écou or registers of the prisons of La Force, the Châtelet, and the Abbaye, which are all that remain in existence. In the écou of the Abbaye, which they coolly call "this original and unpublished piece," they find a column containing the names of the thirty-eight Swiss in confinement there on the 2nd of September, and in the margin of the page the single word "MORTS"—(Dead); whence they conclude that all the thirty-eight "were killed en masse, and probably without judgment." In the same register they find the names of twenty-six of the ex guards of the king, and in the margin the words "MORTS, HORS UN SAUVÉ"—(Dead, all but one saved). Opposite other names they find written, "CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE, AND EXECUTED ON THE SPOT." They make the total number of those executed at the Abbaye 122, and the total number of those set at liberty and acquitted 45; but they seem to admit that this document, as well as the other two, may be very defective; and it is not very probable that any very exact list was taken at any of the prisons of the immense numbers that were sent into confinement by Danton's domiciliary visits just before the massacres began. In the écou of the Châtelet they find the words in the margin, "PUT TO DEATH BY THE PEOPLE," or "SET AT LIBERTY BY THE PEOPLE;" and they infer that not above 189 were actually killed there. As to the écou of La Force, they state plainly that it was not kept in any order, so that no facts are to be derived from it. As there was no possibility of escape; as the barriers were strictly guarded all the time the massacres lasted; as the people had lists of the names of many thousands of obnoxious individuals; as the butchery indubitably lasted four days and nights, in full activity, and as assassinations were performed from time to time during a whole fortnight, we believe it may safely be assumed that from 4000 to 5000 victims perished in Paris alone, and that in all France there fell in the course of this dismal month, by murder alone, some 7000 souls, or near upon half the number stated by the author of 'L'Histoire de l'Espion.'

On the 7th of September Talleyrand told Morris that he was really persuaded that those who now ruled meant to quit Paris, to take off the king, and utterly to destroy the city before they left it. There was no travelling in any part of the kingdom without passports signed and countersigned by the commune of Paris and their affiliated municipalities. "I know this," says Dumont, "that the National Assembly is atrociously guilty of all the murders which may yet be committed, in not having immediately repealed the decree on passports. To shut the gates of a kingdom, in which a frantic people butcher on bare suspicion all those who do not think as they do, is to be responsible for all the murders that are perpetrated." The Assembly was guilty enough; but the closing of the barriers, the passports, and all the rest, were matters of business above their power. If they had

been men, however, they would have revoked their decree; and we perceive that afterwards, when it was too late to be anything but a reproach to them, they made some alteration in their accursed passport law. Some few persons got passports by paying enormous sums to the commune of Paris for them. Manuel is said to have obtained for one pass a sum equal to 5000*l.* of our money. The massacres, on the whole, fell far heavier upon the Feuillants, or the party of Lafayette, than upon the decided and ultra royalists: these unwise friends of liberty and of the people, who had favoured all the first stages of the revolution, and unwittingly prepared, as much as lay in them, all its later stages; these patriots of 1789 and 1790, whose estates would all have been confiscated if the Duke of Brunswick and the coalition had triumphed, were slaughtered without mercy as guilty of conspiracy and a correspondence or understanding with the Prussian. But this, as the Girondists ought to have perceived, was but the natural course of such a revolution—this, they ought to have felt, was but the forerunner of their own inevitable doom. If one could place faith in pretension, profession, and fine phrases, one might have expected that the virtuous Roland and his colleagues would instantly resign, or refuse to act any longer in a cabinet which included Danton, a minister of justice who had been at the very head of the massacres. But they all remained in office: not one of them resigned until he was kicked out by the Jacobins, or terrified out by their power and their menaces. The world will judge what merit is to be attributed to the harangues they then made, and the writings they published, against the Jacobins and their égorgeurs. Madame Roland continued to receive the visits of Danton; and it appears to have been actually at this moment that she requested him to make her acquainted with Marat. Roland himself expressed no indignation either against Danton or against the people of Paris. On the 14th, while representing, by letter to the Assembly, that there were fresh excesses in the capital, that nearly every body that walked abroad with watches, or gold chains or ear-rings, was robbed of them, the wretched man exclaimed: "But these scenes cannot be the work of the people! The people, in all circumstances, have proved themselves to be good and honest!" And on the next day, when persons of all sorts were plundering the Garde-Meuble, and carrying off diamonds and other property worth many millions of livres—when officers of the commune, with their scarfs on, were joining in this plunder—he durst not speak out, he would not "dispute the rights of the commune of Paris," and he talked as if these municipals were not true municipals, but only professed thieves disguised as such. A member of the House who had somewhat more courage declared that, if this plunder and destruction was not stopped, the city of Paris would be reduced to a wilder state than the forest of Ardennes; and he recommended the instant employment of the guillotine as the best means of stopping the ravages. On the following day Roland presented himself at the

bar to state that fresh arrests had been begun, and that from four to five hundred persons had already been thrown into the empty prisons by order of the commune, or the sections, or the people, or individuals. These arrests seemed preparatory to another massacre. He said that the commitments were arbitrary and informal but he suggested no measures for preventing them in future, or for releasing the unhappy persons already in confinement leaving these things to the Assembly, "which, no doubt, would issue such orders as it thought suitable." A member said that the people had been excited by all kinds of alarming reports, by false intelligence that Dumouriez had been defeated and taken prisoner, while the truth was that Dumouriez had gained several advantages, and had raised his army by the successive junctions of several generals of division to 60 000 men, a far more considerable than any the Duke of Brunswick could bring against him, and that this was not all, as national guards were joining him from all parts of France, and eight battalions of the line were expected every moment from the south. There was, therefore, not merely the probability, but the certainty, that the cause of liberty would triumph. Madame Roland, for some reason or other, accuses Vergniaud of indolence and procrastination, of a want of ardour and passion for the public good, of a philosophical egotism; yet Vergniaud was the first of his party to speak in anything like a manly tone against these proscriptions and murders. In the course of the present debate—somewhat of the latest indeed, as it was on the 16th of September, and after so many thousands had perished—he asked whence proceeded that kind of torpor in which nearly all the citizens of Paris now seemed buried? "Let us no longer dissemble," said he, "it is time to tell the truth." The past proscriptions and the reports of future ones have spread conservation and terror. Good men hide themselves when things have reached that point at which crime may be committed with impunity. There are, on the contrary, bad men who never show themselves except in time of public calamity, as there are noxious insects which the earth only produces in storms and tempests. These men are incessantly instilling suspicion, jealousy, hatred, vengeance, they are ever thirsting for blood. In their seditious harangues, they aristocratize virtue, to acquire the right of trampling it under foot, and they democratize crime, in order to satiate themselves with it, without having to fear the sword of justice. Oh, people of Paris! will you never unmask these perverse men, who, at a time when the enemy are marching against you, only invite you to slaughter, in cold blood, women and disarmed men, country men and fellow-citizens?" As Vergniaud was listened to by the Assembly, and not torn to pieces by the galleries, he renewed the subject on the morrow yet he could not renew it without flattering the people, the butchers, of Paris, and repeating the absurd accusation that the égorgeurs were set

to work by the emigrants and the coalition. "If," said he, "there was nothing to fear but from the people, there would be everything to hope, for the people are just and they abhor crime. But there are satellites of Coblentz among us, monsters salaried to sow discord, and make a new anarchy and massacre!" These wretches keep repeating—"They want to stop the proscriptions and tear our victims from us." Well, then, let us have recourse to fresh orders of arrest! Let us denounce, seize, heap in the dungeons all those we would sacrifice. Afterwards we will accite the people, we will let loose our assassins, and establish in the prisons a butchery of human flesh!—And do you know how these orders of arrest are issued? The commune of Paris leaves this business to its committee of surveillance. The committee of surveillance confers on certain individuals the terrible right of arresting all those they may think *suspicious*. These individuals again subdelegate their powers to certain confidential friends, whose personal animosities and vengeance they must second, in order to be seconded by them. This is the strange concatenation on which depend the liberty and the life of citizens! These are the hands that take charge of public security!" Petion, who was at the bar, said that there could be no doubt all the crimes were committed by the paid agents of the enemies of liberty, that the commune knew nothing about the orders of arrest which were again filling the prisons. Roland was charged with the important duty of preparing a part of the palace of the Tuilleries for the reception of the members of the Convention, and he soon reported that all would be ready by the 21st of September, the day for which the Convention stood convoked.

It is a relief to escape from these civil proceedings even to the horrors of war for the worst of them are less revolting than these things. It is admitted by a French military man writing shortly after the crisis, that notwithstanding the discordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when everything was possible, but they suffered that moment to be lost*. The French people had been expecting invasion, and preparing to meet it for many months—for more than a year France had been one great drill ground. There was a time when a large part of the population, not yet indoctrinated by the clubs, or emboldened by success, or committed by daring and extreme acts, were wavering and uncertain, but the allies waited to make their attack till the moment when the unity of feeling and the popular enthusiasm were at their highest pitch, and even then, instead of beginning the campaign early, so as to have all the summer before them, they did not enter France until the month of August. Before Verdun surrendered to the Prussians, Dumouriez adopted a bold resolution. He called a council of war at Sedan, composed of Lieutenant-General Dillon, four major-generals, Petit (his principal commissary), and his own staff, which

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consisted only of three experienced officers. He opened the map of Champagne, into which the Prussians were penetrating; and he showed that, Longwi being taken and Verdun invested, while another body of the enemy had advanced beyond Thionville and were threatening Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with Marshal Luckner, or to receive succours from any other quarter in time to deliver Verdun; and that accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but the little army which he had with him. He allowed that this army was far inferior in number to that of the Duke of Brunswick; but then the cavalry of it was composed of the best regiments of France, and was upwards of 5000 strong; more than one-half of his infantry (exceeding in all 18,000 men) was formed of regiments of the line; the rest consisted of national guards, being well disciplined, rendered warlike by a year's encampment, and by continual marches and skirmishes with the Austrians; the artillery, too, being excellent, counting a park of 60 pieces, besides the battalion-guns. With such means there was no reason to despair: he thought that this army might secure the salvation of France. It had the incalculable advantage of acting in its own country, where everything was to be expected from the enthusiasm of the people. On the other hand the Prussians would be retarded by the sieges, by the difficulty of finding provisions, by the delays incident to their own convoys, and by the terrible quantity of their heavy artillery. The equipages of so many princes, the numbers of draught-horses necessary to drag their cannon, stores, and baggage over rough roads, must make their march exceedingly slow. On the contrary, his own army, which could not possibly remain where it was, might move with great rapidity. But in what direction should it move? Dillon was of opinion that it ought to retreat behind the river Marne, and endeavour to reach Châlons before the Prussians; observing that, if the Duke of Brunswick should get first to Châlons, he would then be between Dumouriez and the capital, and arguing that the safety of the capital was of more importance than the preservation of a country which it was impossible to defend. Dillon concluded by proposing that a few battalions should be left in the entrenched camp before Sedan, that Dumouriez should make a rapid march with the rest, behind the forest of Argonne, by way of Ste. Menchould, in order to reach Châlons (or even Rheims if Châlons should be previously occupied); that he should then post himself behind the Marne, defend the passage of that river, and wait for reinforcements. This opinion was adopted by the whole council: but Dumouriez only said he would consider of it; and, as soon as the council broke up, he concerted a bolder and a better plan with Thouvenot, a young officer of great science, who knew the country well. Dumouriez said he could not approve of retiring to Châlons, as this would be abandoning Lorraine, the Bishoprics and the Ardennes, and would be

the sure means of inducing the Prussians to advance with more rapidity in order to pursue them; that such a retreat might soon degenerate into an absolute flight; that if they retired behind the Marne it would become absolutely necessary to burn Châlons, nay to sacrifice the great city of Rheims itself, both places being incapable of a defence; that all communication with the army of the North on the one side, and with the troops of Luckner on the other, would then be interrupted; that if the Prussians could once traverse Champagne-pouilleuse, the poorest of countries, they would find abundance of provision and forage in the countries round Rheims and Epernay; that the Prussians might then march to Paris by Rheims and Epernay, or by Vitry and Troyes, unless they rather chose to employ the two remaining months of the campaign in conquering Lorraine and the Ardennes; that the passage of the Marne was incapable of being defended, as it might be passed with ease at several points; that there was not one single good position between Châlons and Paris; and that if the army took that route, and should be followed by the Duke of Brunswick, it would be cut to pieces by the Prussian cavalry before it could reach the capital. Then pointing to the forest of Argonne upon the map, Dumouriez exclaimed, "Behold the Thermopylæ of France! If I can but arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved!"* The forest of Argonne is a belt of wood, running on elevated rocky ground, nearly all the way from Sedan to Passavant, a league beyond Ste. Menchould, the entire length being about fifteen French leagues, its breadth very unequal, varying from four leagues to half a league. It separates the Bishoprics (Les Trois Evêchés), a rich and fertile country, from Champagne the Hungary, or the Louisy (as *pouilleuse* properly signifies), a district cursed by nature, in which was neither water nor wood, forage nor pasturage, but one cold bed of clay, without towns or bourgs, with no habitations but a few wretched villages scattered here and there and far apart. The forest was intersected with rocks, watercourses, bogs, and marshes, which rendered it impenetrable to the march of an army except by five openings or passes. The first of these, Le Chêne-populeux, was easy and open, and led by a tolerable road to Sedan; the second, La Croix-aux-bois, about two leagues to the westward, offered a rough waggon-road; the third, Grandpré, a league and a half from Croix-aux-bois, gave access to the great road leading to Rheims; the fourth, La Chalade, two leagues and a half from Grandpré, was the regular road which led from Varennes to Ste. Menchould; the fifth, Les Islettes, about a league still farther to the west, was the hollow through which ran the great road from Verdun to Paris. As there were no other means of advancing on the French capital, where the Duke of Brunswick had promised to dine by a certain day, it is astonishing that he should not have secured one or two of the best of

* Dumouriez, Mémoires.

these passes, but he had done nothing of the kind, wasting several days in the sieges of Longwy and Verdun, places which he might have left in his rear without any danger. But if he could now discover Dumouriez's intentions, he could hardly fail of remedying his blunder, and, as he was considerably nearer to the best of the passes, or those which led most directly to the capital, the French general must move with the greatest rapidity, or see his plan frustrated. But Dumouriez not only moved with admirable rapidity, but also marched in such a way as to conceal his intention, until it was too late for the Duke of Brunswick to attempt anticipating him. He moved his army in several separate columns, and by the 4th of September all the five passes of the forest of Argonne were occupied by different divisions of his army, which was every day reinforced by the arrival of national guards and volunteers. He had also transmitted orders to Burnonville to quit the fortified camp of Maulde and march straight to Argonne with his 10,000 men, a considerable portion of whom consisted of Belgians who had revolted against the emperor and joined the French, and Burnonville was expected to arrive in a very few days. Other troops—another army, in fact—were collecting in his rear at Rheims under General d'Harville, and even before the Prussians moved towards the passes there seems to have been numerically a greater force on the Paris side of the forest than on the hungry Champagne side. Dumouriez took post at Grandpre with 13,000 men (according to his own enumeration), in a camp strongly fortified by nature situated on elevated ground between two streams, being flanked by the village and castle of Grandpre on the left, and on the right by the village of Marque. Dillon with 7000 or 8000 men, took post at Les Islettes in another strong camp, General Dubouquet was at Le Chêne populeux with 6000 men, another force was at Grandpre, and a detachment under a colonel watched the less important pass of La Croix aux-bois between Le Chêne populeux and Grandpre. Trees were felled to block up the roads, trenches were dug, and abatis made round the several positions, which all communicated with one another, and with the populous towns in their rear beyond the Marne. When all these dispositions were made, Dumouriez wrote exultingly to Servan, the minister of war, "Verdun is taken, I expect the Prussians. The camps of Grandpre and Les Islettes have become our Thermopylæ, but I shall be more lucky than Leonidas." This was written merely for effect, but in another epistle he brought the war minister to detach from the army of the Rhine a body of 5000 or 6000 men to reinforce the army at Metz, and to order Luckner to put his troops in motion, so as to take the Prussians in flank and rear. Servan dispatched the necessary orders, and moreover, day after day, from 1500 to 2000 volunteers, partly furnished by the departments, and partly by the capital itself, where many men of better condition than the common had become

convinced that the safest place for them would be in the camp, and in the midst of the army, shouldered their muskets and marched away from Paris for the Argonne. The mean-spirited Girondist ministry continued, however, to doubt and hesitate, and it had depended upon them, Dumouriez would even now have been compelled to retreat behind the Marne. Even after the fall of Verdun, and the certain knowledge of all that Dumouriez was doing to block up the passes, the Duke of Brunswick lost several precious days, which allowed Burnonville and Kellermann to get near to the scene of action. The duke's headquarters were constantly distracted by a variety of conflicting opinions, and disturbed by the petulance and evil counsels of the emigrants, who pretended that, as Frenchmen, they must best know how to manage a war in France, and who evidently misled him from the beginning of the campaign to the end of it. At last, on the 8th of September, the duke lengthened the front of his army, and, traversing an extensive plain, he approached the forest. On the 9th the Prussians presented themselves in the passes, and skirmished along the whole front of Dumouriez's outposts, in order to reconnoitre his positions, and discover which pass would be easiest. On the 10th General Miranda, a Peruvian whom Petion had introduced into the French service, and who had only arrived on the preceding evening, had to withstand a very brisk attack, and General Stengel, who had thrown himself into a village in the forest, had some difficulty in maintaining himself. But Dumouriez had the satisfaction to see that the apprehension was wearing out which had at first been spread by the high reputation of the Prussian troops, commanded by a general who had been trained under the great Frederick—to see that his old troops were steady and full of heart, and he fondly hoped that the new levies were rapidly becoming excellent soldiers. From his central position at Grandpre he threw reinforcements to whatever point was attacked or threatened with attack. But there was one thing which Dumouriez had omitted to do, and with a little more rapidity on the part of the Duke of Brunswick, this omission must have proved fatal at least to his army. He had not examined with his own eyes the passage of La Croix-aux-bois, he had relied on the report of the colonel placed there, and had fancied the pass so difficult, and so completely blocked up, that the Prussians would never venture into it. The Prussians did not, but a division of the Austrian army which was serving with them under General Clairfaut, and a body of emigrants commanded by the son of the brave and witty Prince de Ligne, dashed into this gorge on the morning of the 13th, cleared the abatis, drove the colonel's weak detachment before them, and presently made themselves complete masters of the pass. By this operation Dumouriez's positions were turned, and he was cut off from General Dubouquet's division of 6000 men, which was guarding Le Chêne-populeux, the pass to the east, and nearest to Sedan. As soon as he

learned the alarming news, he sent General Chasot, with two entire brigades, six squadrons of horse, and four field-pieces, to recover the pass, and drive out the Austrians and the emigrants before they should have time to entrench. Chasot, who could not get to the attack before the 15th, recovered the post after some hard fighting, in which de Ligne was killed, but could not keep it; for, being attacked again within two hours, he was driven out of the pass and cut off from Dumouriez and the troops at Grandpré. He retreated towards Châlons by the only road that was open to him. Thus separated both from Chasot and Dubouquet, with the enemy debouching rapidly by the pass they had gained and threatening to envelope him, Dumouriez could do nothing but abandon his fortified camp and the pass of Grandpré, and by a lateral movement unite with Dillon, who kept his ground at Les Islettes; and this movement he executed with his usual celerity, marching all the night by rough and wretched roads, and having to cross on his way the river Aisne. Once beyond this stream he considered himself safe; but while he was employed in tracing a camp a number of fugitives arrived, who cried out that all was lost,—that the army was in confusion, and the enemy in full pursuit. He galloped to the rear, and there found Miranda and old General Duval stopping a host of fugitives who had been thrown into a panic by a few Prussian hussars, and who were making a terrible outcry that they were betrayed—that their general was delivering them over to be massacred by the enemy. He caracolled, he harangued, he made fine sentences, as every French commander must do, and he flattered himself that he had restored order, when there arose fresh cries of *Sauve qui peut*. He then had recourse to another French practice—a practice of the old régime which had not yet disappeared, and which in fact never did disappear from the new régime—he beat the noisiest with the flat of his sword. But as the troops were all intermingled, he caused great fires to be lighted up and commanded them to pass the night where they were. He now began to find that new levies are not made veteran soldiers in a breath. He hints, indeed, that the cry was got up “by the arts of evil-disposed persons,” but from the composition of his army, and even from his own account, it is quite evident that it was a mere panic; and he adds, with some naïveté that, when they once begin, no troops fly either quicker or farther than the French. “More than 2000 men,” he says, “belonging to different corps, bolted with incredible speed to the distance of thirty leagues, through Rheims, Châlons, and Vitry. They published everywhere that the army was betrayed and annihilated, and that Dumouriez and all the generals had gone over to the enemy. The latter, in particular, was the favourite cry of the runaways; they had even told Dumouriez himself that he had deserted, and that, too, at the very moment when he had been belabouring them with *plats de sabre*. But for the good conduct of Duval, Stengel, and

Miranda, this retreat must have ended in an irremediable flight, and 1500 Prussian hussars would have annihilated the whole of the French army.”* The Prussians and Austrians, who had no notion of such panics, who proceeded according to the old pedantic rules of war, and who were not sure of the country through which they had to pass, did not pursue with any speed or vigour, and thus they lost what was almost their last chance. On the 17th, having with the utmost difficulty restored some order, Dumouriez continued his retreat, and took up a good position at Ste. Menchould, where a fortified camp was already partially prepared. Here he was joined by Dillon, who abandoned the pass of Les Islettes, so that the Thermopylæ of France were open to the enemy. Nothing, however, can be more absurd than the story usually told that the road to Paris was equally open to the Duke of Brunswick. Dillon brought twenty-eight fugitives under arrest to his commander-in-chief; and that ingenious man stripped them of their uniforms, caused their eyebrows and heads to be shaved, and dismissed them as cowards, “which example produced a very good effect.” Brunswick’s advanced guard did not appear in sight until the 18th, when Dumouriez was too well posted to be attacked. Losing none of his confidence, he wrote to the National Assembly that he had been obliged to abandon the passes of the Argonne; that in his retreat 10,000 of his men had fled before 1500 Prussian horse; but that now all was repaired, and he would answer for everything. Beurnonville, who had been allowed time to march from Maulde, joined him on the 19th, and Dubouquet, who had retreated from Chêne-populeux, had got near enough to co-operate, although his detachment was in a very unruly state, and had massacred a colonel of a regiment, and cut off the heads of several other officers. On the same day Kellermann, who had taken the command of old Luckner’s army, arrived within two leagues of his flank with 15,000, or according to other accounts, 20,000 troops of the line, one-third of which consisted of excellent cavalry. Chasot, who had retired or fled from the pass of La Croix-aux-Bois towards Châlons, changed the order of his march, and got near enough to co-operate. All these corps formed together a far greater force than any the Duke of Brunswick ever brought through the passes of the Argonne. The French themselves state the total number at 76,000†. On the morning of the 20th the Prussians showed themselves on the heights of La Lune, above Kellermann’s camp and between him and Châlons, their evident intention being to envelope him, and cut off his retreat to the latter

* Mémoires.

† According to the returns given at the time by the French commanders and commissaries, Dumouriez had 76,000 men, and the Duke of Brunswick less than 70,000. But the duke’s force must have been a very great deal less than this, for though he had received some reinforcements from beyond the Rhine, he had been obliged to leave strong garrisons in Longwy and Verdun; and 10,000 men were engaged in the absurd siege of Thionville, and Hohenlindau had been left on the other side of the Argonne with a considerable force.

the Lousy, had suffered terrible privations. In a letter found in the pocket of Prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed in the pass of La Croix-aux-bois, it was stated that Clairfait's troops, now that they had come into France, could procure nothing to eat; that the weather and the roads were dreadfully bad; that the sickness and mortality were great; that all the promises so confidently made by the emigrants had completely failed, and that all this had led to great coolness, and had produced many divisions among the allies. The King of Prussia, who accompanied his army, had been tempted into the country with a force utterly inadequate to the purpose, chiefly by two sanguine assurances of the emigrants: the first was, that the mass of the population, who must by this time be disgusted with the revolution, would rise and join him, and fight under the French princes; the second was, that the revolutionary army, being without experienced officers, and composed in good part of raw levies, with tailors and shoemakers for their leaders, would never be able to stand on a field of battle against the well commanded and highly disciplined veterans of Prussia. At the beginning they had assured him that the campaign would be nothing but a pleasant promenade along the banks of the Marne. But, instead of joining him, or even of remaining neutral, the population of the country seemed armed to a man against him, the peasantry cutting off and butchering all his stragglers, fighting in ambush on almost every road, and not unfrequently intercepting his convoys; and at Valmy he had found that the sans-culottes were commanded by skilful and experienced generals,—that shoemakers and tailors were becoming very good officers, and that the new levies, mixed with old troops, could keep their ground. It was clear that neither he nor the emigrants had sufficiently reflected on the aptitude of the French people for the art and practice of war; or upon the fact that such revolutions must nearly always produce great soldiers. The Prussians were pedants in the art of war, believing that it could only be a successful art when subjected to their own rigid rules; and, as for the emigrants, it was one of the few articles of their limited belief, that *roturiers* could never make good officers—a conviction which was scarcely removed from their minds until the sans-culotte armies, under sans-culotte officers and generals, had overrun half Europe. From the affair of Valmy, on the 20th, down to the night of the 30th of September, when the Duke of Brunswick struck his camp on the heights of La Lune, the two armies remained near to each other, but without any fighting, with scarcely any skirmishing. The duke has been bitterly reproached for his inactivity. It is said that he ought to have brought Dumouriez to a general action, or have continued his march towards Paris without regarding Dumouriez's army; but, if he had attempted a general action, all the chances, all the advantages of position and number, were against him; he could not

even gain much by a victory, for he could not pursue Dumouriez without increasing his own distance from Paris, and he could hardly advance upon Paris with Dumouriez's army, however beaten and diminished, hanging upon his rear: 10,000 of the troops of the coalition were engaged in the siege of Thionville, and must be supported; and we have seen what republican armies were gathered between the heights of La Lune and the heights of Montmartre, between the Marne and Paris. If the duke had been beaten and enveloped, all would have been lost; the King of Prussia, with all his nobles, Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and French emigrants, must have fallen into the hands of the republicans. On the 24th Dumouriez agreed to a kind of truce and an exchange of prisoners with the Prussians, refusing, however, to give up any of the emigrants who had been taken. After a few compliments had passed between him and some of the Prussian officers, this versatile man opened a political discussion in order to prove that the King of Prussia had been dragged into a war against his own real interests, and in order to forward the ambitious projects of his hereditary enemy, the House of Austria; that the French fought him with much reluctance; and that an alliance between Prussia and France would be mutually advantageous, and not at all difficult to bring about. He assures us (and we can easily credit the fact after what had happened) that the King of Prussia was getting heartily sick of the war. He says that Colonel Manstein assured him that the king did not wish to intermeddle with the French constitution; that his desires were extremely moderate, and might all be limited to six propositions: the first of which was, that Louis XVI. should be liberated from prison, and restored to such authority as he had possessed previously to the 10th of August. Dumouriez says that, by way of answer, he gave the Prussian colonel a copy of the decree which changed the National Assembly into a Convention, and the monarchy into a republic. He adds that Colonel Manstein was grievously afflicted at this intelligence, and that he himself "was extremely sorry that things had been carried to such an extremity, more especially as he did not perceive any remedy." He dispatched a French colonel to the Prussian camp, and drew up a long memorial, in which he threw all the blame of the war on the House of Austria, and laboured to persuade the King of Prussia that it was his interest to detach himself instantly from the emperor and the coalition. He says that the only answer he got to this paper was another memorial from the Duke of Brunswick, which had been drawn up by the emigrants some time before. In the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, attributed to Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, it is said, however, in the plainest terms, that Dumouriez entered into an agreement with the Duke of Brunswick not to molest his retreat, if he would only evacuate the French territory at once; that the executive government, and especially Dan-

ton, gladly recognised and agreed to this arrangement, and that the King of Prussia was induced to enter into it from a conviction, artfully instilled by the French, that if he advanced, or fought another battle, or delayed his departure, the lives of Louis XVI and his family would be sacrificed by the uncontrollable fury of the Parisians, whereas, if the army of the coalition retired quietly out of France, their lives would be in no danger whatever. The same authority also states that the Prussians held private conferences with Kellermann and Dillon, that Major Massenbach, pretending that he merely meant to arrange about the exchange of prisoners, repaired to the head-quarters of Kellermann, whom he found surrounded by the two sons of the Duke of Orleans, General Dillon, Labaroliers, and others, that Massenbach dined with them, that the conversation turned upon the affair of Valmy and the political situation of France, that after dinner Massenbach talked a good deal with Dillon, who begged him to tell the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick that, as the republican party were triumphant in Paris, the King of France and the royal family could only be saved by the coalition consenting to recognise the republic and make immediate peace with it, that Dillon added, but in a very low tone of voice, that peace would very soon annihilate the republic, by giving play to factions and parties, some of whom, a little sooner or later, would be sure to re-establish Louis XVI on his throne, but that if, on the contrary, the coalition persevered in the war, the French monarchy and all the nobility would be lost for ever, that he (Dillon) considered his own death as certain, that it was idle to think of restoring the princes and emigrants, who were despised and detested by the whole nation, that Dillon then drew Massenbach to a window, pretending to show him a pleasant prospect, and cautiously whispered in his ear, 'Warn the King of Prussia that they are preparing at Paris a plan for invading Germany, as they know very well there are no German troops on the Rhine, and hope that this movement will hasten your retreat.' These were all very proper arguments to prove—what, however, wanted no proof—that the Prussians had better be gone. It is confidently asserted that Louis XVI, from his prison in the Temple, entreated the King of Prussia to withdraw his troops from France, as the only means of saving him and his family from a horrible death. Fantin Desoedours, who was a member of the Convention, and who wrote two histories of the revolution, solemnly affirms that he received this fact from Manuel, who, with Pétion and Kersaint, went to the king in his prison, and induced him to write the letter by assuring him that his life and the lives of his wife and children depended on his compliance. He adds that afterwards, when the Convention condemned him to the guillotine, Louis was heard to say to those near him, "Surely Pétion, Manuel, and Kersaint have not voted for my death!" But Fantin Desoedours's judgment and authority are

not entitled to very much respect. Dumouriez says nothing about any such letter, and Hardenberg, or the author of the *Memoirs* attributed to him, expressly denies that there was ever any letter of the kind from Louis. Scrvan, the Girondist war-minister, accounts for the report by saying that the King of Prussia eagerly desired a precise account of the actual condition of the royal family, that hereupon Dumouriez wrote to Danton, who employed Manuel to obtain a certificate from the commune, with copies of all the decisions which had been come to on the subject of the treatment of Louis XVI and his family, in order that they might be sent to the King of Prussia, and that Manuel's going to the Temple with Pétion and Kersaint gave rise to the report about this letter.

While these messages and papers were passing, the French army, completely cut off from Châlons and the rich country, was suffering almost as much as the Prussians, and the politicians at Paris, looking only at the fact that the Duke of Brunswick had got between them and Dumouriez, kept sending their general letters and imperative orders to abide in his position and retreat behind the Marne. But Dumouriez told his men, when they clamoured for bread, that the Prussians were feeding on their dead horses, that they had got h²-bird, rice, and flour, and so might make cakes, to which liberty would give a relish, and he set the orders from Paris at defiance. To Servan, who taxed him with a culpable obstinacy in remaining in his camp at St. Mechauld, and who told him that the Prussian hulans were making incursions to the very gates of Rheims, laying waste all before them, he replied, with proper mizzle, "I will not alter my plan on account of a few foragers. There are more than 10,000 men in Rheims, let them come out, pursue, and slay these hulans." He says that at the time Kellermann insisted that the orders of the minister at war ought to be obeyed, and that the army ought to get behind the Marne. His troops were several times very mutinous, but the worst danger of all proceeded from the arrival of three Jacobin commissioners from the Convention—Sillery, Carra, and Prieur—who administered the oath to the troops to be true to the republic which had been established by the 10th of August and the subsequent massacres. Sillery, Dumouriez says, was eloquent, subtle, and seductive, Carra, so well known by his newspapers, possessed a rhetoric suited to the populace and ever since 1789 had been the disorganiser of the armies, and the protector of all the common soldiers in a state of mutiny and insurrection, while Prieur was a most violent and fierce Jacobin, and, moreover, a native of Champagne, which had furnished many of the soldiers of this army. The three commissioners had been charged to make him leave his camp and cross the Marne; at a word from them the Jacobinised soldiery would have taken off Dumouriez's head, and sent it to the Convention in a sack or on a pike, but he talked them over, won their good will, convinced

them that the terrors at Paris were ill-founded, and made them agree to wait six days longer, at the end of which, if the Prussians did not retreat, he would pass the Marne and throw himself between them and the capital.

Various stories were told at the time, and some of them are still repeated, to account for the Duke of Brunswick's retreat, but the simple truth appears to have been, that he went because he could not stay, or because there was not the slightest use or the faintest hope of good in his remaining where he was, isolated, wasted by disease, in want of everything, and with half a million of men gradually gathering around him. If he had tarried but a few days longer, he and the army the King of Prussia and the emigrant princes must all have been taken prisoners. On the 30th of September, at the dead of night, he struck his camp, having sent before him his artillery and heavy baggage. He marched about a league, and this beginning of his retreat was executed with perfect order. On the morning of the 1st of October Dumouriez detached General Dampier to occupy the abandoned camp of La Lune, which was found strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, and offering such startling proofs of the epidemic malady or milder which had been raging there, that Dampier precipitately abandoned the post, lest his men should be infected. Dumouriez has been often accused of taking gold from the Duke of Brunswick or from the King of Prussia, to connive at an easy, unmolested retreat; but, in truth, the retreat was not altogether unmolested, and, though the Prussians could not keep the advance they had gained, they knew how to retire like soldiers, and their compact mass was not to be attacked in open field with impunity. Dumouriez, too, gives a consistent account of the numerous causes which delayed pursuit, and prevented him from giving battle in full force: the generals serving under him disputed his orders, Kellermann, pretending to an equal authority with him, chose a route and a plan of operations of his own, and none showed any alacrity in the pursuit except General Dillon, who hung upon Brunswick's rear and did considerable mischief, but, venturing too far, Dillon and his corps d'armee had a narrow escape from being annihilated by the division of Prince Hohenlohe. The Prussians got safely through the forest of Argonne by the pass of Grandpré, and, once beyond that defile, they were comparatively safe, except from the horrible disease which continued to thin their ranks. They withdrew their garrisons from Verdun and Longwy, abandoned everything they had taken, and thought of nothing but of getting across the Rhine. By the end of October about 50,000 of the 80,000 men who had entered France in the beginning of August, to conquer the Jacobins, and restore Louis XVI. to his throne, arrived at Coblenz, quite as indignant against the emigrants as they were against the unconquered sans-culottes. Not only during the advance, when their hopes were

extravagantly sanguine, but also on their retreat, when their hopes were all blighted, and when nothing was before their eyes but a continued exile, and privation and beggary, these French nobles displayed all their pride, petulance, and want of discretion, quarrelling for precedence, disputing furiously about words, and things more trifling than words, and taking little care to conceal the contempt in which they held their rough German allies. But in other points they were equally true to their old character: they fought gallantly on every occasion that presented itself, and, when their quarrels and altercations were over, they could laugh and sing in the midst of their misfortunes, and make excellent bons mots about the plight they were in. Dumouriez, whose vanity was at least equal to his genius, hurried to Paris to show himself at the theatres, to receive compliments and laurel crowns, to solicit for more troops in order that he might conquer Belgium, to see which party was getting strongest in the Convention, and to make friends accordingly. In many respects his reception was as flattering as he could have desired, but some of the Jacobins thought that he had not done all that he might have done, and other Jacobins were mortally offended at his having punished some federates who had brutally massacred four deserters from the emigrants. He says the ministers Roland, Servan, Claviere, Lebrun, Monge, and Danton, "*who appeared to be living together in the utmost cordiality,*" carried him to two public entertainments, where he was greatly applauded, and a celebrated lady of Paris invited him to a "charming festival," at which all the actors of the different theatres of Paris complimented him. Many members of the Convention, and some of the ministers, accompanied him to this last fête, and all was joy and brilliancy, when a deputation of three members from the Jacobin Club, uninvited and unannounced, stalked into the salon, and insisted on speaking with General Dumouriez. The commissioners—all three members of the Convention, as well as of the club—were Marat, Bentabolé, and Montaut. Marat, who was spokesman, looked at him with savage eyes, and summoned him, in a brutal manner, to tell him how he could have had the audacity to commit violent and tyrannical acts against good patriots and estimable citizens? Dumouriez, looking scornfully at him, said, "Ah! you are they they call Marat! I have nothing to say to such as you!" and then turned his back upon the bleared monster. He however spoke with the two other Jacobin envoys, Bentabolé and Montaut, and flattered himself that he had made them listen to reason. He presented himself once in the Jacobin Club, where, he says, he met with a gracious reception. Minister of justice Danton presided on the occasion. The club indulged in some facetie

* The great Goethe who accompanied this miserable expedition and who made expert visits on the heights near Sta. Menchould on what he calls the "cannot ver" has given some striking sketches of the retreat in his *Hermann and Dorothea* and *Campanella in France*.



BOMBARDMENT OF LILLE, Oct. 1790. From a Tall and High to the Right in France.

"Collet d'Herbois, formerly a very bad comedian, and since become the exterminating angel of the city of Lyons, made the members laugh by saying to the general, 'You are going to conquer Brussels; you will find my wife there, you must embrace her.'" "Three weeks after," adds Dumouriez, "the general took Brussels, but he did not see Collet d'Herbois's wife, and he easily forgot the commission he had received from that town. Will had it been for Dumouriez if Marat had forgotten the slight he had received from him?"

The Duke of Saxe-Teschen commenced in the Netherlands. When the French found themselves obliged to withdraw the greater part of their army from that frontier, in order to oppose the Duke of Brunswick, Saxe-Teschen, after a succession of feigned attacks along the lines, dashed across the frontier to make a real attack on Lille, one of the strongest fortified towns of France. As a regular siege was impossible with the limited means at his disposal, he began a terrible bombardment. The inhabitants of the town were, however, better patriots and heroes than the people of Longwy and Verdun, and, instead of forcing the garrison to capitulate, they assisted them in defending the place. When the bombardment had lasted six days, and when some two or three hundred houses had been burnt or knocked to pieces, the Austrians were obliged to withdraw by the rapid approach of two corps d'armée, each of which was numerically superior to their own force, and on the 7th or 8th of October as the Duke of Brunswick was retreating from the passes of the Argonne, Saxe-Teschen recrossed his own frontier. He was very soon followed by Dumouriez, who arrived at Valenciennes on the 27th of October, and took the command of the two armies assembled in and under that town.

On the 4th of November the French entered the Austrian Netherlands in nine columns, and on the 5th, being reinforced by another corps d'armée under d'Haville, they came up with the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who occupied an excellent position on some wooded hills near the village of Jemappe. But, if the Austrian position was good their disposition in number was very great, Saxe-Teschen having more than fifteen or sixteen thousand men to oppose the fifty or sixty thousand French under Dumouriez. On the afternoon of the 6th the skirmishing took place. On the morning of the 7th the French began a general attack, continuing, though the Austrians repulsed them several well-placed redoubts. This however continued with intermissions, and without any great effect on either side till ten o'clock when the young Duke of Chartres, or, as he was now called, young Egalité, recommended an attack with fixed bayonets. From eleven o'clock till one in the afternoon several charges were attempted but every time the French were driven back by cannon ball and grape shot. At one time their centre, after losing a great number of men, was thrown into complete disorder, and was not rallied by the young Duke of Chartres without extreme difficulty. While the duke returned with the centre to attack the village of Jemappe on Saxe-Teschen's right, Dumouriez, putting himself at the head of two fresh brigades, and singing the *Marseillaise* hymn, "All nos enfans de la patrie," moved rapidly to attack some redoubts to-

* The Duke of Orleans being elected a member of the Convention, took the name Philippe Egalité, of this quality, Dondoux, a friend of his, wrote him the following letter: "I have the pleasure to inform you that I have the honor to be called Egalité, the son of the Duke of Orleans."

wards the enemy's left. He was accompanied by several regiments or strong squadrons of horse, and, not relying solely on the bayonet, he carried some light artillery with him. These redoubts were defended by some Hungarian grenadiers, who fought most desperately, but attacking by the grace of the redoubts, and bringing their artillery within musket shot, the French at length carried the works, when a fearful butchery of the Hungarians ensued. Dumouriez, anxious about his centre, put himself at the head of his cavalry, and was proceeding, at a smart trot to its succour,

when he met the young Duke of Montpensier, who was galloping to tell him that the centre was victorious, and that his brother had gained possession of the village of Jemappé after a bloody engagement. This decided the affair: it was only two o'clock, and the Austrians were in full retreat for Mons. The conquerors moved off in admirable order, carrying with them all their artillery except seven or eight pieces, the conquerors had securely secured their victory ere they were seized with a terrible panic, and, imagining that the Austrians had undermined the hill and



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that they would all blow into the air, five battalions abandoned the heights they had gained, and fled in the utmost disorder to a village at some distance. Dumouriez says that it was in consequence of this panic, and of the cowardice of one of his generals and of the disobedience of others, that he could not molest the Duke of Saxe-Teschen in his retreat. The battle of Jemappé decided the fate of the Netherlands, so miserably weak was the force collected for the defence of that rich country, and so disaffected were the Belgians to the House of Austria. Dumouriez states his own loss in killed and wounded at 2000, and that of the Imperialists at twice that number, but there is reason to doubt whether, from the nature of the combat and of the ground, and from the want of pursuit, the French did not lose as many men as the Austrians. On the 8th Journaux opened its gates to Labourdonnaye, Dumouriez's second in command, Courtois, Menin, and Brussels, which had been well Jacobinised beforehand, sent deputations to the commander-in-chief and to the Convention, and, as soon as the intelligence of the battle of Jemappé arrived, the French commandant of Dunkirk, with only 1800 foot and 200 horse, marched to Newport and Ostend, which received him with joy. Without a single musket having been fired, all

Flanders was subdued—or rather, the people joined the French and removed every obstacle to their progress. The exultation of the Flemings and Brabanters was in the course of a very few weeks considerably damped by the arrival of Jacobin commissioners from the Assembly, who plundered them most mercilessly, levying contributions, taxing and harrowing them, as if they had really been a conquered people. Even Dumouriez himself gave them a sad proof of what they had to expect for almost as soon as he had entered Mons, where the inhabitants received him with the utmost joy, he issued an ordinance requiring from the clergy a forced loan of one year of their revenues, and subsequently, in managing contracts for provisions, he forced the Belgian contractors to a debt of payment in French paper money, which was every day becoming more discredited and worthless. His excuse is, that the Convention had no money to give him, and that the troops, engaging in a winter campaign, were almost naked. It was the 11th of November before he could move from Mons to look after the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who had continued to retire with his small force in admirable order. Between Mons and Brussels his van, advancing too rapidly, was attacked and almost beaten by the Austrian rear, but he extricated himself with his usual

bravery and address, and the Austrians continued their retreat, as they saw the heads of other French columns approaching. Saxe-Teschen, who was at Brussels, evacuated that indefensible town, and from that moment many of his people began to desert to the French. Old Marshal Bender, who had once so terrified the Belgian patriots by the threat of pulling on his boots, was left in Brussels, not to offer any resistance, which was impracticable, but merely to arrange a capitulation. On the evening of the 13th the marshal was summoned by the Alsacian Westermann, become a colonel in the armies of the French republic by virtue of his exploits in the Tuileries on the 10th of August. Old Bender made the best terms he could, and on the 14th Dumouriez entered Brussels amidst the acclamations of the people and shouts of "Long live the French! Long live liberty and equality!" Almost the first thing he did was to *horror* 80,000 florins from the municipal treasury of that capital, and 300,000 livres, *without interest*, from a banker of the place. But Dumouriez's borrowing was a flea-bite compared with other sharp operations which followed immediately after. We dwell somewhat upon the particulars, because they convey a pretty correct notion of what, from the first, was practised by the French in all the countries into which they carried liberty and equality, and the blessed Rights of Man. The executive at Paris sent into the country a commission which they termed a "committee of purchases." It was composed of the Swiss banker Bidermann, the partner of finance-minister Clavière, a Flemish speculator belonging to Ostend, and three Jews from Strasburg, the sons of a man who had made his name proverbial by the successful rogueries he had practised during the Seven Years' War. "These," says Dumouriez, "were the five worthies to whom were intrusted the fate of Belgium and the interests of France. It was the minister Clavière who had brought this machine into play, with the help of the faction of the Gironde, the greater part of whom now possessed some capital, and became *riders* to these contractors disguised under the name of administrators. Poor Roland may, perhaps, have been deceived by sophisms, and the ministers Monge and Pache may possibly have been drawn into the scheme by their clerks, who found their account in promoting it." The committee of purchases were to make all the bargains for the army, and to pay the Belgians in *assignats*, not at the value affixed to them in Paris, where nobody would take them except at a tremendous discount, but at the same rate as coined money; and they were instructed by those enlightened ministers, Roland, Pache, and Monge, to establish in all things a uniformity of price, or a maximum. These regulations brought swarms of stock-jobbers and Bourse speculators of all kinds round the French army; and these speculators bought the specie from the soldiers who were paid in hard cash, and gave them assignats according to their real

value at Paris; or they gave the soldier a hundred or a hundred and twenty sous in paper for his fifty sous in silver—and then the soldier who had given his fifty sous for his paper forced the poor Belgian dealer or shopkeeper to take it from him as a hundred or a hundred and twenty sous, or at whatever figure was printed on the note. A republican trooper would buy three sous' worth of tobacco, tender an assignat for fifty sous, and demand the difference in specie: if the poor Belgian remonstrated, he was asked whether he would oppose the will of the republic, which had freed his country from the yoke of Austria, and which was going to give liberty to all the countries of the world? or, if he waxed stubborn in his resistance to this robbery, or lost his temper, he got, in all probability, kicks and *plats de sabre*. The magistrates entreated the general to direct that the tradesmen should not be obliged to receive assignats at all: but what could Dumouriez do?—He could not fly in the teeth of the Convention and its executive—he durst not depreciate the paper money, for that would be doing a great injury to France! There seemed no reason to fear that they would ever want assignats so long as there were rags in France to convert into paper. Four hundred, five hundred, and at last eight hundred workmen were constantly employed in making this paper money; and a finance minister of the revolution has boasted that assignats to the value of from two to three millions of francs or livres were often printed, numbered, and stamped, all in one day*—and this, too, at a time when they were making assignats of ten and fifteen sous, and when there was no printing-machine and steam-engine to speed their labours. Previously to the battle of Jemappes there were many French emigrants in Brussels and other towns: they were now retreating with Saxe-Teschen, and in their hurry they left effects and property behind them. To all this the republic, not very unreasonably, laid claim; but, when the commissaries and the soldiery once began seizing and confiscating, they knew not where to stop, and soon lost all discrimination between Belgian property and emigrant property. As soon as the Austrian flag was struck, a great Jacobin club was established in Brussels. It was composed partly of the soldiers and officers of Dumouriez's army, and partly of Belgian *sans-culottes*—democrats and revolutionists by profession, who had finished their education in the Paris clubs or in the French ranks. These men had nearly all some spite to gratify against the better-conditioned inhabitants, some personal enemies to denounce to the club, and their feeling about equality was quite as rabid as that of the Parisian clubbists. In less than a week this club spread terror through Brussels. Having called upon all the towns in Belgium to raise and equip volunteer corps and militia, Dumouriez left Brussels on the 19th of November, when Labourdonnaye was already lay

* Ramel, *Histoire des Finances de la République*. Ramel, who was a great authority on all matters of finance in the Convention, was appointed minister of finances under the Directory.

ing siege to Antwerp, while Valence was blockading Namur. He captured Mechlin, where he found a great quantity of ammunition and arms, and an excellent foundry for casting cannon. This enabled him to improve the equipment of his troops, and to arm crowds of volunteers who had come from France, where they had been starving for want of employment, to take part in this harvest of glory and gain. The situation of France continued for years to furnish the like adventurers in prodigious numbers, for there was starvation at home, and no calling within the reach of the common run of men was half so profitable as that of arms. To these numbers must be added numbers—not inconsiderable—of downright republican enthusiasts; and of men passionately fond of war for the mere sake of war and its glories; and again other numbers who could only be safe from the Jacobins and the guillotine by throwing themselves into the ranks of marching armies. All this enabled the revolutionary generals to be careless whether a given operation cost them some thousands of lives more or less; the immense numbers which fell were replaced by fresh arrivals: the want of regular employment at home, and the system of terror, were by themselves sufficient to recruit their armies. On the 22nd Dumouriez was astonished by finding the Duke of Saxe-Teschen firmly posted at Tirlemont. Another battle took place. The Austrians, though defeated, continued their retreat in admirable order, abandoning the country foot by foot, and fighting again on the 27th in front of Liege. This last engagement continued during the whole day; and, though the Austrians then moved off and left Liege open to the French, they left Dumouriez in no condition to pursue them. At the beginning of this war of the revolution many of the Austrian retreats, if properly examined, will be found to be more extraordinary things than the French victories. Liege, which swarmed with revolutionists and Jacobins, who in various ways had hampered the operations of the emperor's general, welcomed Dumouriez as a deliverer on the 28th. The strong fortress of Antwerp surrendered about the same time to the Peruvian Miranda, whom Dumouriez had sent to supersede Labourdonnaye; Namur surrendered to Valence on the 2nd of December; and thus, exactly one month after opening the campaign, the French found themselves completely masters of all the Austrian Netherlands, excepting the Duchy of Luxembourg.

The sans-culottes of Liege were fiercer than those of Brussels. "The people of Liege," says the hero and planner of the campaign, "adopted with a degree of fury all the excesses of the French revolution. Fabry, the mayor, who had aided the first revolution at Liege, and been the martyr of it, lost all his credit as soon as he spoke in favour of a reasonable constitution. A club was formed in the city; it was exceedingly ardent and unruly: the missionaries, whom the Jacobins sent from Paris, formed another, which blamed all the operations

of the former, and accused it of aristocracy: the quarrel between them was carried so far that a civil war was likely to ensue. The French troops took part with one or the other, according to their private inclinations. The general became mediator between the two parties, without being able to make them agree. Those who inhabited the faubourgs beyond the Meuse were, according to the French expression, perfectly at the *height of the revolution*, for they would not listen to anything else than absolute equality and pillage. Those who inhabited the town, on the other hand, wished for a constitution; but, in consequence of metaphysical subtleties, they did not well know what they wished for. An attempt was made to prevail upon them to form a national Convention. The country was divided into districts with a considerable degree of ingenuity. Commissioners selected from the two clubs were sent into all these districts. Fabry, the mayor, and the provincial administration, were in the mean time continued, and at the end of a month no progress whatever had been made, and men's minds were deranged anew by the Jacobins and the commissioners of the French Convention. The secret intention at Paris was not that the people of Liege, and still less those of Belgium, should unite as a national body, to give themselves a constitution and laws. They were afraid lest, when once assembled, these two countries should know their own strength and found an independent republic. This, however, would have been consonant with the real interest of France, which, by means of a sage conduct, would have procured a good ally, and would not have acquired the odious character of a conqueror and a spoiler. But the desire of getting possession of the gold of Belgium, and laying hands on the property of a rich clergy, presented another political system to the *managers* of the Convention. They wished, by overwhelming that unhappy country with tumult and disorder, to force it either to throw itself into the arms of France, or to commit some excesses which would afford a pretext for treating the inhabitants as enemies. The country of Liege was poor and ruined: the people are proud, hasty, warlike, impatient of subjection, and very ready to run into excesses. It was the policy of the Jacobins of Paris to excite this nation to anarchy, in order to press Belgium between the two chaps of a vice, and force it to follow the same course with France. The people of Liege, divided among themselves, supposed they should agree together in consequence of a union with France: they have, however, only completed the measure of their former evils, and deprived themselves of the means of defending their liberty. What determined the most moderate to join the sans-culottes of the other side of the Meuse, in favour of this union, was the consideration of theirs being too small a country to form an independent state: they also distrusted the Belgians, who would not sacrifice their religion and their clergy; and, considering themselves in an advanced position, destitute of fortified places, and their territory

easily invaded, they imagined that, on their becoming French, the republic would defend their liberty."* Danton and Lacroix were the two commissioners that were sent by the Convention to Liege, as to other parts of the country. They plundered remorselessly Lacroix, when he returned to Paris, carrying with him wagon-loads of furniture, pictures, carvings, plate, and other commodities—a spoliation worthy of the worst of the proconsuls of ancient Rome. It appears that he and Danton repeated their visit twice after this plundering the churches and the municipalities—nay, the very army of the republic itself. But this was not all the work they did. At their first visit they pushed on the inhabitants of the other side of the Meuse—the part of the city inhabited by the poorer classes—to every species of revolutionary excess, observing that their revolution had been a great deal too mild, that democratic revolutions could be cemented only by the blood of aristocrats, and reproaching them for not having cut off heads. Many acts of violence were committed, the vengeance of individuals were satisfied and some hastily assassinations were perpetrated, but the Lacroixs were not found sufficiently "at the height of the revolution" to imitate the Parisians in their vast massacres and their coolness and regularity in taking off heads.

Dumouriez, having sent Miranda forward to Ruremonde, wished to continue his winter campaign by capturing Maestricht, by calling up the Dutch democrats, and by revolutionizing Holland and all those Seven United Provinces. It was true the Dutch government had not declared war or entered into the coalition against France, but its predilection for the Austrians, Prussians, and emigrants, and its aversion to the French revolution, were not disguised,—and then, when Maestricht no one could be master of the Meuse—and without Holland Belgium might prove but an uneasy possession—he Dutch garrison of Maestricht was so temptingly weak—the provinces all together were so little prepared for any attack. The Dutch had not made any preparations for war. Their government being taken by surprise and distrust of the patriotic party, would have endeavoured to maintain on the other hand the Dutch democrats, emboldened by the capture of Maestricht, would have resumed courage, a coalition would naturally have been formed between the Dutch, the Lacroixs, and the Belgian patriots, and France would have been circled on that side by a wall of reviled nations. It was impossible to exaggerate the advantages resulting from such an aggression at this epoch. The general's motives were very *legitimate*, for, indeed, it was only by occupying Maestricht and Nijmegen that the preservation of Belgium could be insured.† But greatly to Dumouriez's mortification, the Convention and the executive would not send him the order to attack the Dutch, thinking it better, *for the present*, to maintain a neutrality with the

stadtholder, until the Dutch democrats were better prepared for insurrection. Thus circumstanced, he resolved to capture Aix-la-Chapelle. But he was sadly impeded by a pestilent Jacobin poet, Ronsin, who had been sent by the Convention to superintend the civil concerns of his army, his soldiers, still badly clad, were falling sick (while regiments of them were infected with the itch), his military chest was an empty, and no money could be undertaken without money. He, however, borrowed 114,000 livres from the seven collegiate churches of Liege, and set his army in motion. On the 7th of December the Austrians fought another battle, but they were far too weak to secure or cover Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 5th Dumouriez entered the ancient city of Charlemagne as a conqueror. On the 12th, when little more than ten leagues from the Rhine, he put his army into winter quarters.

But it was not alone in the Netherlands that the French, from being invaded, became invaders. Dillu's whispers into Major Massenbach's ears were not idle, the energetic men of Paris had really resolved that Germany should be invaded. General Custine, who had been attached to the French army in the Upper Rhine, commanded by Birnbaum with 15,000 or 20,000 men a detachment to the little circles of the empire where there were no troops in the field, and no but weak garrisons in the fortresses. These silly German electors had all been indulging in the pleasant dream that the Duke of Brunswick would get to Paris, and therefore they had not thought it necessary to make any extraordinary preparations. Spire and Worms capitulated to Custine on the 30th of September and 5th of October, and on the 21st of October Mancy (Metz) threw open its gates, all the garrisons laying down their arms, except some eight hundred Austrians who had held out and joined the grand army of the Coalition. All these successes could have been obtained only through the dissimulation of these Germans to their rulers, and the dissemination among them of French principles. Custine had no artillery or material for conducting any siege, and the least resistance must have preserved Mancy; but the town and university were full of democrats and believers in the new exposition of the Rights of Man, and these men had secret intelligence with Custine before he approached the place, and as soon as he had summoned it they urged the necessity of an immediate capitulation. In all directions the first progress of the republican armies was favoured by the people of the countries they invaded, so that the French press and their political propagandists were induced of more service than French artillery. Custine soon gave the speculative Germans some cause for regretting the welcome they had given him. Quitting the banks of the Rhine, he rushed to Frankfurt on the Maine. This free commercial town had remained neutral in all the wars, and her neutrality had been respected by the armies of kings and emperors, but

* Dumouriez, *Memoires*

† *Id.*



BATTLE OF VALMY, Sept. 20, 1792. —Tallard's History of the Revolution in France.

these republicans were not scrupulous and they resolved to plunder it, notwithstanding the fact that the people were disposed in their favour, and were wishing their every success. They entered the town undisturbed on the 27th of October, and levied contributions in the most rapacious manner. In this marauding expedition Custine expelled his force to be cut off by the Prussians, who were at Coblenz, or by the Elector Palatine, who had an army at Mannheim, but the Prussians who attempted it were, as usual, too slow, and the Palatine adhered to a treaty of neutrality, though the French had broken it.

Ever since the time of Louis XIV. the French had pretended that the natural frontiers of their country were the river Rhine and the high chain of the Alps, and that Belgium, Savoy, and Nice, which lay within these limits, belonged to France by the assignment of nature. Dumouriez, when minister, had recommended, as a beginning, the conquest and permanent occupation of these countries. We have seen how easily he overran one of them. General Montesquiou, beginning earlier in the season, found Savoy quite as easy a conquest, and General Anselme, who was detached by Montesquiou, and reinforced by six thousand Marseillais, moved under the maritime Alps to make a prey of Nice. In both these possessions of the King of Sardinia, the propagandists had long been at work, and their labours had been attended with very great success. "The words of innovators," says the historian of the Italian part of this mighty revolution, "made more impression on the minds of the people than the statements of their adversaries. The people are

always greedy of novelty, and those who cover themselves with the veil of the public good, and promise advantages, must have more force than those who defend established order and privileges." There were too, in all the dominions of Vittorio Amedeo, abuses and absurdities of government, and many of the worst symptoms of an absolute monarchy in decrepitude, so that some of the best citizens, though averse to a sanguinary or violent revolution, felt the indispensable necessity of some great reforms. Notwithstanding the demonstrations of the court of Turin, and the asylum it had given to the French princes and others at the beginning of the emigration,—notwithstanding the dread and horror Vittorio Amedeo was known to entertain of the revolution, and indeed of all political changes,—the revolutionary statesmen had not been altogether without hope of gaining his Sardinian majesty for an ally. At least they had repeatedly sent agents, both public and secret, to Turin (as also to other Italian states), to represent how great and glorious a thing it would be to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy, and so leave the whole of Italy in Italian hands, and to intimate that, if the French were only allowed a free passage across the Alps, and through Piemonte and the territories of the republic of Genoa, they would soon be at Milan, and overthrow for ever the odious dominion of the Germans. As for any apprehensions that this would be merely a change of masters, and that the French might not be satisfied with that part or portion of Italy which had contented Austria, how could they be entertained against a free and just people who had solemnly renounced

conquer? If these reasonings had no effect, or an effect directly opposite to that proposed, upon the minds of Vittorio Amedeo and his ministers, they yet made some impression among certain classes of the Piedmontese—a quick, excitable people, fond of war and adventure, and by no means averse to political craft and intrigue. These ardent spirits were flattered with the prospect of extending their own frontier far into Italy—of occupying all that the Austrians now held. A prudent silence was probably observed as to the *natural frontiers* of France, but they were not likely to care very much about the small district of Nice, or the poor and hungry country of Savoy, which lay beyond the Alps, and the people of which had a different language, different interests, and different prejudices from their own. Semonville, who had been sent by Lafayette into Belgium at the time of the first insurrection in that country, was sent into Piedmont to preach disaffection to the people, and to make fresh and more tempting offers to the king. He was instructed to tell Vittorio Amedeo, that, if he would unite with France and grant a passage to her troops, the French would guarantee all his dominions, cede to him Lombardy and all that they might conquer from the emperor, and, furthermore, *put down the turbulent spirits who were among at revolution, both in Piedmont and in Savoy*. His Sardinian majesty, who had already promised at least free passage to the Austrians, now descending through the Tyrol into Italy, and advancing towards Piedmont, sent orders to stop Semonville, who was coming to Turin from Genoa, at the fortified town of Alessandria, through which his route lay. Semonville was stopped accordingly, and politely informed that the sooner he quitted the territories of his majesty the better. The French agent returned to Genoa, and at Paris those who had sent him raised a terrible outcry in the National Assembly, which ended in a declaration of war against Vittorio Amedeo. But several days before this declaration of hostilities, the Girondist executive had given peremptory orders to General Montesquieu to attack Savoy, and drive all the troops of the king of Sardinia across the Alps, as those troops had been collected for no other purpose than to invade France, and to co-operate with the coalition. Before any blow was struck, the French had made pretty sure of the Savoyards, who hated the Piedmontese, and, by a variety of ingenious devices, they had gained all the information they wanted. A republican general, who thought it no shame to play the part of a spy, took the dress and the name of an Irish priest, and imposed sadly on the credulity of Colegnio, the commandant of Chambéry, the little capital of Savoy, and also upon the too easy faith of Count Perrone, the governor general of the duchy. Other emissaries went among the citizens and the people, explaining the stupendous benefits they must derive from the French system, the promulgation of the Rights of Man, the overthrow of

the aristocracy, and a fresh division of property. Montesquieu knew that the Savoyards would everywhere join him, and that the troops of the king of Sardinia, about which so much talk had been made, did not really exceed ten thousand men, and these, too, scattered over the country, through the false security or the treachery of those who had the command over them. On the night of the 21st of September, in the midst of a hurricane and torrents of rain, the republicans dashed across the frontier of Savoy, and took by surprise the important fortress of Sanpaulian, which was garrisoned only by a handful of Piedmontese. With fifteen thousand men, and twenty pieces of artillery, Montesquieu threw himself between the two chief divisions of the king's small army, which were never able to reunite on this side of the Alps. The detachments which had been thrown here and there in the most absurd manner, and the insignificant garrisons which had been left in a few fortresses without provisions, and almost without ammunition, abandoned their posts, and fled in a panic. Without losing a man, almost without firing a gun, the French reached Chambéry, and were there received with transports of joy by the Savoyard patriots. After making a triumphal entrance, and installing a provisional council of government, composed of ardent democrats, who were invited to consider the expediency of an immediate union and incorporation with the French republic, Montesquieu advanced a few miles on the road that led to the pass of Mont-Cenis, and took the formidable fortress of Montmélian, which had been abandoned by its garrison, although well furnished with powder, ball, and provisions. The soldiers who behaved in this unsoldierlike manner were, for the most part, Piedmontese—were men not wanting in courage or in loyalty, but they saw treachery at work all round them, and they thought that they had as much to fear from the Savoyards as from the French. The season was too far advanced, the snows were gathering too thickly on the Alps, to allow Montesquieu to penetrate into the long dale of St Jean de Maurienne, or into any of the upper parts of Savoy; besides, this advance was unnecessary, unless he intended to descend on the other side of the Alps to the plains of Piedmont, for the docile Savoyards who were too poor to be plundered, were sure to submit to the French republicans, or to whatever council of government they might choose to set up at Chambéry. On the side of Nice there was the same mixture of imbecility and treachery in those who commanded for the King of Sardinia, and the same sympathy among the people for the French and their enticing principles. An Alpine crossed the river Var, which there forms the frontier, on the night of the 23rd of September. An inconsiderable corps d'armée, composed of Piedmontese and Sardinians, retreated in the greatest confusion, and, without firing a shot, left the city of Nice open to the invaders. Two hundred grenadiers, who threw themselves

into Villa-Franca with some disorderly militia, surrendered at discretion, giving up to the French one hundred pieces of artillery, magazines full of ammunition and materials of war, a frigate, and a corvette. Without the least exertion, except that of marching to their prey, the republicans got possession of all that sea-board, of all the lower part of the country of Nice lying between the maritime Alps and the Mediterranean, save and except only the citadel of Mont-Albano that stands on a high and pointed rock overhanging the town of Nice. To co-operate in this war of coasts the Girondist executive had dispatched from the near port of Toulon Admiral Truguet with eleven ships of the line, some frigates, and other vessels, having on board 2000 land troops. This fleet now came to anchor, and assisted in the siege of Mont-Albano, which very soon capitulated. Before the siege Truguet had been cruising up and down the coast, and the constant sight of his formidable force, and the uncertainty as to the point where he might land the troops, had bewildered and disheartened the Piedmontese and Sardinians. After the surrender of Mont-Albano, the French advanced as far as Saorgio, a strong fortress, which commands the entrance of the pass of Col-di-Tenda. A part of the Piedmontese army, who had been joined by some of the newly-arrived Austrian troops, here met them manfully, and drove them back with some loss. Anselme renewed the combat a day or two after with his entire force; he gained possession of the post; but here he was obliged to halt, and he could never get beyond Saorgio. In proportion as he increased his distance from the populous city of Nice, he found the inhabitants of the country indifferent to or ignorant of the Rights of Man and all that new philosophy, attached to their church and their priests, devoted to their king, and furious against the invaders of his dominions. These feelings and passions were made the stronger by a horrible slaughter that was perpetrated by Truguet and his fleet at Oneglia, a small but thriving town on the coast, the birth-place of the great Andrea Doria. Truguet sent an officer and boat's crew to summon this place to surrender. In the rage of the moment, or—which is at least as probable—through the ignorance of these rough people as to the intention of the French, and as to the respect due to such heralds, some musket shots were fired at the boat, the officer was wounded, and one or two of his men were killed. Truguet forthwith drew up close to the town, and began a tremendous bombardment, throwing shot and shell for hours, as if the safety of his republic depended upon the destruction of that picturesque little place. When the churches and houses seemed half-battered to pieces, he disembarked his land troops, and these, in conjunction with the sailors, put everything to sack, fire, and sword. Some of the inhabitants got out at the back of the town and escaped to the mountains; the rest were butchered; and Oneglia was left a heap of smoking

ruins. Half a century has passed since these horrors were committed, but the memory of them has been transmitted from father to son in eloquent and exciting tradition, and there is not at this day on all that coast a mariner or peasant but will recount with flashing eyes the horrible particulars of the destruction of Oneglia. It was pure vengeance, though perhaps not unaccompanied by some intention of working out Danton's problem, *faire peur*. Oneglia, a detached possession of the king of Sardinia, was surrounded on all sides by the territories of the republic of Genoa, which was at peace with France; the possession of it could have been of little or no use to the French. After this exploit Truguet showed his flag for a time in the port of Genoa, and then returned to Toulon, not without some apprehension of being intercepted by an English fleet, for the British ambassador had withdrawn from Paris in consequence of the dethronement of Louis XVI. and of all that had been done on the 10th of August.

We return to Paris. On the appointed day, the 21st of September, the members elected to the Convention met in the Tuileries, the greater part of which was riddled by the cannon-balls of the 10th of August. The elections for the city of Paris may enable the reader to judge of the spirit and influence under which they had been made, and will convey a tolerably correct notion of the character of the deputies returned by most of the departments. The Parisian deputies were—Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, David, Fabre d'Églantine, Legendre, Panis, Sergent, Billaud Varennes, Auguier, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Dussaulx, Fréron, Marat, Philippe Egalité, Thomas, Manuel, Boucher, Beauvais, Raffron, Robert, Lavoisier, Osselin, and Laignelot. They included in their number all the members of the notorious committee of surveillance of the commune who had directed the *égorgements* or *Septembriseurs*. Among them were three newspaper editors, a butcher, a painter, an actor, an engraver, a prince of the blood royal, two street orators and authors, and one advocate—"which," says Thiers, "represented the confusion and the variety of existences which then agitated the capital of France." The first two returned by the Paris electors were Robespierre and Danton. Their success, about which there never could have been a moment's doubt, was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the Jacobin club and by the commune, who, in fact, had secured their return. Marat had the same all-efficient support, and was passionately recommended to the Parisian electors by Chabot, who treated with contempt the remonstrances of such as represented that the Friend of the People was rather too fond of blood, and was already lying under two criminal accusations. Brissot, who was Marat's rival candidate, had no chance against him, and was obliged to get returned by one of the departments. These elections proved that he and his party could do nothing with Paris, and without

Paris there was no hope of victory to them in the mortal combat they were entering upon with the ultra-Jacobins. After the failure of Brissot, some of the Girondists set up *Doctor Priestley* against Marat, but the doctor was beaten by the horse-dog. Some have thought that the losing the honour of representing the city of Paris in the Convention, and his mortification at being beaten by a man like Marat, may have contributed to keep Priestley away from France. Thomas Paine, who had gained additional consideration by publishing the second part of the 'Rights of Man,' was elected by the department of the Las de Calvès. Priestley was elected by the department of L'Orme, but never took his seat in the Convention, because," as his friends said in the House, "he could not speak our language." Abbe Sieyès, who had not very patiently endured Robespierre's self-denying ordinance, was recruited by the department of La Sûreté, and various other members of the first or Constituent Assembly, who had scarcely been heard of since the dissolution of that body, found their way into the Convention. The departments of the south remained till richly content to their representatives in the Legislative Assembly, and there was not one Girondist of any note but found a place in the Convention. These Girondists, who had sat on the left before, now took their places on the right: the Jacobins taking the left, and Robespierre with the delegation of Paris and all the most excessive Jacobins seating themselves at the summit of the left (*sur la cote de la gauche*), from which position they obtained the name—the memorable name—of *la Montagne*, or the Mountain. What had been called the "Centre" was now called the "Plain," and, at the beginning, it was occupied by a very considerable portion of the House, some being moderates, some cowards, and a great many mere trimmers, ready to go with the Jacobins or with the Girondists, according to circumstances. The first president appointed was Mayor Petion. On the first day only 371 members presented themselves, but these were more than enough, and after their elections had been verified they passed from the Tuileries and took possession of the Salle de Manège. The first oration was delivered by Manuel, procurator of the commune, and a man of letters besides. 'Representatives of the sovereign people,' said he, "the mission with which you are charged would require the power and wisdom of the immortal gods." When Cincas entered the senate of Rome, he thought he saw an assemblage of kings. A similar comparison would be an insult to you, for here one must see an assemblage of philosophers met to prepare the happiness of the world. I therefore demand that the president of the Convention and of France shall be lodged in the national palace (the Tuileries), that the attributes of the law and the public force be ever at his side, and that every time he comes down to the House all the citizens present receive him standing. The homage thus rendered

to the sovereignty of the people will incessantly recall to our minds our rights and our duties.' Manuel was a Girondist, or acting thus time under the impulse of that party, and Petion, another Girondist, would have been the first—as first president of the Convention—to receive these royal honours. The proposition was the first monstrous mistake committed by the Gironde in their new capacity as conventionalists: it provoked the Jacobins and furnished them with excellent materials for popular harangues and newspaper articles, in which the chiefs of the Gironde were held up to execration as men incapable of the true principles of equality, as tools eager for pomp and parade, or as scoundrels that were attempting to get a more than kingly state and power into their own hands. Even in the present debate the Jacobin members used a term which ought to have warned them to take heed. Mathieu Mégeu, usually very seriously remarked that he did not think the Convention, which was, indeed, met to prepare the happiness of mankind, ought to be in their leisure with such dissensions, that the first Assembly had lost a great deal of time in calculating the colour, form, and dimensions of the credevant king's seat. "I believe," said he, "that the National Convention, at whose aspect all powers and dignities are annihilated, ought to mark the first moments of its existence by declaring that all powers and functions whatsoever are vacant, and to be filled up by the Convention itself." L'Académie Chabot was astounded, contented at citizen Manuel's scheme. "The French nation," said he, "according to the Convention *the hundred thirty* who were members of the last Assembly, and whom it took individually the solemn oath to admit kings and royalty has surely sufficiently expressed that its will is to establish a popular government. The nation wishes to abolish not only the name of king, but every thing that smells of prerogative and dignity. Since we have no president—there can be no president of France!" The only duty that we can aspire to is to mix our lives with the sans-culottes who compose the great majority of the nation. It is only in assimilating ourselves to the sans-culottes that we can acquire the dignity that is necessary to make our decrees respected. I think, too, it is very necessary that this Convention declare that it will appeal directly to the people for their concurrence and approval in whatever decrees we may pass." Manuel attempted to explain away what he had said: he was too good a patriot to wish that the president should be environed by the luxury of kings, he only wished to give him an attitude "proud and simple like Virtue and Genius," he only wished that every president of the Assembly in his turn should be lodged in the Tuileries, where the citizens might know where to find him, and have easy access to him. But this only afforded more cutting arguments to the Jacobins of the Mountain. Tallien said—"Once out of this hall, our president is nothing more

than a simple citizen. If people want to speak with him, they will go and seek him at his third floor, or up in his garret—for virtue and patriotism dwell in garrets. Citizen Manuel's proposition is unworthy of a representative of the people, it ought to be rejected, and never reproduced." It was rejected without a division. Then Tallien proposed that the Convention should take a solemn oath never to separate until they had given to the French people a stable government, founded on the true principles of liberty and equality. Couthon, that miserable cripple, who was always allowed to speak sitting because his diseases would not allow him to stand or ascend the tribune, thought rather that they ought to swear in the first place to the sovereignty, the sole and undivided sovereignty—of the people. Buzot begged to observe that so many oaths had been broken during the last four years, that they no longer carried any weight with the people. "I demand therefore," said he, "that, instead of oaths, we pass a law making every man guilty of death that shall in the future attempt what verges against liberty and sovereignty of the people." It was then that Danton rose, for the first time to speak as a member. He began by observing that he felt it sacred his office as minister of justice. "I may be permitted," said he, "to resign to the Convention the high functions I received from the Legislative Assembly, I received them at the hands of the nation which the citizens—the capital were thundering against despotism. But now I will be nothing more than a representative of the people. I am in this quality that I now speak to you. It has been proposed to take measures, but I say, let us issue a solemn declaration to the people to acquaint them with the sentiments and principles which will direct all our labours in the vast career we are entering upon, let us declare that there can be no constitution but such is may be accepted and approved by the majority of the people. If you make this declaration there will be an end to certain phantoms, to certain extravagant ideas about dictators and tyrannicides, all the absurdities, invented to frighten the people, will disappear when we have told them that nothing can be constituted except what they themselves have accepted. After having made this declaration, we may make another to restore public tranquillity. Up to this point we have *righted* the people, because it was necessary to keep them on the alert against tyrants, but that necessity is over. Some men have seemed to think, some excellent citizens have presumed that the ardent friends of liberty may injure social order by exaggerating their republican principles. Well, then, let us abjure all such exaggeration, let us declare that men shall keep what they have got, that all landed and personal property shall be eternally respected." The Convention presently decreed—1 That there could be no constitution until it was accepted by the people, 2 That the security of person and property is under the safe guard of the nation, & That for the present the

nation must pay taxes, as before. Then Colot d'Herbois rose to say that the members of the Convention could not, without being false to the nation, defer for a single instant the formal decree of the abolition of royalty. He was seconded by Abbe Grignon, Constitutional Bishop of Blois, by a constitution which no longer existed. "Assuredly," said this tri-colour prelate, "no man can think of keeping in France this fatal race of kings. We all know too well that kindly dynasties have never been anything but races of cannibals living on human flesh. But still we must make the friends of liberty sure of our intentions. We must break a talisman which yet has magic power enough to stupify a good many men. We must declare by a solemn law that royalty is abolished for ever in France." Côte Droit, Côte Gauche, Montan, all rose to a man, shouting and applauding, and the solemn law or decree was passed in a minute in these concise terms—"The National Convention decrees that royalty is abolished in France." This was a forcible work. The Girondists did not wish to go so fast, but they had not courage enough to speak up bravely, at four o'clock they all went to their dinners. In the evening session they elected Couthon to vice-president and received a number of deputations from patriotic bodies. At night there were wonderful rejoicings. "Who would have thought a year ago," said Brissot's new paper, "when a corrupt faction held the people in chains, that France would so soon become a republic." By what fatality was it that only a year ago the most noble idea, the government best suited to the dignity of man, and the most proper to excite beautiful sentiments and glorious actions excited nothing but murmurs, terror, and an almost general anarchy? Was it ignorance, hypocrisy, interest? It was all these together. Who is there but must remember with grief that the word republic was then almost proscribed in the Jacobin Club itself, that it was necessary to make use of cratrical figures of speech in justifying one's republicanism, that a man whose whole art consists in crying down the talents of other men, his superior (Robespierre), vowed in the National Assembly that he did not know what people meant by a republic?"

No time was lost in making the business of the morning known to the prisoners in the Temple. Cien who remained there, not without constant danger to his own life says, "On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one Lubin, a municipal officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. Lubin's voice was of the Stentorian kind. The royal family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of royalty, and of the establishment of a republic. Hebert, so well known by the name of Père du Chêne, and Dantonelles, since made minister of public contributions, were then on guard over the family;

they were sitting at the time near the door, and started the king in the face with a malicious grin. The monarch perceived it, but, having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear upon his countenance. The queen displayed equal resolution, not a word, not a gesture escaped either of them to increase the malignant enjoyment of those men. At the end of the proclamation the trumpets sounded again, and I went to one of the windows: the eyes of the populace were immediately turned upon me, I was taken for my royal master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The horsemen made menacing signs with their sabres, and I was obliged to withdraw to put an end to the tumult."

The next mistake committed by the Girondists was to demand a guard for the Convention, which was always to be kept in Paris around the legislature, as the guards of the king were formerly kept near the person of the king, and which was to be formed out of good citizens taken from all the eighty-three departments. Buzot and others of his party represented that without some such guard there would be no liberty of debate or of action in the Assembly, and no security for life and property in the capital, that, the republic being once established, it was necessary the laws should have the ordinary course, so that an immense number of citizens should no longer live in constant dread. This demand, which incensed the Parisians beyond measure, was violently opposed by the men of the Mountain, who accused the Girondists of insulting the patriots of the capital, of listening to the complaints of aristocrats and traitors, of aiming at arbitrary power by the establishment of a corps of Janissaries, who would be blindly devoted to their own party. The Girondists replied by accusing the ultra-Jacobins of cruelty and ferocity, of all the guilt of the crimes committed in September, and by taxing them with a fixed design of prolonging anarchy and murder for their own advantage. The Girondists, however, were strong enough to carry the vote that a committee should be appointed to settle the organisation of a departmental guard, and prepare laws to punish all such men as should excite the people to acts of violence and blood. On the next day, when a Girondist demanded that the report of the committee should be presented to the House, so that no time might be lost, the contention between the two parties and the accusations they heaped upon each other became still more terrible. The Mountain declared that they knew that their adversaries were entertaining projects fatal to liberty and equality, and now the Girondists declared they knew that the Mountain were aiming at a dictatorship or at a triumvirate, and that all the massacres of September had been committed in order to promote their detestable project. Mirlin, the friend of Robespierre, dared them to the proof. Lasource, speaking for the Gironde, repeated the charges, but without offering any proof whatever, without naming any one.

Osselin, one of the Paris deputies, rushed to the tribune and exclaimed, that it was he, and his friends who had been elected with him by the capital that Lasource meant to indicate, that there were no better patriots than they, that they abhorred the notion of a dictator or a triumvirate, that all they wished was to render the republic as democratic as possible, and that no man in the Convention durst name one of them. The great orators of the Gironde sat silent, but Robespierre, a new and second-rate man of the party, rose and said, "Well, then, I will tell you that there is a party—there is a man in this Assembly named Robespierre—and that is the man I denounce!" All eyes were turned upon the incorruptible. He betrayed no emotion, he did not rise or speak, but Danton rose and spoke forcibly, well knowing that under the triumvirate he himself was joined with Robespierre and Marat. Danton observed that it was a bad beginning to the republic to indulge in violent and unfounded accusations against one another. "People," said he, "talk about dictators and triumvirs, but this is all vague. If any citizen has grounds for an accusation, let him come forward and make a deposition and sign it with his name." Robespierre cried out that he would sign it. "Be it so," rejoined Danton, "and if you can prove that there are among us men guilty of such crimes, let them die—let them perish even though my best friend should be among them." He described his own public career, boasting that for three years he had done everything he had thought it his duty to do for liberty, that during the time he was minister of justice he had exerted all the vigour of his character, and had carried into the council all the activity and zeal of a patriot inflamed by the love of his country. He said not a word for or about Robespierre, thinking, no doubt, that Robespierre, at his own good time, could speak for himself, but he took up the defence of Marat, against whom the opinion of the House was running much more strongly. "It is true," said Danton, "that there exists among us deputies of Paris a man whose opinions are perhaps as extreme in republicanism as those of the ultra-Revolutionaries in anarchy—I mean Marat. I have been too long accused of being the author of his writings. I call upon the virtuous citizen in the chair (Petion) to testify that he has seen a threatening letter addressed to me by that citizen, that he witnessed a violent quarrel between Marat and me at the Marais. But I attribute that citizen's violence to the vexations and persecutions he has undergone in advocating the cause of liberty. I believe that the cellars and subterranean places in which he was long compelled to conceal himself have ulcerated his soul." It is but too true that excellent citizens may hitherto have been republicans in excess, we must all agree in this, but do not accuse, on account of some one extravagant individual, the whole deputation of Paris. As for myself, I do not belong to Paris, I was born in a department towards which I always turn my eyes

with a feeling of tender pleasure. But not one of us ought to belong to such or such a department, but to France!" From the defensive he then turned to the offensive, and hit the Gironde with an accusation as vague as that which they had brought against Robespierre and his friends. "It is suspected," said he, "that there are federalists in this House, that there are men among us who think of splitting France into separate republics. Let us dissipate these absurd ideas by pronouncing the pain of death upon the authors of them. France must be one and indivisible; there must be a unity of representation; the citizens of Marseilles in the south must be the same as the citizens of Dunkirk in the north. I therefore demand the penalty of death against every man that would destroy this unity; and I propose to decree that the National Convention lays down, as the basis of the government it is going to establish, unity of representation, unity of the executive. The Austrians will tremble with fear and rage at learning this holy harmony; and then, I swear, all our enemies will be dead!" Buzot said that there was nobody in the House that could think of dividing France into a number of federal states; that it was not because his friend Barbaroux had spoken of troops from Marseilles that there was any plan for making the south predominant; that the departmental guard which he had proposed was in reality intended to preserve the unity and indivisibility of France, and to check the too visible tendency of some parts of the country to federation and division. When this Girondist had spoken at some length, Robespierre mounted the tribune. "In replying," said he, "to the accusation brought against me by citizen Rebecqui, it is not my own cause, but the cause of the people, that I shall defend. When you have heard me, you will believe that I do not think about myself, but about my country. Citizen, who have had the courage to accuse me in the face of the representatives of the people, in a place where I have so often defended the people's rights, I thank you! I recognise in the act the civism of the celebrated city (Marseilles) which has deputed you to the Convention. I thank you, for we shall all gain something by this accusation. Citizens, it is no doubt difficult to reply to an accusation which has no precision—to reply to the most vague, the most chimerical of imputations; yet I will reply. There are men who would sink under the weight of such a charge, but I am a stranger to such weakness; thanks to my enemies, thanks to my recollections of all that I have done for liberty! It was I that, in the Constituent Assembly, fought all the factions for three long years; it was I that combated the court, rejected its presents, scorned the caresses of the most seductive party which, under the mask of patriotism, rose at that time to oppress liberty!" Many voices cried out, "This is not the question: to the question, Robespierre!" "Representatives," said his friend Tallien, who had been elected to the Convention by the department of Seine-et-Oise, "a member who

is inculpated has the right of replying. Silence!"

Robespierre then continued his political history, boasting of all that he had done for liberty and equality, boasting of his disinterestedness and constant sacrifice of self, of his poverty, of the persecutions he had undergone, of the terrible threats with which he had been menaced, of the self-denying ordinance by which, at the close of the first Assembly, he had shut himself out from the road of honour and political power. An impatient member cried out, "When will Robespierre finish this tedious story? Let him come to the point!" Another member exclaimed, still more rudely, "Robespierre, leave off talking about what you did in the Constituent Assembly, and tell us simply whether you have aspired to be dictator or one of a triumvirate." Both these members were loudly applauded by the majority of the House; but the Incorruptible, apparently nothing abashed, continued his long narrative, insisting on the sacred right which every member must enjoy, of delivering his own opinions in his own manner. Wearied out with his constant repetitions of "I did this," and "I did that," many of the members murmured, and made a loud noise; but this old method, which had been successful in so many cases, could not silence or confound Robespierre. "I feel," said he, "that it is extremely disagreeable to be continually interrupted in this manner, but" "Be shorter, then: abridge your tedious discourse," cried the Girondists. "I will not abridge," cried he; "I will force you to hear me!" And he continued his narration, hinting that he might find it very necessary to invoke the justice of the Convention against certain members who were his personal enemies. "For the love of heaven, president, make Robespierre finish!" cried a Girondist. "It is of infinite importance," cried Jacobin Ducos, "that Robespierre should be perfectly free in choosing his own method for justifying himself. I demand, for his interest, and for the interest of all of us, that he be heard without interruption." The Mountain applauded, and Robespierre went on with his oration, which was little more than a general eulogium of his political life and actions. He, however, told the Girondists, that, whatever they might do at Marseilles, or in the departments of the south, they could not shake his popularity in Paris, or deceive the patriots of the capital as to his worth; and he concluded with renewing the charge of federalism—the charge that the Girondists not feeling themselves strong enough to dominate over the whole of France, were aiming at dividing it, in order to work out their theories and their own greatness in a part of it. He said he had confined himself to generalities, as Rebecqui's charge against him was general and vague in the extreme, being unsupported by a single fact or allegation. Barbaroux ascended the tribune, and said he would sign the denunciation which Rebecqui had made, he would speak to particular facts, which would prove the libicide projects of Robespierre. "We Marseillais," ex-

claimed Barbaroux, "came to Paris in the month of July. You all know the patriotic conspiracy (*conspiration patriotique*) that was then entered into for upsetting the throne of Louis XVI the tyrant. The Marseillaise having made that revolution on the 10th of August, it is not astonishing that they should have been sought after and courted by the different parties which unhappily divide France. We were conducted to Robespierre's house. There we were told that it was necessary to rally round citizens who had acquired popularity, and citizen Panis mentioned Robespierre by name as the virtuous man who ought to be the dictator of France. But we answered that the men of Marseilles would never bow the head either to king or dictator." This was the only allegation of any particular fact that Barbaroux could make, and, though it might inculpate Panis, it could not very seriously affect Robespierre. Those who had expected the revelation of many secret facts were disappointed and disconcerted by this solemn disclosure of a nothing. The Antinus of the revolution then continued still more vaguely, declaring that all the usurpations and proceedings of the commune proved the existence of a plot to establish a dictatorship. "It is for this," said he, "that some members of the Convention are set against the departmental guard proposed for this Assembly by citizen Buzot. The commune who control the national guards of Paris are afraid that this force from the departments will make the Convention strong enough to defy the commune and put a stop to its usurpations. But this opposition will be all in vain, the patriots will come from the departments and make us a rampart with their bodies. Light hundred men of Marseilles are already on their march for the capital to protect and defend us. Marseilles, which has constantly anticipated the best decrees of the National Assembly—Marseilles, which four months ago abolished royalty, and set us the first example of that saving measure—Marseilles has chosen these eight hundred men from among its most patriotic citizens, from among its most independent and respectable inhabitants. The fathers of these brave young men have given to each of them a pair of pistols, a sabre, a musket and an assignat of five hundred livres. They are accompanied by two hundred horsemen, armed and equipped at their own expense. They will soon arrive, and, never doubt it, the Parisians will receive them as friends and brothers, notwithstanding all this opposition to their coming." After recommending unanimity in the Convention, energy in prosecuting the war, and the prompt trial of the *citoyen* Louis XVI, Barbaroux said, "As for Robespierre, whom I have been obliged to accuse, I declare that I have done so with great regret, for I loved him, I esteemed him, we all loved and esteemed him formerly—yes, we all loved him." And even now, let him acknowledge his faults and renounce his schemes, and we will give up our accusations and be friends again."

Tallien, who had the sense to know that the commune was and must remain stronger than the Convention, and that the Girondists had committed an enormous blunder in making so plian a declaration of war against it before they had any force wherewith to open the campaign, taxed Barbaroux with calumny and falsehood, and asked him where the revolution would have been but for the commune of Paris. Several members gave the lie back to Tallien, saying (though these very men were rejoicing in the great result, the republic, now attained) that in thing was so evident as that the commune had exceeded its powers, had committed great crimes, had endeavoured to make a federation with all the municipalities of the empire. After these members had spoken Panis ascended the tribune to reply to the imputation of citizen Barbaroux, and to deny that he had ever named Robespierre as a proper man to be dictator. He declared that his only object in seeking the Marseillaise before (and not after) the 10th of August was to induce them to change barracks and take up their quarters in the Cordeliers where Danton presided, and where a certain number of good citizens were patriotically plotting the success of the Tuileries. He swore that this was the only time he had ever conferred with Barbaroux, and that this conference related entirely and solely to the removal of the Marseillaise to the Cordeliers' monastery the headquarters of liberty, it was said having been sought by him or by any of his friends about a dictatorship or about a dictatorship. He called upon the chiefs of the Marseillaise themselves, who were present at the conference, to confirm what he said. He was proceeding to defend the conduct and operations of the commune's terrible committee of surveillance, when Brissot started up and asked why that committee had delivered an order to arrest *him*, a deputy of the Assembly. "Was it not in order that I might be massacred with the rest of the prisoners in the Abbaye?" said Brissot. Panis could tell him that he did not pay sufficient attention to the terrible circumstances in which the committee and the commune found themselves. He denied that there had been an order of arrest against Brissot, and in this at least it seems pretty certain that he spoke the perfect truth. "We have saved you," said Panis, "we have saved you all and made the revolution you wanted, and now you lie up calumnies upon us. This, then, is to be the fate of those who sacrifice themselves for the triumph of liberty! Our political and personal character, warm, firm, energetic, has made us a great many enemies. But only figure to yourselves our situation on the 2nd and 3rd of September! We were surrounded by citizens maddened by the treasons of the court. We were told that there was an aristocrat here, a conspirator there, that must be punished, or we must pass for traitors. With the knife at our throats we were forced to sign many orders, and to do many things which we would not otherwise have done. For example, a great many good citizens

came to tell us that you, Brissot, were setting out for London, with a great deal of money, and with written proofs about you of guilty machinations. Undoubtedly I did not believe in this charge, but I could not answer personally, and on my own head, that it was not true. I had to moderate the effervescence of the *best citizens*, recognised as such by you yourself; and so I thought I could do better than send some commissaries of the commune to demand fraternally a sight of your papers, which might dissipate the dangerous suspicions." The Girondists, even now, said as little as possible about the massacres which were past; but they dwelt upon the writings and placards of Marat, which they said were traducing the Convention and inviting the people to commit fresh murders. The Friend of the People had heard himself many times named without making any effort to justify himself; but at last his wretched figure and hideous face were seen in the tribune. The apparition seemed to excite a general feeling of horror, disgust, and loathing; and his first attempt to speak in that House was interrupted by tremendous cries of "Down! Down! à bas de la trépanne!" Lacroix, the close friend of Danton, hoped the Convention would not condemn a member without hearing him, and formally moved that Marat should be heard. Then, shuffling and grinning, the Friend of the People said: "I perceive that I have a great many personal enemies here." Nearly every member of the House started to his feet and shouted, "All! All! we are all your enemies!" Nothing discomposed by their shouts and the hissing and hooting that followed, the cynical little monster snuffled on: "Yes, I perceive I have a good many enemies here; but shame on them, they ought not so to treat, and hoot, and threaten a man who has devoted his life to his country and to their own salvation! Let them listen for one moment in silence. I will not tire their patience! I am no speech-maker. I render thanks to the hidden hand which has thrown this vain phantom among us to intimidate weak minds, to sow discussions among good citizens, and to cast discredit on the Parisian members. They talk of triumvirates and dictatorships, and attribute these designs to our metropolitan members. Well then! I owe it to justice to declare that my colleagues, and especially Danton and Robespierre, have always condemned every idea of establishing a tribune of the people, a triumvirate, or a dictator—have always opposed the opinions which I entertain, and which I have avowed on this point. I, first and alone, have thought of a dictatorship as the only means of crushing the anti-revolutionary traitors. If this be punishable, punish me, and me alone—but first hear me!" The House, now silent enough, stared and listened, while Marat expounded what sort of dictator it was he meant, and why it was he had so long recommended proscription and murder. "You see," said he, "that, if you accuse me of crime, the sovereign people will give you the lie; for, obedient to my voice, and convinced that

the means I proposed were the only ones that could save liberty, they themselves assumed the dictatorship, and have freed themselves of the traitors that were swarming in Paris. I have myself shuddered at seeing the impetuous movements of the people continue for too long a time, and I wanted a good citizen, wise, just, firm, known for his ardent love of liberty, to direct these irregular movements of the people, and make them all serve to the public salvation. If I had been listened to on the day when the Bastille was conquered, the heads of five hundred conspirators would have flown from their shoulders: this would have terrified traitors, and to-day we should all be quiet and happy, with law, and justice, and liberty established within our walls. It was for this purpose I often proposed an instantaneous authority to be lodged in some wise and strong man, who might be called Tribune of the People, or Dictator, or what you will, for the name is nothing. But a proof that I did not want to enchain my country is, that I always required that this tribune or dictator should have chains and a cannon-ball fastened to his feet, and that he should have no authority except for striking off guilty heads. Such has been my notion. I have not propagated it in private societies; I have printed it in my paper; and I do not blush at it yet. If you cannot understand me, so much the worse for you, for *our revolution is not finished!* Let those who accuse me of ambitious views look at my poverty and present state, and judge for themselves. If I had chosen to put a price upon my silence, if I had sought after money or place, the favour of the court would not have been denied to me. But I threw myself into dungeons, I condemned myself to misery and want, and every kind of danger. The swords of twenty thousand assassins were suspended over me; I preached truth with my head on the block!" Such was the tone of Marat's first oration in the National Convention; and, whatever might be the feeling of the majority of the House (of the Girondists, who in their turn were trying to prop themselves up by and with the respectabilities, who were ten times weaker now than when Lafayette and the Feuillants had tried the same experiment), it secured the assent and enthusiastic applauses of the real sans-culottes in the galleries, who were so entirely of his way of thinking, that they interrupted Vergniaud, the great Girondist orator, who was going to reply to him. When Vergniaud could be heard he said that, if there could be a disgrace for a representative of the people, it was, to his mind, that of succeeding in the tribune to a man, who had been the object of repeated criminal charges, from which he had never cleared himself. "I glory in them," exclaimed Marat. "Is it the decrees of the unpatriotic and iniquitous Châtelet court that Vergniaud would speak of?" asked Chabot. "Does he allude to the decrees of accusation with which citizen Marat was honoured for having struck to the earth the traitor Lafayette?" asked Tallien. "I say," exclaimed

Vergniaud, "that it is a disgrace to have to speak of a foul man that sweats blood and gall." He was interrupted again by angry murmurs. As soon as he was allowed to continue, Vergniaud begged it to be understood that he and his friends had no intention of inculcating all the deputies of Paris, since Dussaulx, David (as sanguinary a fanatic at this time as any in the number), and others, who would, no doubt, merit well of the country, were among them. Next, he read the circular letter of the 3rd of September which the committee of surveillance had sent to the departments, and which bore the signatures of Duplain, Panis, Sergent, and Marat. Without dwelling upon the infernal atrocity of that circular in recommending the provinces to imitate the massacres of the capital, Vergniaud said it contained a calumny against the National Assembly, and provoked the people to murder many of its members as being accomplices of the court, or as he expressed it, "of the excesses of the court." "Only remark the chronological coincidences," said he, "this letter is dated on the 3rd of September, and it is in the night between the 2nd and the 3rd that a man whom I had never mentioned but with respect and esteem—that Robespierre told the people that there was a great plot which he alone could defeat—that here was a plot for delivering up France to the Duke of Brunswick and that Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Condorcet, Lacroix, and others of the Girondins were at the head of it." Sergent gave him the letter, exclaiming "Vergniaud, all that is false!" And that it was false was best proved by the fact that Vergniaud was alive to tell the story, and his party alive to hear him. Lowering sail, Vergniaud responded that he was happy to learn that Robespierre too had been calumniated. He then spoke of the massacres and of the formal invitation to murder and assassination which had been given to the people, but still cautiously, still modestly, like one who yet trembled under the knife of the sovereign people, or like one who had determined to shut his eyes to the fact that no violent provocation could have led any people but the French to commit such atrocities—that nothing but a universal bloodthirstiness mixed with an apathy scarcely less detestable could account for the prolongation, in a populous and crowded capital, of such enormities. He said, "That the people, with a patience worn out by a long series of treasons, should have risen at last and have taken signal vengeance on their enemies is not so extraordinary—is nothing but a resistance to oppression. And, even if they have committed some excesses which go beyond the limits of a just vengeance, I can only say in that the crime of those who provoked them by their long treachery and treason. The good citizen will throw a veil on these partial disorders (*les ordres partiels*), and will only speak of the courage of the people, of the ardour of the citizens, of the glory which ought to attend a people who know how to break their

chains." The gist of this part of Vergniaud's speech seems to be nothing more nor less than this, that the massacres were all very well until they threatened the Girondists. Bailieu, another Girondist, who followed Vergniaud, said, that Marat was calling for a fresh insurrection, and he read a passage from Marat's newspaper of the very day. The passage he quoted was rather a proof of Marat's sagacity and foresight than of the allegation of the Girondist. It was to this effect—"Seeing the temper of the majority of this Convention, I own that I despair of the public safety. If in the first eight sittings the Convention shall not be able to lay the foundation of our constitution, there is nothing to be hoped from it. Fifty years of anarchy await France, and you will emerge from it only by the power of some dictator who shall be a true patriot and statesman. Oh! prating people, if you did but know how to act!" There was nothing so atrocious in this passage from Marat's newspaper as in the circular of the committee of surveillance, but it excited infinitely more indignation or noise. Amidst loud cries of "Send him to the Abbaye," Marat rose with great sang froid, and demanded to be heard. Bailieu exclaimed that such a monster ought to be expelled. Another Girondist demanded that Marat should be heard only at the bar. "Oh!" quoth Marat, "I entreat the Assembly not to get into a great passion against me!" Another Girondist said that he ought to answer whether he avowed or disavowed the atrocious extract which had been read. "Oh!" responded Marat, "there is no need to make this call upon me. Some men have dared to throw in my teeth the proscriptions and decrees and accusations of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. But do you not see that the people themselves have upset all those decrees by electing me one of their representatives, and by calling upon me to take my seat among you? The people judge correctly of my intentions—the same citizens know that their cause is my cause. The accusations, the flunies which some men in this Convention have reproached me with form and constitute my glory! The decrees they speak of were lionised against me only for my having unmasked traitors and detected conspirators. For eighteen months have I lived under the sword of Lafayette! If that traitor could have got possession of my person, he would have annihilated me and the most zealous defender of the people would no longer exist. As for the passage cited from my writings, I confess it I avow it, for never has it escaped my lips, and dissimulation was ever a stranger to my heart—but I beg to observe that that passage was written ten days ago, when the Convention had not met, and when the election were going on. Then, indignant at seeing the election to the Convention of some men whom I had long ago denounced as enemies to the people—at witnessing the triumph of this faction of the Gironde who are now persecuting me, I wrote what is written, and stuck it up in the streets o

Paris. It is only through a little roguery of my printer that the passage has appeared in small type in my paper of to-day. But I have an incontestable proof that I wish to march with you, at least with all friends of the country; and here is my proof—it is the first number of a new journal which I am going to publish under the name of ‘*The Republican*.’ Gentlemen, you will permit me to read a few passages? You will see in them the homage I render to the Convention, and then you will be better able to judge the man who is now accused before you.” The Assembly ordered one of their secretaries to read this new sheet, which appears to have contained nothing but a rhapsody of words, unsusceptible of any definite meaning. It, however, had a very favourable effect on an Assembly which was eternally taking rhodomontade for eloquence. “I hope,” said Marat, “I flatter myself that, after hearing these passages from my ‘*Républicain*,’ you will no longer entertain the slightest doubt as to the purity of my intentions. I can answer for the purity of my soul; but I cannot change my opinions, which are suggested by the nature of things. But permit me to remind you, that, if my justification had not appeared in my new journal, ‘*The Republican*,’ you would have condemned me to die by the sword of tyrants! This fury is unworthy of free men; but I fear nothing under the sun.” Here he drew a pistol from his pocket, and putting it to his forehead, he continued: “If you had launched a decree of accusation against me, I would have blown out my brains at the foot of this tribune. This, then, is the fruit of my nightly wakings, of my labours, of my misery, of my sufferings, of my three years of subterranean dungeons, all braved and borne for the good of my country!” The Girondists cried out that he was mad—that he ought to be driven out of the speaking-place; the Mountain and the galleries applauded; and Tallien moved the order of the day, to get rid of ridiculous accusations which had led to such a scandalous and riotous discussion. The Gironde was fluttered, awed, intimidated, and, though in a decided majority, it allowed the order of the day to be carried—which was equivalent to a decisive victory on the part of Marat, Robespierre, and the whole Mountain. Not satisfied with this triumph, the Mountain drove for the passing of the declaration, “The French republic is one and indivisible.” And this was carried as a thing of course, the blind Girondists having no notion that this formula would be the death sentence upon their party, as soon as another turn or two of the wheel should throw them at the feet of the Mountain. The morning sitting was terminated by the reading of a letter from war-minister Servan, who sent in his resignation under pretext of bad health, and with assurances that the crisis of alarm ought now to be over, as Dumouriez had united the French armies at Ste. Menébauld. A deputy moved that it should be declared that this retiring Girondist had merited well of the country; but the Convention would not come to

any vote. In the evening sitting a deputation from the Paris municipality presented itself to demonstrate that the commune cared no more for the Convention than it had cared for the last Assembly; and that it was not disposed to sit down quietly under the accusations which the Girondists had brought against it that morning. The orator of the deputation declared that all the commune had ever wished to do was to crush traitors, and make the enemies of the country tremble. The Convention basely ordered that his discourse should be printed. These somewhat minute details of what passed at Marat’s first appearance in the tribune, and at the first open attack of the Girondists upon the ultra-Jacobins, will prepare the reader for all that soon followed—for the humiliation, flight, proscription, and bloody death of a conceited, contemptible, babbling faction. Yet the Girondists themselves seem to have been unconscious that they had made a miserable exhibition of weakness. They might have been quiet, and Danton was not indisposed to reconciliation and renewal of friendship; but they kept the hostile attitude they had assumed, and, putting themselves again on the offensive, attacked the Jacobins with a fierceness which hardly leaves a doubt that they would have been as cruel after victory as we know the Mountain to have been. Brissot, like Marat, waged war in the double capacity of journalist and member of the Convention. Prudhomme, the printer, and all that class of journalists whose essays were most to the taste of the people, continued to support the Mountain, and to lash the Gironde as a troop of Syllas and Catilines and *Julius Cæsar*. Tales were invented by both contending parties to blacken and damn one another in public opinion:—on both sides the malignity was about equal.

The Convention agreed to demand from Roland, as minister of the interior, an exact and faithful account of the state of Paris; and there was now a great deal of talk on the part of the Girondists about the duty of stopping future massacres. Roland had been elected to the Convention, but, being a minister, he could not take his seat, as the first Assembly, in their wisdom, had decreed that the functions of a representative of the people and the functions of a minister were incompatible with each other, and that there would be an end to liberty and good government if any minister were allowed to debate in the House. Roland, or his wife, says that he would infinitely have preferred the honour of representing the people to the honours and emoluments of office, and that it was only at the earnest prayer of his party that he consented to remain in the ministry. The Girondists made a faint attempt to erase the decree of the first Assembly; but the majority of the Convention cried out as against a grand political heresy, and Jacobin logicians demonstrated that no man could possibly be a part of the representative and a part of the executive at the same time. It was then assumed that those who were ministers and had been elected members might make their own free

choice between the two stations; but the Jacobins urged that there could be no such choice, and that Roland, having been elected by the people, was bound to resign office and take his seat in the Convention, as Danton had done. Failing in this, some of them suggested that their own party ought to be represented in the executive, that Danton, "that revolutionary minister, who at the head of the interesting department of justice had served the cause of liberty with that vigour of character and that energy of talent which were peculiar to him," should quit his seat in the Convention and take again his seat at the council-board. But Danton would not consent to so dangerous an arrangement: he would not return to the cabinet, and he very ingeniously demonstrated that Roland and the rest ought to resign and leave the Convention to choose an entirely new executive. This, he said, was the course that Roland himself was disposed to take, and surely it would be unworthy of the dignity of the Convention and the young republic to supplicate and entreat Roland, or any other man, to remain in office. The Girondists after describing Roland as the most perfect of men and ministers, as a statesman whose like was not to be found in France or in the world, insisted that he ought to be invited to remain in the executive. "But," said Danton, "if you send an invitation of the sort to citizen Roland, you must send another to Madame his wife, for all the world knows that Roland has never been alone in his department. I was alone in mine." The Girondists murmured as if Danton had spoken treason against the nation. This provoked him, and he went on to tax Roland with incompetence and cowardice. "Not long ago," said he,—alluding to the time when the Duke of Brunswick was advancing,—"all the ministers were in despair, and Roland himself thought of quitting Paris." "Yes," rejoined Duhem, one of the most terrible men of the Mountain, "that is quite true. I myself was a witness of the fact." Here Fabius Louvet, who continued steady to his party and his devotion to Roland (who had promised at one time to make him minister of justice), said that Danton referred to a moment when the streets of Paris were placarded with the most frightful calumnies against ministers and their friends. Several Girondists cried out, "Yes! yes!—the placards of Marat!" "Alarmed at the state of the public mind," resumed Louvet, "alarmed for the safety of Roland, who was incessantly threatened in those atrocious placards, I went upon him, I showed him that his danger was great, and becoming every hour greater. And what did the virtuous Roland say? He said, 'If I am to be killed, I must wait for death, and this will be the last crime of the faction, be it what it may.' Roland, therefore, may have lost a part of his confidence, but these words prove that he had lost none of his courage." The Girondists applauded, but the Mountain continued their sneers at a minister of the interior who was governed by his wife, and who could do no

thing without her. The majority of the Assembly, however, agreed that Roland should be invited to remain in office, and he presently said, in a letter to the president that he acceded to the wishes of the House. "I remain," said he, "since calumny attacks me, since danger awaits me, since the Convention seems to desire that I should remain. It is but too glorious for me that men can reproach me for nothing but my union with courage and virtue." His creature Pache, who began to betray him, and to intrigue with the Jacobins as soon as he obtained office, or as soon as he saw that the Mountain must triumph over the Gironde, was made war-minister in lieu of Servan, who had resigned. Garity, a man of letters from Bordeaux, and the editor of a Paris newspaper, succeeded Danton as minister of justice. In his letter to the Convention (it was dated the 30th of September), Roland renewed thanks to heaven that the liberty of his country was now secured, and to the late National Assembly for having recalled him to the ministry on the 10th of August, a nomination which would be the honour of his whole life. He declared as a minister that he knew there had been projects to establish a dictatorship or a triumvirate, and that it was in furtherance of these iniquitous projects that the worst atrocities of September had been committed. He denied that he had ever shown any want of courage or that he had ever advised the council of government to flee from Paris, and he asked who had the more courage, a minister like him, who in the dreadful days which followed the 2nd of September had denounced the assassinations, or the man like Danton who had flattered and protected the assassins. He did not attempt to explain how it was that his denunciations were made so very tardily: how it was that he allowed two days and nights of massacre to elapse before he wrote his *energetic* letter to Santerre. He boasted that he had done his duty honestly, promptly, heroically, whereas in fact he had done absolutely nothing till Sunday afternoon till Tuesday evening. We know his weakness, we more than suspect his fear: we repeat he could have done little or nothing, but these after-boussings of his having done so very much fill the mind with inexpressible disgust. He resumed the subject of that departmental guard for the Convention the proposal of which the Mountain and all Paris had received with such wrath and suspicion. "Without doubt," said he, "Paris has rendered the most important services to liberty, but the people of Paris must not exercise any absolute control over the Convention. The patriots of the capital would never think of exercising this ascendancy were it not for evil councillors. The best laws can only result from a wise and mature deliberation, and there can be no such deliberation unless the legislature is left to enjoy the most perfect independence and freedom of speech and opinion. It is for this that the Convention requires an armed force that be longer neither to Paris nor to any other particular town, but to the entire republic—a force composed

of men taken from all parts of France." All this was perfectly true and in itself just; but there was no convincing the omnipotent Parisians that they ought not to retain the ascendancy they had acquired. Barbaroux in the beginning had committed a monstrous mistake in speaking of the respectabilities of the South, the countrymen or the fellow-townsmen of the Girondists, thus giving the Parisians the opportunity of saying that these Girondists were choosing their own devoted bands to give the law to the capital, to destroy the Mountain, the only sans-culottic portion of the Convention, to shut up the Jacobin Club, and commit other horrors against liberty and equality. And after all this loud talk, after securing to themselves all the odium of the mitigation, the Girondists threw up the project of the departmental guard altogether, and nothing was ever seen of Barbaroux's eight hundred respectabilities, or their braces of pistols, or their muskets, or their assignats. In the same way, after threatening the new commune with destruction, after passing a number of decrees for the appointment of a more legal or more moderate municipality, they left that body much as they found it, the only significant change being that Pétion resigned the mayoralty on becoming a member of the Convention, and was succeeded at the Hôtel-de-Ville by a Dr. Chambon, a weak silly man, but entirely devoted to the men of the Mountain. At one time the Girondists thought of threatening the Jacobin Club with the vengeance of the law, at another time they thought of attempting, to recover their influence in the club by means of their oratory and eloquence; but they neither did the one nor the other, but on this, as on all other vital points, kept talking and vacillating, discovering their weakness even where they might have concealed it, and showing no courage and energy except by fits and starts. Whenever they were ebullient they were rash and fierce. On Monday the 29th of October, Roland presented a long report to the Convention on the actual state of Paris, or rather, on the crimes and plans of the agitators. "If my lungs were as strong as my courage," said the minister of the interior, "I would read the paper myself." The Convention ordered one of the secretaries to read it for him. The report stated that the administrative bodies were without power, that the commune of Paris had become a terrible despotism; that the people of Paris were good, but deceived; that the weakness of the two preceding Assemblies had been the cause of a vast deal of mischief; that unless the Convention acted promptly there would be no remedy to the evil, and that no doubt could be entertained that the agitators, "partisans of the ancient regime, or false friends of the people," had conceived the plan of a universal anarchy, which should enable them to revel in blood and plunder. Added to the report was the attestation of the vice-president of one of the sections of the criminal tribunal, who said that a member of the Cordeliers' Club (meaning Marat or Danton, but not naming anybody) had told him that the revolution was not yet

completed; that the massacres of September had left a good deal to do yet; that a new blood-letting was indispensable, and might take place within a fortnight; that Roland, Brissot, Barbaroux, Buzot, Vergniaud, Gaudet, and Lasource were marked out; and that the only man that could save the country was Robespierre. On hearing his name pronounced, the Incorruptible begged to be heard in his own defence against this vague accusation, which was indeed more unmeaning than that which had been produced by Beau Barbaroux. The Girondists made a hooting and shouting, and demanded that Roland's paper should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. "President," roared Danton, "stop this shameful noise! Let Robespierre be heard: I will speak after him." The president, who happened to be Gaudet, told Robespierre that he could only speak to the question, or whether Roland's report was to be printed or not. The Incorruptible replied disdainfully to the president, that he had no need of his officious instructions as to the rules of the house. "I invoke," said he, "the justice of this Assembly. A representative of the people has as much right to be heard as a minister! Am I to be calumniated and condemned without being allowed to reply?" President Gaudet savagely called him to the question. "This is oppression!" exclaimed Robespierre; "this is tyranny! I am defending my honour, and perhaps my life, and the president would restrict me to a miserable question about printing a ministerial report!" "Robespierre," cried Gaudet, "if you do not speak to the question, I will put it to the vote." "Hear me first," cried the Incorruptible; "hear what I have to say!" Some of the Girondists cried out that they would not hear him, and others hooted and shouted. Robespierre was losing heart or voice, when Danton said to him, "Speak, man; there are good citizens who will hear you!" and Robespierre then continued, crying shame at these indecent interruptions, and exposing with considerable force the horrors that must ensue if representatives were to be treated in this manner, if tried patriots were to be condemned without being heard, and without a particle of evidence against them. He concluded with saying, "Who is there that will enter into a calm discussion? Who dares accuse me to my face?" Here Faublas-Louvet,—who had once ventured to attack him in the Jacobins,—rose and exclaimed, "I do—I accuse you, Robespierre!" This looked like an impromptu, and it produced a wondrous sensation; but it had all been arranged beforehand between the novelists and the Rolands; and Louvet had his harangue ready written in his pocket, and he now proceeded to read it. "I accuse you, Robespierre, of having long calumniated the purest of our patriots, and particularly in the days of September, when calumnies were proscriptions. I accuse you of having set yourself up as an object of public idolatry, and of having caused it to be said that you are the only man capable of saving the country. I accuse you of having degraded,

insulted, and persecuted the national representation, of having tyrannized by intrigue and fear over the electoral assembly and the elections of Paris, and of having aimed at supreme power by calumny, violence, and terror. I accuse you of having evidently marched towards supreme power, as is demonstrated by the facts I have enumerated, and by the whole tenor of your conduct, and I demand that a committee be appointed to examine that conduct." But facts there were none. There was a vast deal of declamation, but no statement of a fact, nothing like a good presumptive proof (that is, against Robespierre) from the beginning to the end of this long oration, which had been created by all the talent and genius of the Gironde. There were indeed several things that bore closely and heavily upon Marat, Paine, and Scranton, but the present business was to attack Robespierre, who had not been a member of the commune's committee of surveillance who had not in any way made himself or his agency apparent during the September slaughters, who was not at the time a public functionary, who did not belong to any of the councils or committees either of the commune or of the Assembly. No paper was ever found signed by him as a mere member of the municipality. We believe that Robespierre may have been deeply implicated, but it was the business of his accusers to bring forward convincing proofs, and this they failed to do—failed miserably, and so awkwardly, that they put him in the enviable position of an injured and calumniated man. Louvet's ruin, moreover, contained several palpable falsehoods, as that Pétion knew nothing of the preparations for the massacres, that the massacres were all committed by two hundred persons, or fewer, and against the intention and to the horror of all the rest of the Paris population. The oration too, which Louvet read bestowed such extravagant praise upon the virtuous minister of the interior, that the Jacobins cried out that the real intention of it was to propose Roland for a dictator. Another instance of unfair play was that Danton who had had more to do with the massacres than any man, was touched in most delicately, as if those who were accusing Robespierre would enter into a pact and alliance with the terrible executioner of justice if he would only break with Robespierre. Popular idolatry, and an influence exercised over the Paris elections, were the very bathos of accusation after all the loud denunciations and promises of the Girondists. If even, as Louvet said, it was through the influence of Robespierre that Mirat was effected, this was but a poor and inconclusive ground for impeachment, particularly after the Convention had recognised Marat's return, and had allowed him to sit among them for five or six weeks. At this moment, though the spirit of the man might be suspected, there were no overt acts wherewith to charge Robespierre, he had run the race for a republic with the rest, and, bad and mad as were his orations in the Jacobin Club, they were scarcely worse than the decla-

mations and writings of the leaders of the Gironde. Barbarous had loved him, they had all loved him for these orations, and for his conduct in the first Assembly. Vergniaud had just said that he had never mentioned Robespierre but with respect and esteem down to the night between the 2nd and 3rd of September, when he (Robespierre) was reported to have talked about cutting off the Girondists a report which neither Vergniaud nor any of his party sustained by the shadow of a proof. There has been a great deal of dramatic narrative written and printed, to the effect that Robespierre turned deadly pale, and faltered, and shrunk almost into the earth before the thunders of Louvet (who, heaven knows, was no thunderer, but is far removed as possible from all that is sublime and terrible), but there is nothing in the reports of the debate to justify these descriptions in particular. It appears, on the contrary, that, save for a minute when the Girondists were drowning him in very strong vice by superior strength of lungs and riotous hints, he was perfectly self-possessed, and that, backed by Danton, his brother Augustin Couthon, and others, he laughed at the vague accusations, and had not the slightest difficulty in inducing the Convention to put off the consideration of them until a later time. In the week to prepare his answer. In the interval the Girondists committed fresh mistakes. On the very next day Barbereux, in the Convention, while endeavouring to dissipate the suspicions of the Parisians on the subject of the department guard, gave them ground and increase, and made use of several most awkward arguments to put down the cry of federalism and southern preponderance. But the real field in which the battle must be decided was the Jacobin Club, and there Robespierre and his friends were armed at all points. On the very night after the debate in the Convention, the members of the club went down in squads to denounce the *hurler en lu* of Louvet, and to call for his immediate exposure in the society. The violence and folly of the Girondists furnished them with excellent arguments, and it was not for them to pretend that their own conduct had been, or would continue to be, more generous or more considerate. I dare declare that it was impossible to describe the second audience that passed in the Convention, where patriots were not allowed to speak against their accusers, where there was no thing, in the body of the house, but insolence and despotism, while the galleries were getting crowded with nobody but women. Robespierre himself called upon the club to arm itself with courage to resist the atrocious calumnies that were propagated, and he read a long discourse justifying the whole of his own conduct, and accusing the Girondists of state crimes far worse than any that had ever been committed or imagined by the old despotism or even by Lafayette and the Feuillants. In the same discourse the incorruptible administered enormous doses of flattery to the Paris population, not neglecting to

ask them what they could expect if this faction of men from the south were to invade and crowd the capital with provincials of their own choosing—with Marseillaise, not sans-culotte like those which Barbaroux had first brought to drive the king out of the Tuileries, but *respectabilities* like those whom Lafayette had employed to massacre the people in the Champ de Mars? The Jacobin Club unanimously resolved and decreed that this address should be printed and sent to all the affiliated societies. It had ten thousand times more chance of making an impression on the public mind than the loose accusation read by Louvet in the Convention; and, to judge impartially between the two productions, it really displayed a great deal more ability and an immense deal more tact. Butcher Legendre called attention to the fact that Louvet had been carrying his speech in his pocket for many days, and that it was a noticeable coincidence that Roland's report, Louvet's speech, and a terrible pamphlet by Brissot against the Jacobins had all appeared in the course of one morning. Merlin said that Louvet, Rebecqui, and Barbaroux were ever ready to swear what the virtuous Roland had them—ever ready to insult, in the Convention, those who were accused, and to impose silence on them when they rose to defend themselves; that Louvet, the editor of the '*Scène-nelle*' newspaper, was paid and salaried by Roland (*which was perfectly true*), that Louvet's moral character was not one of the best (*which was just as true*), and that he was "a champion of intrigue." Fabre d'Églantine said that there was a man who had seen, near at hand, all that had passed between the 10th of August and the 6th of September, that he could be a proper arbiter between Robespierre and Louvet; that this man was *Pétion*; that, whatever might be Pétion's connexions with the Gironde, he hoped he would speak the truth, particularly as he had seen him that morning on the very point of mounting the tribune to give the lie to Louvet's accusations. But Merlin condemned the notion of any such arbiter, first damning Pétion with the faintest praise, and then asking whether the ex-mayor was not the close friend of Brissot, of Roland, of Vergnaud, of Barbaroux? Another Robespierre, the younger brother of the Incorruptible, delivered a discourse which carried conviction to the mind of the Club, and made his fame great. He begged them to observe what moment it was the Girondists were choosing to crush his *innocent* brother. "It is a moment," said he, "when they hold in their hands both the executive power and the legislative power; when they dispose of all the forces of the state. And it is a moment when all the people of France are not for us, when we can only count with certainty on the people of Paris. Citizens, I was alarmed this morning at their fury in the Convention. I thought that assassins were going to pounce on my dear brother! I heard some men say that he should perish at their hands! . . . The Conven-

tion has been dishonoured by a tissue of lies—by a romance made by a romance-maker: they heard him in silence, even to the last word—nay, they even applauded him! The Convention has dishonoured itself! Who knows but forged papers may be brought in on Monday next to inculpate my brother? But let the innocent perish: liberty will not perish with him, for she does not depend on the life of one man. . . . I cannot quit this tribune without making an observation about Marat. Marat cannot be very culpable, since he is persecuted by the same men of intrigue that are persecuting Robespierre! There is another fact that I must communicate. This morning I was at the Convention, sitting near Anacharsis Clootz; and I heard Clootz say to Pétion and others, that he had been obliged to dispute warmly, at the table of the minister of the interior, for the unity of the republic! You must see clearly that these intriguers aim at federalism. A member of the Mountain, who endeavoured to restore order and calm in the House, was cruelly insulted by Rebecqui, who said that there was no listening to such men as Robespierre—that the only argument was the sabre." Deschamps rose to give a counterpart to the accusation contained in the letter of the president of the criminal court, which Roland had presented to the Convention. He said that a citizen, a member of the society, had been heard to declare at a public table, only yesterday, that Robespierre and Marat ought to be assassinated; that it was necessary to get rid of them as it was to get rid of the cidevant king; and that Robespierre would have been taken off long ago, if he were not constantly surrounded by a body-guard of braves. But the most remarkable speech of the night was that of ex-Capuchin Chabot, who knew as much about the massacres of September as any man. "Louvet," said he, "has declared this morning that it was not the men of the 10th of August that made the days of September; and I, who was an eye-witness, will tell you that they were precisely the *same men*! Louvet has said that in the September affairs there were not above two hundred persons in activity, and I will tell you that I saw and passed under ten thousand swords! For the truth of this I appeal to Bazire, Calon, and other deputies of the Assembly who were with me. For a long way before we reached the prison of the Abbaye we had the greatest difficulty in forcing our way through the dense crowd. I alone recognised one hundred and fifty of the federates who were brought to Paris by Barbaroux. It is possible that Louvet and his adherents may not have been present at those popular executions; but, when a man can speak of them with so much sang-froid, surely he cannot have much humanity. I know that, since his discourse in the Convention, I would not sleep in the same room with Louvet for fear of being assassinated. I call upon Pétion, who knows something, to declare whether it is true that there were no more than two hundred persons employed in those long executions. Could a small number of

men have done what was done if the armed citizens of Paris had not been with them—if the prisons had not been invaded by the same men who stormed the Tuileries.* France has yet something to learn about these matters, and the men of intrigue fancy that they can take advantage of its ignorance. They want to destroy us in detail: they are going to impeach Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Santerre, and very soon they will lay hold of Bazire, Merlin, Chabot, Montau, and others. But let them look well to their own heads: their strength is a mere weakness. The Convention itself, by their own vote, can exercise no judicial power without the sanction of the people." A federate presented himself to assure the club that he and several of his comrades had been actively employed in the days of September, that the prisoners they had massacred were *not only* all forgers of assignments or conspirators, that he was going to quit Paris to-morrow, and that he regretted to leave it at a moment when great divisions and dissensions were going to break out.*

Marat, in his 'Republique' kept up the war. He repeated the accusation of *federalism*—a word which soon became as terrible and diabolical to the Parisians as the terms *vet*, or *arrest*, or *let*, and he made use of very ingenious arguments and inductions, from facts or appearances to fix the charge on the Girondins. He described that party as a clique, the soul of which was "the pliant Buzot, the formalist Lasource, the scribbler Graciot, the pious Brissonot, the double Gensme, and the tartuffe Rabaut Pommer." "May God have pity on their souls in the next world!" said Marat, "and I will pardon them in this *provided only they take no more false step*." He again rebuked the commune and the people of Paris reflect on the consequences of bringing an army devoted to this faction into the capital—on the consequences of any removal of the legislature from Paris to the provinces—on the consequences of a splitting up of the empire into a number of federal republics, in each of which the Girondins would establish an aristocracy on the ruins of royalty, would seize and hold all the first places, depriving Paris of all her honour, weight, and profit. The commune, who had lost none of their revolutionary energy, persevered in their system, intermeddling with everything, usurping nearly all that was left of the executive power, and getting possession of all the national or rented property they could lay their hands on. Septuor, the treasurer of the civil list, had a sum of money in his chest, said to exceed ten millions of livres, but, whatever was the amount, the commune got it all. With an abundant deposit of hard cash, they had wherewith to pay all the poorer and more desperate part of the sans-culottes, and with such a body-guard they had little to fear from the Girondins of the Convention. They even procured from the forty-eight Paris sections a declaration of confidence, approbation, and friendship. On the other hand, Ro-

land, as minister of the interior, demanded accounts, taxed the committees of the commune with dilapidation, waste, and corrupt use of the public money, and sent secret orders to the departments to arrest a mob of the commissaries employed by the commune, as robbers and assassins. A number of federates were employed to call out for the heads of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, and great efforts were made to win over the respectability sections, which had professed so much devotion to Lafayette and the Feuillants, and which had done so little for them at the moment of crisis—so little for themselves, for the triumph of the sans-culottes must be their destruction. Barbaroux, as a proper reply to an address which the commune had sent to all parts of France to justify their own conduct and suspicions, and to denounce the members of the such as invited federalists, proposed four formidable decrees against the commune, but his party did not think it wise to try their strength upon them, the said decrees were given up, and again, without doing anything, they acquired the odium of the most fierce and sanguinary intimation.* Marat thought this miserable weakness and necessity of his crimes than from the exertions of his friends and party, Robespierre, when he presented himself on Monday the 5th of November to reply to Louvet's accusation, looked rather like one who came to make accusations than one that came to answer them. The galleries and all parts of the House were crowded, and when he mounted the tribune he was cheered by the people. His discourse was very long and very carefully prepared, showing infinitely more ability than the flimsy paper which the author of 'L'Amis' had sent. "Of what am I accused?" said he "of having conspired to bring about a dictatorship or a triumvirate, or to make myself a tribune of the people. The opinion of my adversaries does not seem to be fixed. Let us translate these inconsistencies. Roman ideas by the words *supreme power*. Now we must agree that, if such a project was criminal, it was still more insane. To execute it, it is necessary not only to upset the throne, but to destroy the legislature, and prevent the Assembly being succeeded by a National Convention. But how happened it then, that I was the first, in my public discourses and in my writings, to call for a Convention, as the only remedy for the ills of my country? It is true that that proposition was denounced as turbulent and dangerous by the Girondins, but presently the revolution of the 10th of August more than legitimised it—renewed it. Need I say that, to arrive at a dictatorship, it would not be enough to be master of Paris? All the eighty-three departments must be won over or subdued. Now, where were

* Barbaroux's proposed decrees were—1 That the legislature should quit Paris and as it were protected from insurrection. 2 That the federalists should be treated as traitors and punished with the same as the enemies of the Republic. 3 That the Girondins should be sent out of the National Convention. 4 That the Commune should be dissolved and a new one should be formed. 5 That the Convention should break up the Parisian equality.

my treasures? Where my armies? Where my fortresses? All the power was abstracted in the hands of my adversaries. In order that the accusation presented by Louvet acquire any character of verisimilitude, it must first be demonstrated that I was completely mad. Nor can I see that my adversaries can gain much by such a demonstration, for, if I was mad, why have they given themselves the trouble of composing so many fine discourses, of sticking up so many placards of making such efforts to represent me to the Convention and all France as the most dangerous and redoubtable of conspirators?" He repudiated all political connexion with Marat. He said he had never seen Marat in private but once, and that was in the month of January of the present year, and that before then he had never had any kind of connexion or correspondence with him, direct or indirect, that their notions were not the same, that he took occasion to remonstrate with Marat on the extravagance and violence of some of his writings, which were as offensive to the friends of liberty as to the tyrants; that Marat defended his opinions, and he his; and that from that time he had never seen Marat until he found him sitting in the electoral assemblies as candidate to be one of the deputies of Paris. "There also," continued he, "I found M. Louvet, who is accused of having abused *l'Assemblée*, also a candidate for Paris, and of having secured Marat's election by means of intrigue and terror. I will answer these absurd accusations with a few plain facts. These elections were controlled by the entire body of the people of Paris. The electoral assembly had unanimously agreed that the returns should all be received by the people in the primary assemblies, and that the votes should be given openly and aloud, after a public discussion of the merits of the respective candidates. Everybody made a free use of his vote or of his right of proposing candidates. But I would not propose Marat, I proposed no one. Only, following the example of some who are now members of this Convention, I offered a few laudatory remarks upon the rules which ought to guide the electors in making a proper choice of representatives. I spoke no ill of Doctor Priestley. I could not so speak of a man who was only known to me by his reputation as a saint, and by the misfortunes he had suffered in England, which ought to render him interesting in the eyes of the friends of the French revolution. I only designated Marat, without naming him, as one of these courageous writers who had fought and suffered for the cause of the revolution. But would you know the true cause of Marat's election? In that moment of crisis, when the heat of patriotism was at its height, when Paris was threatened by the advancing armies of the Coalition, people were less struck with certain exaggerated or extravagant ideas emitted by him, than with the crimes of all the perfidious enemies he had denounced, and the actual presence of the evils which he had so long

predicted. Nobody then thought that in a short time the name of Marat alone would be made a pretext to calumniate all the Paris deputies, the electoral assembly, and the primary assemblies of the people. For me, I leave to those who know me to judge of this fine project, formed by certain people, to identify me with a man with whom I have nothing in common. Had not my combat for liberty created me enemies enough, without their letting loose upon me the enemies Marat has made by his extravagant opinions?" He treated with contemptuous ridicule the charges of making himself an object of public idolatry and of tyrannising over the Jacobin Club. "In that club," said he, "there are fifteen hundred ardent citizens, and the only influence I have over them is from their sentiments being mine, and my sentiments theirs."

My adversaries were all Jacobins, all eloquent men, but they were weak there, he said; they did not feel like the people. Experience has proved that the opinion of the Jacobins and the popular societies is the opinion of the French people; no citizen has created that opinion, or dominated over it, and I only shared it with others." He challenged his accusers to prove that he, either as a member of the municipality, or in any other quality, had taken any part in the popular executions of September. It was not his line to denounce the Septembrizers, for they were the innocents and the sans-culottes, his friends and his party, but he boldly undertook to prove that the prison massacres were the direct consequence of the storming of the Tuileries, that the 10th of August and the 2nd of September were inseparably linked together, and that the Girondists, who profited by the first, could not with conscience or decency condemn the second. As for the talk about *illiquity*, it was nonsense, or with equal reason the Girondists might make the same reproach to the 10th of August, to the whole revolution, for even the taking of the Bastille, which began it, was contrary to law, and surely it was very ill-acted to overthrow and imprison the monarch! He would ask, could the Girondists expect to have a revolution and a republic without revolutionary excitement? Robespierre concluded with some Roman flourishes, which were very ridiculous in themselves, but entirely adapted to the taste of his auditors, who hailed him once more as the best friend of the people and of liberty. He descended from the tribune in the midst of these applause, which were mingled with a call for the order of the day. Louvet rushed towards the tribune, but before he could reach it the Convention, without dividing, dismissed his ill-posed charges by passing to the order of the day. The Girondists feared that the men of the centre, or, as it was now called, the "Plain" would entirely desert them on this question, as the accusations were so very vague, and as the most that could possibly be made out against Robespierre at that moment was, that his popularity was immense,

* Robespierre, I believe a mere Commensal, in this Parliament.

and that it might be suspected he would at some future time attempt to employ it for his own aggrandisement. The cowards, too, stood in awe of the shouting, roaring galleries; and they were shackled and chained by their inward convictions that the 10th of August and the days of September were indeed inseparable, and that hitherto Robespierre was, at the least, as clear from blood as they themselves. Petion, who was sitting with them, who was both pillar and buttress to the Gironde, had, moreover, an evident interest in stopping discussions which might have revealed perilous secrets.* The Mountain demanded that Robespierre's discourse should be printed, and this was agreed to almost unanimously. And then Merlin said that, as the minister of the interior had printed 15,000 copies of Louvet's accusation, there ought to be 15,000 copies of the justification. Louvet and Barbaroux both demanded permission to bring forward a fresh accusation or denunciation, but they were put down by cries of "Order! Order!" "But," piped Louvet with his thin, shrill voice, "I must be allowed to answer Robespierre." "Oh!" cried many voices, "you can answer him in your newspaper." The author of "L'Insublé" then begged to be permitted to speak against the president. The House decided by a great majority that he should not have this permission. Then beau Barbaroux rushed, not to the tribune or speaking place of members, but to the bar of the House, and demanded permission to speak as a simple citizen. The escapade provoked peals of laughter—the august Arcopagus laughed for some time. At length some members demanded that Barbaroux should be censured by the House for degrading the character and dignity of a representative of the people, and Barrère, a true middleman, who was making himself a party in the Centre, or Plain, with the full determination of making good terms with the Gironde if it should come out victorious from the mortal strife with the Jacobins, or with the Mountain if it should crush the Gironde, vaulted into the tribune, and began a smooth, pacific discourse. "I entreat," said he, "in the name of the public good, that an end be put to these personal piques and passions, and that, setting aside these idle quarrels, we occupy ourselves solely about great questions. What ought to signify in the eyes of an enlightened legislator all these vague accusations about a dictatorship or ridiculous projects for a triumvirate? Citizens, if there existed in the republic a man born with the genius of Cæsar or the audacity of Cromwell—a man who, with the talent of Sulla, possessed the immense means of that dictator—I would myself boldly accuse him: for such a man might be dangerous to liberty. But men of a day, little managers of riots, politicians who will find no place in the domain of history ought not to occupy the precious time which you owe to the grand labours

wherewith the people have charged you . . . I propose that we get rid of these accusations altogether, by resolving that 'The National Convention, considering that it ought only to occupy itself about the interests of the republic, passes to the order of the day.' " Robespierre, whose pride was hurt by the slighting, contemptuous expressions of Barrère, exclaimed, "I will have none of your order of the day, if you qualify it in this manner!" The Mountain called for the order of the day, in its usual and simple form, without any preamble, and this, being put to the vote, was carried by an immense majority. The triumph of the Incorruptible was thus complete. Robespierre endeavoured to defend the extravagance of his friend and townsman Barbaroux, and, when the president told him that the debate was closed, he exclaimed that the discussion, properly speaking, had never been opened—that the accusation of Robespierre was a still-born child! But one capital cause which may have produced an immense effect on the cowardly minds of the Girondists, and on the votes and divisions of the House, remains to be mentioned—the Tribunal terrace, and all the open spaces between the Tuileries and the Salle de Manège, were crowded with national guards and pikemen from the faubourgs and the sections. "It is strange," said Brissot, in his newspaper, "that General Santerre should have found so many patriots to protect Robespierre, whom nobly menaced, and not have found a single patriot on the 2nd of September and the following days. But in truth this was not strange at all, and is for the safety of Robespierre not being menaced, the Girondists would have sent him to the guillotine if they had prevailed over him this day, they would have shown him, and his party, no more mercy than he showed them. But it was in the evening, when the Incorruptible entered the Jacobin hall, that he enjoyed the full sweets of his triumph. He was almost deified with applause, almost suffocated with embraces: they called him an eagle, an Aristotle, the best and greatest man in the republic, and they easily induced Barrère, who was soon to be his sedate, to explain away the offensive words he had used in the Convention, or to declare that he meant them to apply not to Robespierre or Marat, but to the Girondists. Not satisfied with the vote passed in the Convention for the printing of Robespierre's discourse, Merlin rose to accuse 'the virtuous, eternally virtuous Roland, of forgetting his principles, and of making use of the post to circulate in the departments the diatribes of Brissot, the harangues of Buzot, and the denunciations of Louvet. "I demand," said he, "that the Club print and send to all the affiliated societies the great discourse of Robespierre, and that we join to it a vote of thanks, in which we shall declare all the good we know of Robespierre. The departments will rather believe us than the virtuous Roland!" The proposition was adopted instantly. The Incorruptible, moreover, inserted the whole of his defence in a printed letter

* Petion spoke against the order of the day, and for the prolongation of the debate; but this was not after our plan; so that he was glad to get the debate ended.

to his constituents; so that, in one way or other, it must have been widely disseminated.* In the Hall he seemed to blush under his blushing honours; and, whenever it suited him, this strange being could play the part of a modest and silent man in perfect style. He was the only man of the revolution, perhaps the only man of his country, that knew when to be silent, or that could persevere in silence. Merlin invited him to mount the Jacobin tribune and give the Club his own account of his struggle and victory. "Ah, no!" said one of his worshippers; "I know the modesty of Robespierre; I know he will be silent." And silent he was the whole night, leaving others to sound his praises and repeat some of the arguments he had used. "His virtues, his eloquence—his incorruptible virtue and his masculine eloquence," exclaimed Garnier, "have crushed all his enemies! Barbaroux, in despair, quitted his seat as a legislator, and ran down to the bar: he could not look the man he had accused in the face; and, in effect, how should a vile reptile bear the glance of the eagle! This has been the most beautiful day of our revolution!" Manuel delivered a still more extravagant panegyric; but Manuel, who was a sort of Barrère, without Barrère's dexterity, tried to couple Pétion with his old friend Robespierre, forgetting, what every old woman might have reminded him of, that no foes are so bitter and irreconcilable as those who have been once close friends, and shutting his eyes to the fact that Pétion had now entirely committed himself with the Gironde, between whom and the Mountain there could be no peace or truce but in death. "Robespierre," said he, "has always shown the greatest austerity in his principles; he has ever wished to be nothing, while so many men were eager to be something. Robespierre might say, as the ancient Roman said to the senate, 'People attack my words, so innocent am I in my actions.' Look at his conduct in the first Assembly! where there was so much corruption. He always sat side by side with Pétion—Pétion and he were the twin-brothers of liberty!" Collot d'Herbois instantly called the orator to account for these grave errors, telling him that Pétion was no more like Robespierre than winter was like summer.

Between this triumph of Robespierre over the Gironde, and the mock trial of Louis XVI., there is nothing to detain us long. There were committees of the Convention labouring in many vocations, and a grand committee busy at the old work of constitution-making, as the constitution of 1791, to which more oaths had been taken than had ever been sworn to all the constitutions in the world, was now to be set aside as a dirty sheet of paper, as an opprobrium; and as all things were to be remodelled and cut into republican shape. This Constitution Committee was composed of nine members, of whom seven, or at

least six, were decided Girondists. They were Pétion, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Thomas Paine, Sieyès, Barrère, and Danton. Barrère, as we have mentioned, sat in the Plain, and was waiting upon providence or events. Sieyès, properly speaking, was never of any party but of the party of Sieyès, being a party in himself, and to himself, and by himself. Thomas Paine, who had obtained his letters of naturalization through Guadet, was decidedly a Girondist. Danton was the only Montagnard. In the affected language of that great moral philosopher Thiers, "Philosophy had its representatives in the person of Sieyès, Condorcet, and the American Thomas Paine; the Gironde was particularly represented by Gensonné, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Brissot, the Centre by Barrère; and the Mountain by Danton." But, by giving philosophy three representatives, Thiers takes at least two from the force of the Gironde. He adds, "It is no doubt surprising to see Danton, that tribune of the people, so very turbulent, but so little speculative, placed in the midst of a committee entirely philosophic (*tout philosophique*), and it seems that the character, if not the talents, of Robespierre ought to have obtained him that post. It is certain that Robespierre was most ambitious of that distinction, and that he was deeply wounded at not obtaining it. They gave the preference to Danton because his natural disposition rendered him fit for everything, and because no deep resentment as yet separated him from his colleagues." The first of these two propositions is, to our understanding, a phrase without a meaning; but the second must comprehend in it the confession that the Girondists entertained no resentment against Danton, whose immense share in the guilt of the massacres of September was as clear as the sun at noonday, while they pretended so much resentment on that account against Robespierre, whose participation in the crime was as obscure and uncertain as it could well be—whose agency must have been remote and indirect. The Girondists commanded a great majority when the committee was appointed; and certainly they could have substituted Robespierre for Danton, or they could have excluded Danton as well as Robespierre. But they wanted to secure to themselves the services of the greatest or loudest bully in France; they knew that Danton was open to the influences of flattery, money, and other kinds of corruption, and that Robespierre was utterly inaccessible to such influences; proud and confident in their own eloquence and logic, they cared not for a cool and a pertinacious reasoner; they thought Danton's lungs worth ten times Robespierre's logic, and they therefore took the ex-minister of justice to their bosoms, and affected a virtuous indignation against the Incorruptible. Composed as the committee was, the Girondists soon found that, in spite of their majority, they could not make it march quietly towards their ends. Fierce discussions upon first principles broke out, retarding the constitution-making, and depo-

* Lettres et mes Comptes. The editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire* give the whole of the great speech in the Convention from the text, which they say is more correct and characteristic than the report of the speech given in the *Moniteur*.

pularising the Girondists, who had promised that France should have the best of republican charters in the shortest period of time. Counting solely on the middle classes, who had been already borne down and crushed by the armed masses, and who had already given up the struggle in a spiritless manner, their wish and plan was only slightly to democratize the constitution of 1791, and to establish the régime of the bourgeoisie, or respectability. But what Danton demanded, and what the march of the revolution demanded and made inevitable, was the extension of the democratic principle to its utmost limits, the régime of the sans-culottes, the supremacy of the lowest and poorest Barrère, so untrammelled his sails so to catch the same wind as Danton, and Thomas Paine's passion for an absolute democracy, and his eagerness to work out the axioms laid down in his essay on the Rights of Man made him rather unsteady, and at times untrusting his friends and patrons the Girondists. And, besides these causes of hindrance and difference, there was that incrimination of all that was pragmatical and domestic, Sieyès, who was as confident as ever that to him alone was reserved the task of making a model constitution, who could never accept the shadow of an opinion from any man, and who could never conceive how any man could honestly refuse an opinion of his.

There was another committee that marched with much more speed than the constitutional. This was "the Extraordinary Committee of Twenty-four" appointed to inquire into "the crimes of Louis Capet, formerly king." In this committee, too, the Girondists were in the majority. On the 6th of November, the very day after Robespierre's great triumph, Valazé, a Girondist, and a sworn friend of Vergniaud, presented to the Convention the report of this committee, he and his party being evidently in a hurry to recover popularity by some strong revolutionary demonstration. This report ran to a great length. It stated that the committee, after a careful examination of documents and letters found in various places, had come to the conclusion that Louis Capet had been guilty of numerous acts of high treason against the nation and had thereby merited some further punishment than the forfeiture of the throne which had been already pronounced. The Girondists afterwards pretended that they had ever been averse to the death of Louis, and that all they wanted was to bring him in guilty, and to prove to a young republican people the monstrous vices of kings. Their pretence has imposed upon many: they have gained credit for a gentleness and mercy that was never in them. The tale is, however, equally bad either way, for, if they believed Louis ought not to suffer death, they should never have agreed to find him guilty, or they should never have hinted at a punishment beyond the severe penalty he had already undergone. In concluding the report Valazé proclaimed in the clearest manner that there ought to be another punishment besides the

forfeiture (*une peine autre que la déchéance*), and, although he did not actually define what that punishment ought to be, he said that Louis ought to be treated as a common citizen, and the punishment for common citizens, in cases of treason against the nation, was *la guillotine*. He acknowledged, indeed, that, according to the constitution of 1791, the only compact between the ci-devant king and the nation, the only punishment pronounced for bad kings was *de hance, or dethronement*. "But," said this nice logician, "Louis Capet has been guilty of a great many more crimes than are mentioned in that constitution—of many more crimes than liberal-minded legislators could possibly suspect or foresee—and therefore his punishment ought to be so much the greater. Otherwise there would be a contradiction between the law and universal reason, and it would be your duty to set aside and destroy so monstrous a contradiction." If all this doesn't signify—"You must send Louis to the guillotine" it signifies nothing. And what was the conduct of the Girondists in the House when the report was read? Buzioux, the preux chevalier of the party, the echo of the sentiments of Madame Roland and her husband, declared that the charges ought to be made heavier still, said that the committee of universal safety of the Convention, the extraordinary criminal tribunal of the 17th of September, and the high national convention, possessed a great number of documents touching the multiplied treasons of the ci-devant king, and he demanded that all those papers should be collected, made public and used as evidence. Pétion said that the Committee of Twenty-four had only made use of the documents which had been laid before them: that there were many papers much more important, that the king was committed in several letters written by General Gouffier, and that his treasons were clearly proved by the trial of one Dauterive, "*that man who had not senty Louis to the guillotine by force*." Was it by heaping a cascade upon accusation, by exasperating the public mind, that these Girondists proposed saving Louis from the scaffold? They were sure of a sentence of guilty which they afterwards pleaded was all they wished without any process of this kind. As a matter of course the ultra Jacobins went further and faster, for fear of being left behind by the Girondists, but the Mountain never pretended that they meant to terminate the tragedy or the bloody farce otherwise than by the guillotine, and, when the deed was done, they gloried in it. On the following day, November the 7th, Mailhe, another Girondist, presented the report of the committee of legislation upon the mode in which Louis XVI was to be tried. After reciting a series of questions on that subject, which he said the committee had long and profoundly agitated, he in a long and hot harangue aggravated all the offences of Louis, keeping out of sight all the provocations, and persecution, and terror which

had driven the despairing king to invoke the aid of foreign arms and of arbitrary sovereigns. He treated with contempt the constitutional inviolability of the sovereign, and the idea that any king could be put above the law and the will of the people. Not satisfied with taxing Louis with the blood spilt and the devastations committed by the Austrians and Prussians at Longwy, Verdun, and Lille, this Girondist accused him of all the blood that had been shed on the 10th of August, although it had been so recently boasted that the attack on the Tuileries was the result of 'a patriotic conspiracy'—although all the world knew the miserable defencelessness at the court, and that Louis had been obliged to flee to the National Assembly before a match was lighted or a trigger drawn. "Have you not still before your eyes," exclaimed Mailhe, "the marks of the parricide bullets which on the 10th of August threatened the nation even in this sanctuary of the laws? Do you not still hear the howling in the bottom of your hearts the dying voices of the citizens who perished in front of the Tuileries, and the appeals of so many other patriots, new Decls, who, in striking them lives to their country, carried into the tomb the hope of being avenged? Do you not hear the whole of public remembrance say that this scene is one of the first objects of your mission? Do you not see all the nations of the universe, all generations present and future, crowding around you all with a silent impotence of silence? Whether he who was charged with the execution of the laws can render himself independent of those who made the laws, whether this royal nobility has the right to butcher with impunity citizens and soldiers, whether a king is a god who is to be worshipped for the blood he deals, or a man who is to be punished for the crimes he commits? The appeals were from us, the appeals could not do otherwise than applaud sentiments which had so long been taught them by the Jacobin clubs and journals. The order referred to the trial and execution of our Charles I, which long before this time the revolutionists had selected as a model, although they understood properly no single part of the story, except its termination on the scaffold. He declared that Charles Stuart merited death, that the House of Commons had an indisputable right to set aside the House of Peers, who wanted to preserve the king and the royal despotism, that if the Commons had only been sitting as a National Convention everything would have been perfectly right, and that there would have been a Convention but for the ambition of Cromwell, who was aiming at the protectorate. Was it by falling in with the Jacobin credo—was it by dwelling upon the block and the axe, that these humane Girondists proposed driving the thoughts of blood out of the heads of the people? Was their applauding the beheading of Charles I the best mode to prevent the guillotining of Louis XVI? But the head of the queen had long been in greater danger than the head of the king. The

timid cowards of the party, who kept their own necks from the guillotine and survived the Reign of Terror, boasted that the Gironde, if they had been able to keep their places in the Convention, would never have permitted the queen's execution. Yet how did their confiere Mailhe, who was not adroit enough to escape the block, speak at this moment of the hapless, helpless wife of Louis? "Hithert," said he, "I have said nothing about Marie Antoinette. She is not mentioned in the decree which commanded the report I am now making to you in the name of the committee, nor ought she, nor could she be in it. What right can she have to confound her cause with that of Louis? But have the heads of women who bore the name of queen in France ever been more inviolable or sacred than the heads of other rebels and conspirators? When you take her case under consideration, you will decide whether she is to be tried or not, and it is only before the ordinary tribunals that you can send her for trial." The present conclusions which Mailhe and his committee came to were—1. That Louis might be judged, 2. That he should be judged by the National Convention, 3. That a committee of three should be appointed by the Convention to collect all papers, informations, and proofs relating to the crimes imputed to Louis, 4. That this committee of three should draw up the act of accusation or imputation, 5. That, if this act was adopted, it should be printed, communicated to Louis and to his counsel, if he should think proper to choose counsel, 6. That the original documents and proofs against him, if Louis desired it, should be carried to the Temple, and authenticated copies had been made to remain in the archives and the originals brought back to the archives by twelve commissioners of the Assembly, who should never let them get out of their hands or lose sight of them, 7. That the National Convention should fix the day on which Louis was to appear before them, 8. That Louis should, by himself or by his counsel, present his defence, either in writing signed by himself or verbally, 9. That the National Convention would pronounce sentence by every member voting separately and *ad pu appellumini*.

The Girondist reporter descended from the tribune, applauded by *côté droit* and *côté gauche*, by Plain and by Mountain, by galleries and by all present. Billaud-Varennes demanded that the report should not only be printed and sent to the armies, but translated into all the languages of Europe, and sent to all the countries of Europe. The Convention presently passed a decree to that effect. Manuel moved that such as might choose to speak in favour of Louis, or be employed as counsel by him, should be taken under the safeguard and protection of the law. The galleries hooted at this proposition, some member or members observed that it would be insulting the French people to entertain a doubt about it, and the house passed to the order of the day. The business was then adjourned to the 13th. In the interval the

Jacobin Club delivered its opinions. In the Convention the great debate was re-opened by Petion, who expressed his contempt "of the stupid dogma of inviolability," and proposed that the house should decide at once whether the ex-deviant king should be tried, as recommended by the committee of legislation, or not. The Convention voted that this should be the course. Morisson rose and courageously declared that Louis could not be tried at all. It was boldly said, although, before venturing to that conclusion, he adopted the prevailing tone, and called the ex-king a traitor, a sanguinary monster, that ought to expiate his crimes in the cruelest torments,—it was honestly and earnestly meant, for Morisson was not a Girondist,—it was ingeniously argued, with more address and more humane cunning than can be found in any other instance throughout these proceedings. He showed that the constitution of 1791 had preserved not merely secret hostilities (all that could be now proved against him), but an open attack on the part of Louis XVI., a marching at the head of armies against the people, &c., and that with that foresight it had provided the defence and nothing more. He showed that the national faith was pledged, deeply and most solemnly pledged, to adhere to all that was laid down on its part in that constitution. He showed that the National Convention had been intrusted with powers to change the form of government, but not to try or condemn the king. He reminded them, as a military people, that even the usages of war did not permit them to sacrifice an enemy who had fallen prostrate before them in the hour of victory, and he insisted that nothing could be gained by his trial and condemnation, and that the best measure to be adopted under present circumstances was to keep Louis a state prisoner, or to banish him and his family from France. There was slight chance that such reasonings should be listened to, yet it is curious to observe by what manner of man or boy, and by what sort of reasonings, the Convention was transported into a whirlwind fury against Morisson's propositions. Antoine Louis Le n Saint Just, whose family name must live in history with that of Robespierre, was the son of an old officer, a native of Picardy. The family, if not rich, were noble—a little proof of which is seen in his triple Christian names. He had been well educated, according to the new philosophy, and the notions now entertained in France as to what was a good education. Like Robespierre, he had been taught to rave about Greeks and Romans and republics, and never taught to reflect upon the difference between those times and these, or upon the possible exaggerations of the ancient historians, who, in some cases at least, wrote history as we write poetry, or drama, or historical romance. This kind of education, and the excitement of the nascent revolution (for he was little better than a schoolboy when the phenomenon began), deranged an intellect which appears to have been not well organized by nature. Saint Just was a fanatic and a fury for the "one idea" before

he was a man, and this very exaltation caused him to be elected to the Convention and received there at an illegal age, or before he was twenty-four years old. He had that worst kind of madness which wears the "reasoning show." It was a madness that left the head cold, and burned in the heart. He had all the honesty of fanaticism, and he was just as fearless as he was pitiless. He was a sort of exaggerated Camille Desmoulins, possessing the same wild eloquence, but having considerably more steadiness of purpose, more method in his madness. Such as he was, with eyes that betrayed his insanity, with the countenance and the gestures of a madman, it was Saint Just that rose to combat the humane intention of Morisson, and to condemn even the report of the Girondist committee. "Citizens," cried he, "I undertake to prove that Morisson, who would preserve the inviolability and the committee, who would try Louis like a citizen, are both in the wrong. I tell you that the ex-king ought to be tried or treated as an enemy. I tell you that we have rather to fight him than try him! I tell you that, I am being far nothing in the contract which unites Frenchmen, the forms of procedure ought not to be according to civil law, but according to the law of the Rights of Man. Here any delay or hesitation, any temporizing with the king, will have the most fatal consequences. Some day, perhaps, when men shall be as far removed from our weak prejudices as we are from the ignorance of the Vandals, they will be astonished at the barbarism of an age which made so solemn a business of judging a tyrant, and in which the people, having a tyrant to judge, raised him to the rank of a citizen before they would examine his crimes. They will be astonished, I say, that in the eighteenth century people were less advanced than in the time of Cæsar. That tyrant was immolated in full senate, without any other formalities than twenty-two dagger-strokes, without any other law than the liberty of Rome. And to-day we respectfully prepare a long trial for a man who is the assassin of a whole people, who has been taken in *flagrant delicto* with his hands red with blood! Ah those who attach so much importance to the critically just chastisement of a king will never found a republic. . . . I will never lose sight of this,—the spirit with which you try the king will be the same with which you will establish the republic, and the measure of your philosophy in this trial and sentence will be the measure of your liberty in the new constitution. Oh! make haste to dispatch this king, for there is not a citizen in France but has the same right over him which Brutus had over Cæsar. He must be condemned promptly, for wisdom and sound policy require it! Already efforts are making to work upon our compassion, and very soon tears will be bought, as they were at Roman funerals. Every effort will be made to work upon our feelings, nay, even to corrupt us. People! if ever this king should be allowed to escape death, remember that we your representatives are no longer worthy of

your confidence, and accuse us of the blackest perfidy!" Fauchet, who had quarrelled with the Jacobins, and who had been expelled from their club, replied to Saint-Just with a bold and rather invidious speech. He maintained that Louis ought not to be tried at all, and that to put him to death would not be serving but ruining the republic in its birth. "The revolution," said he, "is now triumphant, Louis is a helpless prisoner, the armies of the constitution are flying before us, we have no longer anything to fear from him or from them. But if we put him to death, we shall give new hopes and new means of action to the conspirators. The royalist idea will attach its life to his youth, and innocent age, and that will make proelytes . . .

I cannot agree to a proposition advanced by citizen Mailhe, that public utility may sometimes authorise us to throw a veil over the image of justice. What! are we to look for the happiness and repose of the country in a violation of justice, in a national crime, in a bloody infamy which will fill the whole world with horror!" He could say no more: he was hissed and hooted out of the tribune. Robert, a grocer of Paris, and one of the most furious members of the Mountain, filled the dismounted abbé's constitutional bishop's see. His price was now worth nothing. "Long enough," said he, "and far too long, have kings been allowed to sit in judgment over the people! It is now time that the people should sit in judgment over kings! Certain men, still astonished at the success of the revolution of the 10th of August, think it a serious matter to bring a king to trial. Their narrow minds cannot conceive, or even second, a civic (and that not without grief), the idea that Louis XVI. shall be judged by you—that the descendant of Henri IV. and Louis XIV. shall be brought to your bar, and that the sword of justice shall strike the proud head of a man so long accustomed to command, but whose crimes of the barbarous twelfth century must be far from the minds of the real representatives of an enlightened nation. He concluded his long harangue by urging that Louis ought to be tried and condemned by the Convention and handed over to the executioners—and the guillotine as quickly as possible. Barrère, who saw which way the torrent was going, knew that Robert's speech, that all the speeches delivered on this grand subject, should be printed and sent to the departments, to enlighten the public mind, and show the people with what solemn deliberation, with what wisdom and justice, their representatives were proceeding, and this was unanimously agreed to.

The discussions were renewed on the 15th of November, when abbé Gregoire, who had been elected to this Convention, and who had taken his seat on the Mountain, made a very long oration, in which he recapitulated all his own services, revolutionary opinions, and prophecies, and all the crimes of the king—including in the last Louis's unfortunate appetite "The genius of history," said Gregoire "in recording his crimes, will

describe them all in a single incident—thousands of men were being slaughtered at the Tuileries, the roar of the cannon was shaking these walls and announcing a frightful carnage, yet here, in this very hall, Louis ate!" This abbé, who clung to his religion, who boasted that he was the only Catholic and Christian in the Convention, laughed at the idea of the constitutional inviolability, and particularly recommended bringing the king to trial on account of the salutary effect it would produce on other nations, who were all opening their eyes and fixing them on France, who were all getting weary of kings, and anxious to know what was to be done with them. He exclaimed, "The impulse has been given to all Europe, all the nations are rushing towards liberty! The volcano is going to explode, the political resurrection of the globe is going to begin, for, as a philosopher has observed, the fashion of kings is passing away, and, since France sets the fashion to all the world, let us take heed not to catch the salutary contagion of our present mode. What will happen if, at the moment when all people are going to break their chains, you should assure to Louis XVI. impunity and inviolability? Why, Europe will think that it is nothing but *cou d'état* on your part, and the despots will derive, from your pusillanimity, an argument to defend their monstrous maxim that there is something godlike about kings!" These reasonings sensibly touched the national vanity, and carried great weight with the people, who were, however, fully determined to shed the blood of Louis long before abbé Gregoire had delivered his opinions.

Several days were spent in receiving deputations of Savoyard and Belgian sans culottes, in settling the proper methods for democratising Savoy, Nice, the provinces on the Rhine, and the other regions which the republican armies had overrun, and in drawing up manifestoes to invite the people in all parts of Europe to take up arms against their governments, and make common cause with the French, who would not fail of securing them all in the peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality, and all the other rights of man. The printers of Paris had certainly some personal reasons for loving this progressive revolution, for it furnished them with an incalculable quantity of work. These manifestoes alone, translated into English, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, nay even into Russian, gave for a long time constant employment to many presses. On the 21st of November Thomas Paine, regretting his inability to make a speech in the French language, delivered in his opinion in writing as to the proper course to be pursued against Louis XVI. In the opening of this letter Thomas indulged in some pleasantry upon Louis's "good state of health," and hoped that the Convention would order his epistle to be read that very morning, he being anxious to send a copy of it over to London in order that it might appear in the English newspapers. The Convention, full of respect for the author of the 'Essay on the Rights

of Man,' ordered the letter to be read instantly. It had the double object of keeping up the excitement against Louis and of exciting the French against England, or against the English court, "the most intriguing and iniquitous of Europe." In his short, trenchant style this double rencado demonstrated that Louis ought to be brought to his trial without further loss of time, and that nothing but her poverty and ruined credit, and the dread of a popular revolution at home, had prevented England from joining openly the enemies of the French republic. He trusted that the trial of the French king would bring to light the detestable conspiracies of other kings, and cast an odium upon royalty that should last forever. It was a great lesson for the world that he wanted this trial, and nothing could be so clear as that the interests of the French republic demanded universal insurrections and the establishment everywhere of democratic republics. "With respect to the inviolability," said he, "I should wish you to pay no attention to it. Seeing nothing in Louis XVI. but a weak silly man badly brought up, and subject to frequent fits of drunkenness, perhaps the Convention, after trying him, may have some compassion on him, but let not that compassion be the result of the burlesque idea of this pretended inviolability." The Convention applauded, and ordered that Paine's opinions should be printed. From this day down to the 25th these lawyers occupied themselves in decreeing the union and incorporation of Savoy with France, and in changing the name of Savoyards into the old and classical name of Albigenses. On the 26th Lafayette undertook to prove that it would be a capital error to try Louis in any way or at any time, and that it would be a monstrous mistake to put him to death. He reasoned that the execution of Charles I. was the principal cause of the restoration of royalty in England, where people were too enlightened to have much love for kings, that the death of the father pleaded the cause of the son and brought about the return of the tyrannical race of Stuart. He demanded that the House should either pass to the order of the day on Malhe's report, or send it to all the primary assemblies of the republic, in order to collect the sense of the entire body of the people, but apparently he could not find a single member to second him. On the 2nd of December a deputation from the commune of Paris, which had lost none of its power, came to the bar to urge the Convention to make more speed, and to reproach them with the time they had already lost in idle discussion and ridiculous refinements. The orator of these impatient municipals told the House that everything was getting paralysed by their indecision, and that the people were beginning to suspect there was still some corruption or a wretched cowardice among them. "Why do you wait?" said he, "why do you give time to the factions to get up again and unite? To keep debating whether the perjured king can be tried or not, and how he is to be tried, is nothing but a

political blasphemy. And have you not reflected that death may walk into the Temple, and deprive you of your victim? Then where will be the use of all your protestations and oaths? Ignorance and calumny will injure our honour by spreading the report that the French did not dare to put their king to death in public, but preferred poisoning him, like cowards, in the obscurity of a prison. Oh! citizens, save us from even the possibility of this shame! Take courage, and finish at one blow the history of the most horrible of conspiracies. In the name of the commune, and of all the sections of Paris, we demand of you to lay down the question simply thus—1. *Is Louis, called king of the French, decried of death?* 2. *Is it not our duty to the republic to make him die on the scaffold?*" The president of the Convention (it was now Barrere, that most expert of all trimmers) assured the deputation of the commune that the Convention was neither in a torpor nor subjected to the least pusillanimity, that the Convention would have courage enough to do its duty, and that promptly, and that, in the mean time, it would call the citizens of the deputation to the honours of the séance. The House decreed that the municipal's speech, with its simple propositions, and the speech of the president in reply to it, should both be printed and sent to the departments. This loud note from the terrible commune, and notes still louder from the Jacobin club and its affiliated societies, helped to accelerate the unsteady march of the Convention, and certain intimations that discoveries had been made in the papers and documents for which they themselves had called, proving that several of the Girondist chiefs had, during the late Assembly, intrigued and corresponded with the court, carried a cold shiver to the hearts of that party. It was not until the 3rd of December that Robespierre delivered his opinion upon the great question in the Convention, but then he spoke frankly and decidedly, and with incomparably more honesty and better logic than the quibbling Girondists were capable of. He declared that it was absurd to talk about forms of trial and respect to the laws, that the death of the king was not a question of law at all, but a question of expediency and state policy. "The Convention," said he, "has just sight of the true question. There is no trial to make Louis is not an accused citizen—you are not his judges—you are and can only be statesmen and representatives of the nation. You have no sentence to give for or against this man, you have only to adopt a measure of public security, you have only to exercise an act of national providence. What is the thing wanting to cement our infant republic? It is that we should deeply engrave on the hearts of the people a contempt for royalty, and that we should strike terror into the hearts of all the king's partisans.

A dethroned king can only serve two purposes, to trouble the tranquillity of the state and to shake liberty by living or to give strength to both by dying. . . . Louis was

your king, but you have made a republic. All the question lies in these few words — Louis has been dethroned for his crimes, Louis accused the French people of rebellion, and called in the arms of his brother tyrants to punish them; but victory and the French people have decided that it was Louis alone that was the rebel. Louis is, therefore, already condemned, or the republic itself is very guilty. If Louis shall be presumed to be innocent, what becomes of the revolution? If Louis is innocent we are all calumniators, liars, and rebels, all the manifestos become but lawful reclamations against a dominant fiction, even the imprisonment which we have made Louis undergo becomes a crime, and the federates, the people of Paris, all the patriots of the French empire, all, all are guilty!

When a nation has recourse to the rights of insurrection, it enters into the state of nature with regard to its tyrant, and either the tyrant must perish or the nation. Your tribunals are only judicial proceedings are not made for a case like this. And how can you judge the king by the rules of a constitution which no longer exists, which your own lives have destroyed by making this a public? Surely the right of dethroning the king, (and you have dethroned him) and the right of punishing him are one and the same. If you have not the right in the one case, then you have it not in the other. Prison or exile will not do. Louis must die in order that France may live.

I demand that the Convention for Louis XVI to have been a traitor to the French and an enemy to humanity in that is such his manifest criminality. I demand in virtue of the rights of insurrection. All this is true as much yet surely it is less disturbing than the cant of the Girondists about laws and a legal trial. Petion replied to Robespierre's oration in which electrified the galleries but which was rejected by the majority of the House. The executive insisted that the ex-king could be very lawfully tried by the Convention, that it would be dangerous to the young republic to proceed irregularly, and he met, in conformity with the request of the Girondist committee, that the House should now decree—1. That Louis should be tried—2. That he should be tried by the Convention. Robespierre rushed down to the tribune, but the Girondists interrupted him, drowned his voice, drove him from the speaking place, and carried both the motions which Petion had proposed.

If this was a triumph, the Girondists were not permitted to enjoy it very long. Roland, the "eternally virtuous," himself was accused of suppressing evidence, and stealing away letters and other papers which were said to prove that his party, shortly before the 10th of August had attempted to make terms with the court. While the search and rummaging after papers, and all manner of evidence, were at the hottest, and when honours

and other more substantial rewards were held out to such patriots as could give any valuable information, one Gaiman, a locksmith of Versailles waited upon Roland and told him of an iron cupboard (*armoire de fer*) which he and the king, in May last, had inserted behind the wainscot and in the wall of the king's bedchamber at the Tuileries. The man said it was so well concealed that none but himself could find it as the existence of the armoire was known only to him and the king. In fact they had already hammered and sawed, and torn the royal apartments to pieces, without lighting upon anything of the sort. Roland rushed joyously to the spot with Gaiman and one or two municipals or clerks, and without any deputies of the Convention—without letting the Convention know anything of the matter. The smith went straight to a panel in the wainscot, which opened by means of a secret spring, and, having removed some bricks, he disclosed and unclosed the iron door of the armoire. Roland eagerly seized all the papers, wrapped them up in napkins and pocket handkerchiefs, and hurried away with them to a Girondist committee, who kept them for several days without giving any information of the great discovery to the Convention. As soon as these facts became known the Jacobins asked why Roland had not taken with him some of the chiefs of the municipality or some *important* members of the Convention? Why he had not caused the papers to be all put under cover as found, and to be sealed with the seal of some notary public, or other legal functionary, whose seal and signature might attest that there had been no foul play? As the business had been managed had not Roland and his friends had ample opportunity not only to take out but also to put in whatever papers they chose? And had they not, in effect, destroyed documents which exonerated themselves—whilst proved their own guilt. The Jacobin club fell into a hurrycane, and their newspapers made an immense use of all the suspicious circumstances. Some of the papers which were found in the iron cupboard contained the clearest proofs of Mirabeau's venality and court intrigues. On the 5th of December the Convention solemnly decreed that the bust of Mirabeau should be covered with black crepe until the letters found in the iron chest, and other letters found in other places, should be sifted and examined. Camille Desmoulins said that Petion had told him, as far back as Mirabeau's funeral, that he knew that he was sold to the court, to which Petion responded that he always knew that Mirabeau was a man of profound immorality—that he believed he had received large sums of money from the court, that it was certain he often went to St. Cloud, but that for the rest he had never had any positive proofs against him. But a veil of black crepe would not satisfy the impatient rage of the Société Merc. On the night of the 10th Robespierre rose in the Club, and said—"It has long been clear to every intelligent patriot that this pretended greatness, this Mirabeau, was a mere in-

* As if I saw a liar in my neighbor, but I saw a liar in me, I saw a liar in you, I saw a liar in all of us, I saw a liar in the nation, I saw a liar in the world, I saw a liar in the universe, I saw a liar in the whole of creation.

trigant who wore the mask of patriotism to betray the people. The proofs of his corruption are now complete. I demand, therefore, that the bust of this political charlatan be cast out of this temple of liberty! At the same time it will be well for us to consecrate a grand principle which is too much forgotten. We ought to check in the people their too great tendency to make popular idols; we ought to declare that it is not to great talents, but only to a true and persevering patriotism, that we will grant honours. Of all the busts here I only see two that are worthy of our respect—Brutus and Rousseau. Mirabeau must fall. Helvetius ought also to fall, for what was this Helvetius but a man of move and intrigue, a miserable but esprit, an immoral man, one of the cruellest persecutors of our good Rousseau. If Helvetius had lived, do not fancy that he would have embraced the cause of liberty; he would only have been no more in the crowd of the *intrigants* and *beaux esprits* that are now ruining the country. I demand also that all these civic crowns which you have hung up in honour of living men disappear from our hall. A sad experience teaches us that we ought not to throw away our incense upon living men.” Before his speech was finished, or before any vote was come to, the garlands and civic crowns were all snatched from the walls, torn to bits, trampled upon, and burned as execrable rubbish. Then the Club demanded unanimously that the bust of Mirabeau should instantly be expelled, and the bust of Helvetius along with it, and, while the members of the club and the visitors in the galleries threatened the imperturbable effigies with wrathful eyes and clenched fists, some attendants ran and brought in two ladders. In a trice both busts were brought low, broken, cast under foot, and kicked about, every Jacobin “being ambitious of the honour” of kicking them or trampling upon them. “After this civic ceremony, and after this expeditious trial of Mirabeau and Helvetius, the Club passed to the order of the day.”* This order of the day was the heavy charge against the Girondists, who had now not a single defender left in the Club. The iron chest or cupboard was a Pandora’s box to this most inexpert faction. It was, at least, as fatal to them as to the court.

It appears that Roland, either through haste or parsimony, neglected to give a proper reward to Gamain, the locksmith, or, if he gave such reward, it did not prevent that scoundrel from reappearing afterwards to demand a recompense from the Convention. The atrocity of the man is rendered the blacker by several little circumstances. Louis, who had always been exceedingly fond of the mechanical arts, had called in Gamain to teach him or assist him in the not very royal mysteries of turning, lock making, &c. had treated him with great kindness, and had most liberally recompensed him. In the course of years Gamain had witnessed the remarkable gentleness and humanity of

Louis’s disposition, yet, besides betraying the secret of the *armoire de fer* (for which, no doubt, he had been largely paid), the villain, to get more money from those who sent Louis to the guillotine, charged him with a monstrous crime. Fifteen months after the time when he led Roland to the iron cupboard he presented a humble petition to the Convention, and, well knowing that the surest way of obtaining money from it was to defame the dead king, he asserted that, as soon as he and Louis had finished the iron chest and all that concealment, the king gave him a large glass of wine; that, on going home, he felt he was poisoned, that a sickness produced by the poison itself, and then a strong emetic, saved him from death, but that ever since his constitution had been ruined, and he had been unable to work for his family. Revolting, utterly incredible, as was the charge, the Convention put it upon record, made honourable mention of Gamain in their journals, and granted him a pension of twelve hundred livres.

On Monday, the 10th of December, Robert Landet, an ultra Jacobin member, presented the report of the committee of Twenty-one upon the crimes of Louis XVI. This paper, which described the history of the revolution in the manner of revolutionists suppressing all that was irregular, excessive, or brutally violent on their parts, charged the king with every commission, every misfortune, every drop of blood that had been spilt; but, with rather more dignity than Valaze, who had introduced the most contemptible and ridiculous accusations (such as making Louis the cause of the scarcity of sugar and coffee) Landet dwelt principally upon the arrangements with the Marquis de Bouille, the plan of operations which were to follow the flight to Varennes, the correspondence with the emigrants, and the negotiations on the part of Louis at the Congress or Convention of Pilnitz, in order to bring the troops of the coalition upon France. After making some amendments and additions to the charges, the Convention decreed that Louis should be brought to their bar on the morrow.

By means of the faithful Clergy the king was apprised a day or two beforehand of the decisions the Convention had come to, and of their intention to bring him before them. Other intimations had been given from less friendly quarters. As early as the 7th of December, a municipal officer, at the head of a deputation of the commune, went to the Temple, and read a decree ordering that all persons in confinement should be deprived of knives, razors, scissors, and all other sharp instruments, which are usually taken from criminals, and that the strictest search should be made for the same, as well on their persons as in their apartments. Louis calmly put his hands into his pockets and drew out a small clasp-knife, and a morocco pocket book which contained a penknife and a pair of nail scissors, and, having delivered up knife, penknife, and scissors, he put the pocket-book into his pocket. The municipals then searched every corner of his

* Journal of the Jacobin Club in His Parliament.

apartment, and carried off his razors, curling-irons, and other instruments of the toilet, some of which were made of gold and some of silver. They made the same search in Cléry's room, and forced him to empty his pockets before them. They then went upstairs to the queen, read the same decree over to her and her little daughter and the Princess Elizabeth, and deprived them even of the little articles they used in working. Cléry, whose plain homely narrative is more touching than any eloquence could be, says, "The queen and the princesses were the more sensible of the loss of the little articles that were taken from them, as it forced them to give up different kinds of needle-work, which hitherto had been some solace and diversion in their tedious imprisonment. Once, as Madame Elizabeth was mending the king's coat, having no scissors left, she bit off the thread with her teeth. 'How are we fallen!' said the king, looking tenderly at her; 'Sister, you were in want of nothing at your pretty house of Montreuil.' 'Brother,' she said, 'I have no regrets while I share your misfortunes.'" At dinner-time a noisy dispute arose amongst the commissaries of the commune; some were against the royal family using knives and forks; others were for allowing them silver forks, but no knives; at last it was decided that they should be allowed both, but that they should be closely watched, and that care should be taken to remove the knives and forks the instant the meal was over. The king and the queen were now watched each by two municipals, who scarcely lost sight of them by night or by day. But they were allowed to be together in the daytime with their children and the Princess Elizabeth. On the 11th of December, by five in the morning, drums were heard beating to arms throughout Paris, and a squadron of horse, with cannon, were marched into the garden of the Temple. A little later battalions of infantry collected outside the gates, and orduries and aides-de-camp were seen galloping from post to post. At nine o'clock the king and the dauphin went upstairs to the queen's room to breakfast with her and the princesses. It was the last meal they ever took together, and a sad one it was! They were so closely beset by the municipal officers, that, though they had so much to say to each other, they durst not speak, or they only ventured to say such things as their gaolers might hear. "This constant torment," says Cléry, "which the royal family suffered in not being able to give a loose to any unrestrained expression of their feelings, to any free effusion of their hearts, at a moment when they were agitated with so many fears, was one of the most cruel refinements and dearest delights of their tyrants." After remaining about an hour with his wife, his daughter, and his sister, Louis took leave of them to go down to his own room with the dauphin; and then his looks expressed what he dared not speak. As yet, however, he had no notion that they were going to separate him from his family. All that he knew

was, that he was to appear that day before the Convention. When he was in his own apartment, the little dauphin would play a game of draughts. Louis sat down with the poor child and played several games. If he had been going to hold a levee, or to visit friends, he could not have been more cool and collected. When the games were over, the dauphin took his books and read to his father, as he had been accustomed to do every morning in the Temple. At eleven o'clock, while he was still hearing the dauphin read, two municipals (these Paris municipals must have been by many degrees harder of heart than the familiars of the Inquisition) stalked into the room, and told him that they were come to carry the young Louis up to his mother. The king desired to know why they would take his boy away from him. The municipals replied, that such were the orders of the council of the commune. The king tenderly embraced his son, and charged Cléry to conduct him upstairs to his mother. Cléry soon returned, and informed him that he had been allowed to deliver the young prince to his mother, "which," says Cléry, "appeared to relieve his mind." A municipal entered and told the king that Chambon, mayor of Paris, had arrived at the Temple, and was just coming up. "What does he want with me?" said Louis. A municipal answered, that he did not know;—and, being struck with the anguish of the king's countenance, this officer went to the door to avoid the sight of it. The anguish had all been caused by the ordering of his son from him, and by the presentiment that he was now to be separated from his family. Louis walked for some minutes up and down his room in great agitation—an agitation which he had not shown before—and he then sat down in an arm-chair at the head of his bed. The municipal, who had last quitted him, still stood by the door, which he kept ajar; but he respected the anguish of a father—he would not, he could not break in upon it. But, when half an hour had passed in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the king move, and went in softly. He found Louis leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently lost in thought. His approach roused the king, who said, "What do you want with me?"—"I was afraid," said the municipal, "that you were ill." "No, I am obliged to you," said Louis; but he then added, in a tone that told the agony he felt, "But my son! the way they have taken my boy from me cuts me to the soul!" The municipal withdrew again without saying a word. It was one o'clock in the afternoon before Mayor Chambon made his appearance. He was accompanied by Chaumette, the new procureur of the commune (for Manuel had resigned that office on becoming a member of the Convention), by many municipals, and by Santerre, commander-in-chief of the national guards, attended by his aides-de-camp. The mayor told the king that he came to conduct him to the Convention by virtue of a decree which the secretary of the commune would read to him. The secre

tary read that *Louis Capet* was to be brought to the bar of the National Convention. "*Capet*!" said Louis, "that is not my name, though it is the name of one of my ancestors." After a pause, he added, addressing the mayor, "Sir, I could have wished that your commissaries had left my son with me during the two hours I have passed waiting for you. But this treatment is of a piece with the rest I have met with here during these last four months. I am ready to follow you, not in obedience to the Convention, but because my enemies have the power in their hands." Clerly handed the greatcoat and hat, and Louis followed Chambon and Santerre down stairs. At the gate of the Temple he was handed into the mayor's carriage, and, preceded by three pieces of artillery loaded with grape shot, full well by three other cannons loaded in the like manner, and surrounded by a guard of six hundred picked Jaegers, the carriage was slowly driven towards the Convention, passing through double lines of national guards and pikemen, who had been stationed by order of the commune along the streets, with their battalion guns, and who saluted the king's cars with those strophes of the Marseillais hymn which doomed tyrants to death.

While the king was approaching, the Convention talked loudly, and heaped decree upon decree, to keep up their hearts to the point of republican elevation, for, in spite of them, misgivings, and trepidations, and shame would now and then come over their minds. The cowards even trembled in the midst of their hundred thousand sans culottes in arms—as must be evident to every man that will look into the precautions they had taken, and into their debate of this morning. Barbaroux made a fresh recapitulation of the crimes imputed to the king. Kewbell intimated that the House must not forget the Turke—must not overlook the fact that Louis and his insidious agents had endeavoured to arm the Ottoman empire against France. Drouot the postmaster, who had arrested the king at Varennes, and who was now, by virtue of that deed, a legislator, called the attention of the House to the detestable intentions of that flight. Tallien remarked upon the way in which the king, at the time of that flight to Varennes, had forbidden his ministers to sign any legislative act, &c., and begged that this might be added to the articles of charge. Gossas begged to add some further proofs of the intelligence between Louis and that arch traitor La Fayette. Ruhl called attention to the dark treason in which Mirabeau was to have been chief agent. Dubois Crance hoped they would not forget to insert in the act of accusation a letter which Louis had written to the Bishop of Clermont, telling him that if ever he should recover his authority he would re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. But here Serre said, "Paha! do not talk about religion, unless you wish to see Louis some day canonized as a saint!" Marat, Billaud-Varennes, Bazire, Sergeant, and others suggested fresh charges (as if

they had not charged him enough), and out-rhodomontaded one another. Petion gave a loud and most lying account of the events between the 9th and 10th of August, representing Louis in the Tuileries (his last night there) as a bloody tyrant anxiously expecting and confidently counting upon the massacre of his innocent subjects. "And I," said the ex-mayor, "saw him there, and heard him speak, not without danger to mine own life. Other men may make mistakes, but I was *there*, in the midst of Swiss and bayonets, and those people that we formerly christened knights of the dagger, *chevaliers du poignard*." Valaze, that other humane Girondist, threw in some more accusations, some in requisitions to be put to the king when he should appear. Butcher Legendre, who had been a slaughterer of men, as well as of sheep and oxen, demanded that no member of the House should make any motion, and that no person in the galleries should make any noise during all the time that Louis should be at the bar, "*fr*," said he, "the silence of the grave must terrify that guilty man." Shortly after this, Barrere, who was acting as president, and who, with about equal indifference, would have sent Louis or the Convention and the whole revolution to the block, just as best suited his interest put on a solemn face, and informed the House that *Louis Capet* was now close at hand on the Leuliant terrace. "Representatives of the people," said Barrere, who knew his trade, and understood a little of the people he was addressing, "representatives, you are going to exercise the rights of national justice! You will have to answer to all the citizens of the republic for your conduct on this grand occasion. All Europe is observing you. The genius of history is collecting your actions, your thoughts. The irruptible posterity will judge you with inflexible severity! Let your attitude be conformable to the new functions you are going to fulfil. Impossibility and silence the most profound become such judges. The dignity of your countenance ought to respond to the majesty of the French people, who are about to deliver by your organ a great lesson to kings, and an example very useful to the enfranchisement of nations. Citizens in the galleries, you are associated in the glory and liberty of the nation of which you form a part. You know that justice presides only over tranquil deliberations. The National Convention repays confidence in your entire devotion to the country, and in your respect for the representatives of the people. The citizens of Paris will not lose this new opportunity of showing the patriotism and public spirit with which they are animated. They have only to recollect the terrible silence which attended Louis when he was brought back from Varennes, a silence the forerunner of the judgment of kings by the nations." As soon as Barrere had finished this presidential magniloquence, commandant-general Santerre entered, and said he had the honour to acquaint the House that *Louis Capet* was waiting their orders. "Let him

be brought in," said the president, trembling and turning pale, as some accounts say. Louis entered between the mayor and a municipal officer. As he approached the bar Santerre took hold of him by the arm, and General Wittengoff, a Courlander in the service of France, who had obtained promotion since the revolution, placed himself on the other side of the royal prisoner. There was a dead silence. The Girondists were in an evident quake; even the Mountain seemed moved. At length the silence was broken by president Barrère, who said, "Louis, the French nation accuses you. The National Convention has decreed, on the 3rd of December, that you shall be tried by it; and on the 6th of December it has decreed that you shall be brought to its bar. The act containing the crimes imputed to you is about to be read. Louis, you may be seated!" (*Louis, vous pouvez vous asseoir.*) Apparently unmoved at this vulgar insolence, which had been carefully studied and pre-arranged, the king sat down in front of the bar, and looked calmly around him—the calmest man in all that crowded assemblage. Girondist Mullie read the charges, which had been considerably swelled since his first report, and which had been increased even this morning while Louis was coming from his prison to the House. When this reading was over, president Barrère began repeating the charges one by one. "Louis," said he, "the French people accuse you of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying their liberty. On the 20th of June, 1789, you assaulted the sovereignty of the people by suspending the meeting of their representatives, and by driving them out by violence from the place of their sitting. Proof of this exists in the procès-verbal drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles by the members of the Constituent Assembly. On the 23rd of June of the same year you attempted to dictate laws to the nation, you surrounded their representatives with troops, you presented them two royal declarations subversive of all liberty, and you ordered the representatives to separate. Your own two declarations and the journals of the Constituent Assembly prove these crimes. Louis, what have you to reply?" Although the king had been diligently studying during his captivity the trial of Charles I. as related by Hume, he did not, like that prince, deny the authority of the court before which he was brought, or refuse to answer. He urged that in June, 1789, there was no constitution, or no existing laws which hindered his doing what he had done. The president then charged him with having surrounded Paris with troops in the month of July, 1789, and of having caused blood to be shed. Louis replied, that at the time he had the right of commanding the troops, protesting that he had never had any intention of shedding the blood of any of his subjects. In this manner they went through the articles of charge, fifty-seven in number, Louis either answered by a simple negative, or insisted that what he had done had been

done before the constitution, or was justified by the laws as they then existed, or had been done since the constitution, which threw all the responsibility upon his ministers. In reply to the charge about the journey to Varennes, he said that he must refer to what had passed in the Constituent Assembly at the time, which Assembly had set aside the charge for ever by restoring him to the throne, and by swearing with him to the monarchic constitution. He scarcely showed any warmth or vehemence, except when the president charged him with having caused all the bloodshed on the 10th of August, 1792, when he cried out with a loud voice, "*No, Sir! No! that was not I!* The Tuileries was threatened, in a way which all constituted authorities witnessed. The mayor and the municipality saw it; and, as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself; but I did not do even that—I sent for a deputation of the National Assembly, and I came and took refuge here with my family."

When Barrère had finished putting his fifty-seven questions, Valazé began to interrogate Louis touching the documents which had been found in the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and the papers and other letters which Roland produced as having been found in the iron chest on the 20th of November. Louis denied all knowledge of the papers, one and all, except some notes written by Lafayette, which, he said, merely related to a revision of the constitution before it was finished and sworn to. He even denied any knowledge of the mysterious iron chest or of its contents—whereat the Convention was very wroth. The president then said, "Louis, the National Convention invites you to withdraw." "I demand the assistance of counsel," said Louis, retiring with the same calmness with which he had entered. Accompanied by Chambon, Chaumette, Santerre, and sundry municipals, he entered the mayor's coach. The porters of the Halle, the charcoal-men of Paris, and other citizens and patriots of the most sans-culottic order, were drawn up, under arms, on the Feuillant terrace, and saluted his ears with the Marseillaise hymn, straining their throats most at that part of it which calls for the blood of tyrants to irrigate the land. As the carriage passed through the streets, the people shouted *Vive la République!* Not a man among them had heart or courage enough to show any sympathy with the unhappy prisoner. They noted that he was much thinner, that his beard was rough and unshaven, that his whole exterior was neglected; but the sad change only furnished them with some merry jests. It was half-past six in the evening before he reached the Temple. The first thing he asked was permission to see his family. The municipals in attendance told him that this could not be, as they had orders from the commune to the contrary. He then requested that they would at least tell his family that he was come back safe; and with this the municipals complied. He then took up a book

and read for two hours, being all the while surrounded by four municipal officers. At half-past eight supper was served. He asked the municipals whether his family were not to come down as usual to sup with him. They made him no answer. "But my son," said the bereaved father, "at least my son is to sleep in my room, as his bed and things are here!" The municipals were as silent as before. He sat down to his solitary meal. After supper he renewed his entreaties to be allowed to see his family; but he was told that he must wait the determination of the Convention. He had then the anguish of seeing his little boy's bed removed from his own bedside, and carried with the rest of his things upstairs. Nevertheless he lay quietly down to rest, merely saying to Cléry that he could never have conceived all the questions which the Convention had put to him. The first thing he did the next morning was to ask the first municipal he saw whether he might not see his family. He was again told that they waited for orders. He begged the municipal to go up and inquire after his wife, children, and sister, and tell them that he was well. The municipal complied, and brought back word that they too were well. Cléry expressed a hope that the Convention would revoke the order for this cruel separation. Louis replied, "I expect no consideration, no justice, no mercy: but let us wait!"

The members of the Convention were strangers to this patience and this tranquillity: they, in the meanwhile, had been in convulsions of rage and impatience. As soon as he withdrew, this rage commenced, with a demand made by Treillard (rather a Jacobin than a Girondist) that he should be allowed counsel. After loud murmurs from a part of the House, Albitte, a member of the Mountain, proposed that the proposition should either be rejected at once or its consideration adjourned. Billaud-Varennes, Tallien, Robespierre the younger, Marat, and several other members of the Mountain, rose all at once, and furiously supported the motion for adjournment. Ducos, though also a member of the Mountain, supported Treillard. Being put to the vote, the adjournment was rejected by a great majority. Uproar and riot followed: the president rang his bell, but there was *longue et vive agitation*. Garat, when he could make himself heard, reminded the house that by the jury laws, which had been passed since the revolution, every person accused had the indisputable right of choosing one or two friends, or counsel, to assist him in his defence. Marat exclaimed, "But we are not engaged upon an ordinary trial! . . . We must have none of your lawyer chicanery here!" Chabot, Merlin, Montaut, and other Jacobins roared and raved at Garat. They thought that few would have courage to commit themselves openly on such a question; and therefore Duhem demanded that not only upon this question, but on all questions that might arise during the king's trial, the members should be bound to vote by *appel nominal*, or by muster-roll. The tumult and agitation increased; and, tired of

ringing the bell, the president put on his hat. This last solemn and decisive act (for, if the president kept his hat on, the house must separate or suspend business) restored order; and then, after a speech from Pétion, the vote was carried that Louis should be allowed counsel. On the morning of the 12th the session was still more stormy. Thuriot demanded that no time should be lost—that Louis should be tried and condemned on the 15th, or, at latest, on the 16th. "I trust," said he, "that in allowing him counsel you do not mean to allow of any delay. Foreign nations, eager to recover their own liberty, are calling out for this great example; and the tyrant must carry his head to the scaffold!" Some members, ridiculously enough, begged Thuriot to remember that he was one of Louis's judges, and that therefore he ought not to prejudge him, or talk of the scaffold before he was condemned. "I mean to say," resumed Thuriot, "that there are men among us who are seeking to delay the trial; that there are men who would prevent the execution of justice, while the true friends of liberty only wish the law to strike at once! Your duty is to act according to the wish of the people: now their wish is that Louis should be promptly judged; and I declare every man that opposes this wish to be unworthy of the confidence of the people!" These sentiments were enthusiastically applauded by the people in the galleries. There then followed a furious debate upon the questions whether the originals or only the copies of the papers found in the iron chest, &c. should be submitted to the examination of Louis and his counsel, and whether he should or should not be allowed more than three days to prepare his defence. The Mountain again insisted that the house should vote by *appel nominal*, so that the vote of every member should be clearly known to the people, who might thereby draw a proper distinction between such as defended the cause of the people and such as defended the tyrant. On the motion of Cambacérès, a young lawyer from Montpellier, and at that time a decided Girondist, it was agreed that the house should send a committee of four to the Temple to ask Louis whom he would choose for his counsel. This committee, composed of Thuriot, Dubois-Lanée, Dupont de Bigorre, and Cambacérès himself, soon reported that they had been at the Temple, and that Louis had chosen MM. Target and Tronchet, and had demanded the use of pens, paper, and ink, of which he had been deprived. The Convention magnanimously resolved that the king should have what he asked for, and be allowed to communicate freely with the counsel he had chosen. But on the next morning (the 13th) a letter was presented to the Convention, signed "The Republican Target," importing that the said *republiquin* refused to act as counsel for the king, inasmuch as he was an old man, and was not in good health. It appears, however, that he was well enough to keep the place and do the duties of judge, and that he was hale enough and strong enough to perform all such functions as gave pleas-

sure or profit without any danger. Upon the reading of this letter, Cambacérès proposed that the Convention should appoint counsel for the ex-king. But, at this juncture, two letters from eminent lawyers were presented. The first of these was Malesherbes, who was really as old and infirm as Target pretended to be. This ex-minister of Louis, whose note was dated on the 11th, told the citizen president that he was as yet uninformed whether the Convention would allow counsel or not; but that if it allowed counsel, and allowed the choice of it to Louis XVI., he requested that Louis might know that he was ready to devote himself to the duty. "I do not ask you," added Malesherbes, who had passed his threescore years and ten, "to make my offer known to the Convention, for I am far from thinking myself of sufficient importance to engage their attention: but I was twice called to the council of him who was my master, at a time when that office excited the ambition of everybody; and I feel it to be my duty to offer myself as his counsel, now that that duty is thought dangerous by many. If I knew any possible mode of making my intention known to him, I should not take the liberty of applying to you." The other note, dated the 12th, was from Sourdat, a lawyer of Troyes, who had held several offices under the king, and who now offered to plead for him, although he knew the danger attending the simple offer. Tallien hoped that all this talk about counsel might not delay the king's trial; and he demanded that the day should be fixed. Thuriot said that, since Louis had denied his own notes, and his own signature attached to the papers found in the iron chest, the Convention should appoint some two or three men expert in judging of handwriting to decide those points. An unnamed member moved an adjournment to this proposition. "Oh!" cried Thuriot, "with these adjournments you want to prolong the affair for a month." "Kings," said butcher Legendre, "never adjourn their vengeance upon the people, and would you adjourn the justice of a people upon a king!" "Helas!" said Billaud-Varennes, "we must break the bust of Brutus to bits; for he never hesitated as we do in taking vengeance on a tyrant!" Another unnamed member (lucky in that he was not named) cried out that all this fury, that these propositions were nothing but proofs of a continual conspiracy against liberty—that it was impossible to expect justice from such passionate judges. Another terrible tempest was going to break out, when some adroit men reminded the House that it was absolutely necessary to appoint instantly certain commissioners to go and look after the armies. This business occupied them till dinner-time; and in the evening their attention was absorbed by the election of another president to succeed Barrère. When this business was finished, a letter was read from Tronchet, who accepted the dangerous office which Louis had proposed. In all this business the commune pretended to a division of power with the Convention. One of their deputations now came to the bar to in-

form the House that they had ordered that, before the counsel of Louis XVI. should be admitted to the Temple, they should be searched *jusque dans les endroits les plus secrets*. As the municipals announced this frowy decision of the commune, about a hundred members testified that there was still some sense of decency left in France; a hundred voices or more demanded the suppression of the vile proposal. Bazire exclaimed that it looked as if the commune wanted to force people to pity the fate of Louis Capet. But Robespierre, who knew how essential it was to keep well with the commune, attempted to defend its order. The sense of the majority, however, was against it; and it was agreed that the House should abide by its previous decision, which granted the counsel free access to the prisoner. The commune was far too powerful and independent to give implicit obedience to this decision of the Convention. On the 14th Tronchet had a conference with the king. On the same day Malesherbes was introduced into the Temple. Louis ran to meet the venerable man, and pressed him to his bosom:—the old statesman melted into tears. Cléry, understanding that the king had permission to consult with his counsel in private, shut the room-door in order that he might speak the more freely with Malesherbes. For this Cléry was reprimanded by one of the municipals, who ordered him to open the door, and forbade him to shut it in future. Cléry opened the door, but Louis and Malesherbes had withdrawn to the turret closet. The municipals entered the room, and, as the king spoke rather loud, they could hear every word that was said in the closet. When Malesherbes was gone, Cléry informed his master how he had been reprimanded, and how the municipals had been eaves-dropping and catching every word of the conference: he also begged the king to shut the door of his chamber himself when his counsel should be with him, and this in future Louis did. The greatest anguish of Louis—the only thing that unmanned him—was his continued separation from his family. On the 15th he received an answer from the Convention upon this tenderest point. This answer, in substance, was that the queen and Madame Elizabeth should have no communication with him during the trial, but that his children might be with him, if he desired it, on condition that they were not allowed to see their mother or their aunt, till his examination was over. "You see," said the bereaved father to Cléry, "you see the cruel dilemma in which they place me. In this way I cannot think of having my children with me: as for my daughter, she is out of the question, and I know what pain the queen would suffer in giving up my son: I must make the sacrifice." It is not in the book of M. Thiers that the domestic part of this tragedy—the most agonising part of all—will be found correctly represented. True to his one unvarying system, Thiers at once diminishes the sufferings of royalty and the atrocities of the Convention and people. He says that the

Convention decided instantly (*sur le champ*) that Louis might see his family (*qu'il pourrait voir sa famille*). And from the contrast, and the absence of any date, and from the expression *sur-le-champ*, the reader is left to believe that this humane decision was adopted as soon as Louis made the request, or on the night of the 11th or morning of the 12th where in fact, the Convention took no notice of Louis's appeal until the 15th. M. Thiers entertains no doubt as to the scrupulous exactness of Cléry, which has been acknowledged by all, and which is demonstrated and proved by an abundance of existing documentary evidence. He uses Cléry's little book for many of his facts, and we presume he has looked into the 'Moniteur' and other newspapers of the day, which not only show that the resolution was adopted on the 15th, and *not before*, but also show what the barbarous resolution really was, giving besides the motives and reasonings of one party, and the dastardly fears of the other (the Girondins) which led to it. On the 15th, Lecointre de Versailles (the linen-draper, and first commandant of the national guards of that town) feeling some touches of compunction, rose in the Convention and said, "It is very astonishing that Louis Capet should be deprived of the right of seeing his wife and children. I demand that he be permitted to see his family." At the first moment the humane proposition was received with applause, and, the president putting it to the vote during the emotion, it was carried, apparently by acclamation, or at least without a division. But presently a number of members, sitting at the extremities of the hall, raised angry voices against the haste with which it had been put to the vote and carried, they said that there had been no deliberation that the motion had been made in a hurry and tumult, and that the question must be debated. Tallien then rose to give his opinion upon the hasty resolution, or rather to tell the House that the permission to the king to see his family did not depend upon them or the vote, but upon the commune of Paris. "In vain," cried Tallien, "in vain will the Convention order it, if the municipal body do not wish it, this decree will never be executed!" Irritated, exasperated by this plain and concise enunciation of the indisputable fact that the commune was stronger than the Convention and could do its decrees and authority, many members thundered at Tallien and drowned his voice, and Pétion, who had made such uses of the commune prerogative when he was mayor, rushed to the tribune in a state of great excitement. "I very day," cried he, "endeavours are made in this place to degrade the Convention." "That is but too true!" said many voices. "But," resumed Pétion, "in degrading the Convention, they ruin the public cause! They have just insulted the Convention in the grossest manner! We have been told that our decree shall not be executed unless the municipality chooses. Those who speak thus commit outrages upon liberty, and violate the laws in their very sanctuary.

This is not liberty! This is licence! I demand that the member who has been guilty of this outrage be censured by the House." The Girondists applauded, but Marat standing at the foot of the tribune, apostrophised Pétion, and threatened him with gestures, until Pétion retired from the speaking-place. Tallien then spoke again. "I wished to observe," said he, "that it is not to the Convention, but to the commune, that the custody of the criminal king and his family has been confided. It is inconsequent to permit Louis Capet to communicate with his accomplices,—I mean with his wife and sister, for they would concert together their projects and their answers. Absurdly, if the municipal body should think that your decree is contrary to the national interest, that it might commit the public tranquillity, the municipality would do well to refuse. . . ." His voice was drowned by murmurs and shouts, some even shouted, "Send him to the Abbaye!" But Tallien well knew they dared not do it—he well knew that it was he and his commune, and not the Convention, that kept the keys of the prison,—and Robespierre's brother rose and perplexed the House, by referring to some preceding decree which seemed to allow the commune to dispose of the persons of the royal family as it might think proper. The Girondists were, however, strong enough to carry the vote of censure proposed by Pétion, but such a censure carried no popular discredit to it—it only incensed the men of the Mountain, with all humbling them or doing them any injury. And scarcely was this vote of censure passed, ere the Convention revoked the former resolution which had begun the cause of Tallien's offence. Postmaster Drouot was unanimous in all matters concerning the custody of the king met with great respect as their voice denying that he was the man that caught the king at Versailles, demanded that the report of the decree should be suspended and that Lecointre's proposition should be submitted to a consensate debate. He was seconded by Leonard Bourdon, who had been a commissioner or commissary of the commune before he became a member of the Convention, and who, in the former of these capacities, had gone to Orleans, his native town to see that the state prisoners there were all delivered up to Fournier, the American, who conducted them to be massacred at Versailles. This Bourdon, who had remarked, at an earlier part of the debate, that the Convention had properly nothing to do with the custody of the royal family, which solely belonged to the commune, now said that many members of that House had wished to deliver their opinions on the very important question, and had been prevented by the tumult which was got up, and by the hurry with which the president had put it to the vote. Some other members demanded that the decree should be so modified as to permit the king to see his children, without seeing his wife and sister. The Girondists called for the order of the day, and even carried it. "If this is

to be your method," cried Tallien, "I demand that you decree the principle that all criminal accomplices may concert their defences together!" "Yes! yes!" shouted the Mountain and the galleries. A terrific storm ensued, in which some cried out for the amendment, some for the entire revocation of Lecointre's decree, and some for the vote by *appel nominal*, or muster-roll—which last was a proposition never heard by the Gironde without terror. Amidst that roar of voices the loud organ of Drouet made itself distinctly heard. And what followed?—Why, Lunendraper Lecointre took the alarm, and begged that his own decree might be amended. "When I first made my motion," said he, "I did not know that the wife and sister of the *ci-devant* king were incriminated. Without doubt, if they are incriminated, they ought not to be allowed to communicate with him until his trial is over. But I do not believe that we can refuse him the permission to communicate with his children." Rewbell could not conceive how Lecointre could be ignorant of the fact that Louis Capet's wife and sister were implicated; and he told the draper that none but fools could say that the family of the ex-king were not co-accused with him! Lecointre shrunk into his corner, resolving never again to get into danger by pleading the cause of humanity. Dubois-Craucé said that, as he had been one of the committee sent by the Convention to the Temple on the 12th, he might speak to this point, and inform the House that Louis knew very well that his wife and sister were accused. "Besides," added Dubois-Craucé, "the municipal officers that are watching him told us that, if he were allowed to see his children, he would know, through them, all that his wife and sister wished him to know; for the children, in these things, are inconceivably cunning." Some of the Girondists proposed voting simply that Louis might see his children; but they were again scared by the cry of "*Appel nominal*! No voting but by muster-roll!" and they allowed Lecointre's decree to be amended and altered in this manner:—"Louis shall be allowed to communicate only with his children, who shall not be permitted to see their mother or their aunt until after his trial!"*

On the 16th the Girondists made sundry efforts in the Convention to recover the popularity they had lost, and place themselves again in the front of the movement. Buzot exclaimed, "A great act of national vengeance is going to be accomplished. Justice is at length going to fall upon the head of kings, and to consecrate her sword to the defence of equality. The throne is laid low, and in a short time the tyrant will be no more! But, be upon the alert! despotism still lives, and our republican constitution is not made!" After this exciting exordium, Buzot demanded that the Duke of Orleans and his sons should be instantly banished from France as a branch of the royal race. The Girondist chief pretended that

* Papers in Hist. Parlement

this banishment was necessary, as it was vain to expect that the Orleans branch could ever be good republicans, and as their name might serve as a rallying-point to the royalists after the death of the king; but his real object was to depopularize the Jacobins by connecting them with Philippe Egalité, and to ruin Robespierre by accusing him of a very anti-republican connexion with that most wretched prince. The blow was well meant, for Philippe had taken his post at the very top of the Mountain, and had in a manner identified himself with that furious party. If Robespierre and his friends should venture to plead in favour of their colleague, Buzot fancied he would have them on the hip. He was seconded by Faublas-Louvet, who opened his discourse in a still more startling manner by saying that the House ought to consider that it was not he (Louvet), but Brutus that was addressing them—Brutus, the immortal founder of a famous republic, and the father of Roman liberty. As there was something exceedingly un-Roman and un-Brutus-like in the face and figure and spectacled nose of the little novelist, the House rejected the impersonation, and laughed uproariously. But Louvet would not be disconcerted: he repeated that he ought to be considered as Brutus, and that the Convention ought to give ear unto him while he delivered the speech which Brutus had delivered on the expulsion of the Tarquins. "Frenchmen," exclaimed the little man, "I swear it is Brutus that addresses you; I am only the faithful interpreter of his words. Listen attentively to Brutus! Legendre, the butcher, who possibly had not had the advantage of a classical education, interrupted him, and seemed to inquire him to have done with his Brutus and his Romans; and Duhem cried mercy, imploring the little man not to crush them "with the despotism of his talent." But it was all in vain! Louvet was not to be stopped, and on he went with Brutus's speech and half of a book of his French 'Livy.' In concluding his mercilessly long harangue and oration, Louvet said that it was quite clear Philippe Egalité ought to act as Collatinus had done at the expulsion of the Tarquins. "That virtuous Roman," said he, "was nephew to the tyrant Tarquin. Philippe Egalité, thou art a relation to the tyrant Louis! Collatinus had powerfully contributed to drive out Tarquin; and some men say that thou, Philippe, hast done something to bring about the fall of Capet, the traitor. Nay, some have thought that they might elect thee to be a representative of the people; but, remember, Collatinus, by the free choice—I say by the indisputably free choice—of the Roman citizens, occupied a post not less respectable than thine, being Consul. At the head of the Roman youth, he had partaken with Brutus the honour of putting the despot to flight; thy sons, O Philippe, are leading the conquering children of France against the barbarians. But Collatinus saw that his presence, as a relation of the tyrant, was giving occasion to suspicions and troubles, and there-

upon he left Rome, and retired to Alba Philippe, I declare to thee that thou throwest among us doubts and uneasiness, the seed of all discords Collatinus had the good sense not to wait for the decree of the Roman people Philippe, thou wilt not wait for ours if thou art the true friend of liberty, but thou wilt get thee gone out of France with thy wife and thy sons, and with all that belong to thee." And then, quitting his Romanisms and his parallels, Faublas-Louvet moved, parliamentarily, that the National Convention should order every individual of the family of the Bourbons, except such as were in the Temple, to quit for ever the territory of the French republic He was seconded by that other capital Girondist, Lanjuinais, who soon blew into a mai flame the fire which Louvet had kindled in the galleries by only hinting that some of the citizens of Paris had behaved unpatriotically in the late elections Lanjuinais, going much farther, spoke loudly about the massacres of September, and declared that those slaughters were committed solely by a detestable faction, and for the sole purpose of influencing the elections "How," said he, "were those popular elections managed which gave us Philippe Egalite for one of the Paris members? The elections were managed under the axe of the people, and by the orders of those men that were to partake in the protectorate with Philippe! It was not without a design that they brought this new Collatinus among us, it was not without a design that they united themselves with a man who may pretend some hereditary right to rule over us When you reflect on that circular of the commune, and on the commissaries they sent into the departments to terrify the republic with executions not less bloody than those of Paris everything proves that these men want a new royalty, because they have a real interest in procuring one, because they have so placed themselves as to make sure of the favours of the civil list, because they are all connected with this Philippe Egalite and his sons Only look at the men who are distinguishing themselves at the head of our armies! Are they not all friends of this Orleans family? If you allow yourselves to proceed on this great question according to the vices of form (*vices de forme*), I must despair, I must, in spite of myself, entertain dark suspicions For these three years have I been turning in my mind the propriety and expediency of the measure which Buzot now proposes to you" Lanjuinais, in the course of his harangue, was called to order by Drouet for treating the people of Paris as tyrants and assassins, and he was repeatedly hooted by the indignant galleries If the Gironde had had but common prudence, they would have abstained from these attacks upon the sovereign people until they had gotten more strength, and they would have for the present continued to keep down the veil which they had so repeatedly declared proper to be drawn over the events of September Chabot rose to reply to Lanjuinais, and as he ascended the steps

of the tribune, the ex capuchin was applauded and cheered by the galleries He was far too adroit a man to commit himself or his party by openly defending the *ci devant* Duke of Orleans He denied that Robespierre had taken any part in the election of Philippe Egalite Nay, he declared that the election of Egalite had been opposed by none so warmly as by Robespierre and the *scélérats* were styled his partisans He begged Buzot and Louvet, and the rest of the Girondists who were so eager to banish the Orleans branch, to remember that the exiling proposition of Brutus had not been made until after judgment had been passed upon Tarquin "If," said he, "you banish Egalite and his family before you try Louis Capet, you will begin at the wrong end, and give an irregular character to your proceedings. . . For my part, I wish that the whole Bourbon race should be condemned on the same day, but I cannot wish you to begin with this Philippe and his sons who, you say, have served the cause of liberty Besides, the sovereign people have elected Philippe Egalite to be their representative, and to sit among you, and so it seems to me that, before talking about banishment, you must discuss the question whether you can reject from your body a representative of the people invested with precisely the same rights and having precisely the same character as you yourselves Let us adjourn this business until the day when we shall pass judgment on the head of the Bourbon race, and then it is not I that will oppose the perpetual banishment of every member of that family" A Girondist followed Chabot, speaking strongly against the adjournment, and calling for an immediate decree of banishment St Just, though sitting on the Mountain, agreed for once with the Gironde This fanatic exclaimed, "I demand the eternal exile of all the Bourbons, and death to any one of them that dares put his foot again in France But this will not be enough Brutus drove out the Tarquins to make sure of liberty in Rome, but here, I do not know whether we are not expelling the Bourbons to make room for other Tarquins Rome had laws, Rome had Brutus, but here I see neither laws nor a Brutus When we shall have expelled our Tarquins, I expect to see Catiline with his army I abhor the Bourbons I demand that every one of them be driven away except the king, who must remain, and you know for what (*vous savez pour quoi*) [This allusion to the guillotine was much applauded] "Some men would connect this Orleans with the king and his trial, no doubt, in order to diminish the king's punishment, and to get from us a sentence of banishment, instead of a sentence of death I say, let us pronounce judgment on the king to day, and let the family of Orleans quit France to-morrow" Other members of the Mountain, taking up St Just's hint that there were in the Convention and in the executive government as bad enemies to liberty as any of the Bourbons and that there was a faction quite ready to pla

the part of Catiline, began to denounce the chiefs of the Gironde, so that the first fruits of their project to ostracise the Duke of Orleans and his sons, were fresh accusations against themselves. "The principal cause of all our troubles and divisions," said Duhem, "is Roland. I demand that he be made to quit the ministry this instant!" The Mountain and the galleries clapped hands and shouted; the côté droit murmured. "I know," added Duhem, "that in attacking this Roland I attack the idol of the Gironde!" The Mountain and the galleries applauded him again. The Girondists, who by this time had made the important discovery that Pache, the new war-minister, had turned against Roland, his old patron, and had joined the Jacobins, cried out that it would be much more proper to get rid of the war-minister. "If you do," said Camille Desmoulins, "France is lost!" "I speak of Roland," said Duhem, "as the head of the party; and we will have no heads of parties in France!" Barrère thought that the best thing the Convention could do was to dismiss both Pache and Roland, form an entire new ministry, and exile the family of Orleans at once. Camille Desmoulins said that, if the Convention would banish Philippe Egalité, they ought first to secure to him an asylum somewhere, as all the governments of Europe were inflamed against him for the part he had taken in the revolution. Cambon, who was at this time a Girondist, thought that the family of Orleans and all known enemies of liberty might very well be banished, but that care and delicacy ought to be used in regard to Roland and the Gironde ministry. "The republican principles which guide us," said he, "must prove to the whole universe that France was ripe for liberty. But let us take care not to run into extremes, or establish too much ostracism." Kersaint, one of the most decided of Girondists, thought that at least the question about changing the ministry might be adjourned. "Yes, until after the death of Louis XVI." cried Tallien, who was much applauded by the galleries and by some members of the House. But the Girondists seemed determined not to adjourn the question of the banishment of Philippe Egalité; and this mule Jacobin Rewbell cry shame upon them. "You have not examined any one," said he; "you have no proofs that Philippe is other than what he declares himself to be, a patriot citizen, a champion of equality. I confess that all that I have heard upon the question is a scrap of Roman history. Are we servilely to imitate the Romans? Are we to establish ostracism in a representative republic? Have we the right to expel and banish a representative of the people? In my way of thinking, all these questions merit at least the serious attention of a committee of the House." All the members of the gauche joined in calling out loudly for the adjournment: the Girondists responded, with shouts, that they ought to deliberate and decide then and there; and, being joined by some of the wavering

Plain, the Girondists had an evident majority. They seemed determined to make full use of this advantage, without paying the least regard to justice or to decency: they seemed, in short, determined to use the horrible process of ostracism, just as Robespierre and his party used it against them not six months after this date. But, as usual, their hearts failed them: they trembled before the fury of the galleries, who all declared for the Mountain; and they could never daringly execute what they had daringly conceived. The House became a Bedlam. The Jacobins cried out that this was horrible despotism; that such decrees would never be obeyed by true patriots or by the people. The Girondists moved that the first member who interrupted the discussion should be sent to the Abbaye; and they even carried a vote to this effect. But the men of the Mountain rose to a man, crying, "Send us all! all! to the Abbaye!" and so the vote remained a nullity, and the cries of the Jacobins continued as loud as before. Vergniaud exclaimed, in a rage, that it was impossible that the majority of the Convention should thus submit to the tyranny of a seditious minority; that it was time to display a grand energy; that the majority must deliver themselves from this tyranny! "Try," cried Calon; "the minority are ready to die here in their places!" The galleries applauded Calon, and the tempest grew louder and louder. The president put on his hat, took it off, put it on again, proposed reading over the procès-verbal of the debate. The galleries and the Mountain shouted that the majority were going to invade the sovereignty of the people. "I say," exclaimed Vergniaud, "it is you that are committing the sovereignty of the people; it is you that are constantly violating it." "I say," retorted Duhem, "that Egalité is a member of this House—that you have no right to expel a representative of the people." Another Jacobin demanded to be heard. The president told him he should be heard in his turn. "Yes," cried Duhem, "when you have ostracised us all, when you have driven out of the House all the members who sit on this side of it! I denounce all that side of it." The galleries again applauded. Barrère made an equivocating speech, which gave the Girondists to understand that they must not count too much on the Centre, or Plain; and then the Girondists consented to listen to a long harangue from Choudieu, whom shortly before they had hooted from the tribune. Choudieu, encouraged by all that discouraged his opponents, urged on by his party and by the galleries, attacked the Girondists with great fury, and yet with some address. He complained of the shameless manner in which they had attempted to stop free discussion, and he accused them of proceeding according to a preconceived plan. "Yes," said he, "all this manoeuvre was prepared. They wanted to represent us as attached to the party of Orleans. It was very necessary that we should destroy that dangerous fallacy. Moreover I maintain that this Assembly has not the right of expelling a member

invested with a portion of the national sovereignty. And, even if this principle were subject to exceptions, it would be very dangerous, very indecent to decide such a question in such a hurry. This is the reason why we, the minority, have struggled with the majority, and have said that it should not be! We want security for all the representatives of the people, and, if you had once driven out one member, where would have been our security that you would not very soon have driven out others? This is what we would have said before, if instead of calling us rogues and villains, you had consented to hear us. *You ought to remember that it is the minority of the 1st 4 only that brought you into this and that with out that minority you would have been on nothing.* In this present debate you have been tyrannical and out of all order, while we, the minority, have been constantly in order and on the side of moderation and justice. We meant to ask that the question of Philippe Egalité's banishment should be adjourned for two days, and, in what you hear me, I demand that adjournment! Chouveau descended from the speaking-place covered with applause, and in the next minute the Girondists withdrew their opposition, gave up their advantage as a majority, and all went the way of the wind to be carried with out a division. The Convention then agreed that the question about dismissing Roland, and changing the whole ministry, should be adjourned *une die*. The case was hopeless enough before, but the conduct of the Girondists on this day alone would have been sufficient to discredit and ruin almost any party. They had put themselves clearly in the wrong; they had allowed their enemies to prove this wrong against them, and, after a broken attempt they had been foiled and completely beaten. One very noticeable effect of their conduct was, that it made sure, at the least, of *outrage* to the real and the life of Louis XVI., which they pretended to wish to save. They made the Duke of Orleans feel what mercy he might expect from them; they sharpened that fear which (as with the rest of them) was the chief guide and dictator of his conduct, and therefore it was that he determined to go onward with the Jacobins, to go any lengths with them, and to give them a pledge of his perfect sincerity by joining his vote to theirs in sending his kinsman to the block. This is the true key to Philippe Egalité's conduct at the awful crisis. Whatever may have been his plans or his hopes when the revolution began, he had certainly no plan, no hope now, beyond that of saving his own life and the lives of his children, with some portion of his immense landed property. It was not ambition, or the lofty hope of stepping into a vacant throne, but it was the fear of banishment and beggary, or the dread of the guillotine, that impelled Philippe to give his vote for the death of Louis. He was already a far more wretched man than the dethroned prisoner in the Temple. Even outwardly he was so worn and wasted, that men passed him in the streets without knowing him.

That night the Jacobin Club passed in review the conduct of the Girondists in the Convention. "Never," said Camille Desmoulins, "never since the beginning of the revolution has there been such a storm! The perfidy of the Barnaves and the Duports was nothing compared with the tactics of these Girondists, these Brissotins."

Buzot moved that, in order to secure the public tranquillity, we should send into perpetual exile every member of the family of Bourbon. This, as you see, was demanding the banishment of Egalité, who has contributed so much to the revolution, and to demand the banishment of that sincere friend of liberty is to demand that he should be assassinated at Coblenz. The Brissotins said among themselves, the Jacobins will not abandon Egalité and thus we will get the Mountain to be looked upon as a royalist faction. Brethren, we were seriously embarrassed! It was the perfection of craft to make us pass for royalists in forcing us to defend Egalité. Their object was to force us into the sad alternative of being unjust or of passing for royalists! Robespierre, who had not been present at the debate in the Convention, and who, no doubt had kept away from it designedly, followed Camille Desmoulins in the club, speaking with rare cunning or caution, for he well knew that he, above all Jacobins, had been accused of complicity with the Duke of Orleans. "Camille Desmoulins" said he, "has given you an account of this atrocious plot of the enemies of liberty, but I fear that Camille has not got to the bottom of it. If I had been in the House I would have voted for Louvet's motion! It is conformable to principles, and the conduct of Brutus is applicable to our present position. I acknowledge that the House of Orleans has shown a great deal of patriotism. I do not deny the debt of gratitude we owe to that family, but, whatever may be some of the members of the ex-dévant royal family, they ought all to be immolated to true republican principles. I am far from accusing those particular members of the family who seem to have been accused this morning by the aristocratic party, I believe them to belong to no faction whatever, but we must stick to principles. Now, such are the clouds and mysteries spread over the characters of men, that we cannot for a certainty know the real object of the House of Orleans. The patriots this morning seemed to defend the citizen Egalité, because they believed the cause of our principles was attached to the cause of Egalité. But one thing is very certain, and it is, that the patriots have never had any connexion with the House of Orleans, while those who proposed the decree of banishment have had the closest connexions with that House." He affirmed, as things of notoriety, that Pétion was the friend of Philippe Egalité, that Sillery, the confidential man of Philippe, was constantly in the society of Pétion and Brissot, that Philippe's election had been managed and secured by those who were connected with Brissot, and that he (Robespierre) had actually voted against Phi-

lippe, as was perfectly well known to Louvet, who was spreading the libel that he now wanted to give the crown to Philippe. The conclusions he drew from all these circumstances were, that the Girondists had been acting a comedy, had been spreading a snare for the Jacobins; that their object was to give themselves a republican air, and to throw upon their adversaries the imputation of the very projects which they were themselves meditating—to alarm credulous minds by vague charges, and words that could be easily repeated. "They have," said he, "already tried what they could make of accusing me of aiming at the dictatorship; they have seen that that calumny would not take, and therefore they are now calling us an Orleansist faction. This observation may throw a little light on their manoeuvres. Now I will tell them that I have myself long been thinking of demanding the banishment of Philippe Egalité and all his family—the banishment of every member of the House of Bourbon. Nor is this demand so inhuman as some good friends of liberty have thought it, for they may go and take refuge in London, and the French nation may provide in an honourable manner for the subsistence of the exiled family. They have not injured or offended their country; their exile is not a punishment, but a measure of security; and, if the members of the Orleans family are attached not to the Brissotins, but to the true principles, they will feel their exile to be an honour, for it is always honourable to serve the cause of liberty; their exile will only last as long as the present dangers of the country, and they will be recalled as soon as liberty shall be firmly established. But observe the actual dangers of Louvet's motion. The object of that motion is to drive all our friends, all the best patriots, out of the Convention; for, after driving out Egalité, they will drive out other representatives; and as soon as they have poisoned public opinion, it will be easy for them to expel all the true friends of the people, and so remain masters of the field of battle. Already have they laid down the principle that, as soon as the name of a man becomes formidable to them, they may drive him out of the Convention and out of France by means of their ostracism. They have announced this principle before to-day in their party newspapers; and Louvet has developed and explained it in his printed libels against me. Nevertheless I declare that all this ought not to prevent us from voting with Buzot. I declare that, if the consequences of Buzot's principle might some day be applied to the friends of liberty, to myself, I would submit with joy; I would consent to undergo banishment for the good of my country—I would live happy in that honourable exile, provided only I could find some obscure asylum against the persecutions of these Girondists!" He was applauded to the third heaven, and tears were shed at the thought of the exile of so good a man and so pure a patriot. He had at once evaded the dangerous implications of Louvet, and rendered it impossible for the timid Gironde to think any more

of their ostracism. Such coups d'état must be struck at once or never. Perhaps it was from seeing the effect produced by Robespierre's speech that Marat, Réal, and others now boldly and openly took up the defence of the Duke of Orleans. Marat even censured Robespierre for saying that Egalité might go, ought to go. "No!" cried he, "Philippe Egalité must remain, for he is a representative of the people. The same criminal faction that attack the rights of the people in Egalité would immediately exile all the friends of the people, and you, Robespierre, at the head of them. Therefore let Egalité remain among us, unless we wish to abandon the field of battle to the enemy. If we abandon Egalité, liberty is lost for ever!" Réal observed, that there was no comparison between the nephew of Tarquin, whom Brutus exiled, and citizen Egalité, whom the Gironde would exile: Collatinus had great credit in Rome, immense riches, and numerous partisans; but Philippe Egalité had no such great credit in France, his money was all spent, his estates were charged with debt, and he had no party. An unnamed orator, said to have been a lieutenant-colonel in the army, declared that the revolution had not produced a better patriot than Egalité—that Egalité was, in fact, the first hero of the revolution—that Egalité was a man of the loftiest virtue, who, forgetting his birth and position, had from the first made common cause with the people. "And if we allow him to be ostracised," said this orator, "where shall that ardent defender of liberty find a refuge? Held in horror by all kings, he will be proscribed by them; they will all refuse him an asylum. We have been told that he has no party; but I say that he has a party, that he has friends who will rally round him to defend him from such injustice. I tell you that such a party exists, and that it will not abandon Egalité." The men of the Mountain thought this was going too far, and, though the galleries applauded the orator, particularly in the passages where he spoke of Orleans's civism and sans-culottism, Thuriot rose to stop him with a call to order. "Some men," said he, "talk as if Philippe was really going to be placed on the throne of the tyrant; but he shall never mount a throne, for I am ready to blow out his brains first!" This turned the tide in a moment, and the club and its galleries shouted "Bravo! bravo!" "I demand," continued Thuriot, "that until the death of the tyrant we occupy ourselves continually about the proper mode of putting him to death." He was again loudly applauded, and the society adopted his proposition. After a few words from Saint-Audré, who said that the plot against Egalité had been laid at Roland's house, that Roland ought to exile himself, and that the plot would prove fatal to the Gironde, the club broke up, fully convinced that the Girondists must be beaten on the adjourned question. The sans-culottes of Paris angrily complained of foul play, and Orleans and his friends worked upon their feelings by means-

ous appeals and addresses. Many pamphlets in his favour were cried through the streets, and distributed at the doors of the Convention. The ex-marquis Villette, the husband of Voltaire's Belle et Bonne, and now a member of the Convention, printed a letter to his colleagues, which made a considerable impression. This "*épître*" asked where Orleans could lay his head if he was banished from France? It invoked the humanity of the Convention, declaring that the proposed decree of banishment would be equivalent to a sentence of death. And Egalité himself put forth a short address to his fellow-citizens in his own name, and with his own signature, denying all ambitious projects or notions contrary to liberty and equality, and quoting the profession of political faith which he had made in 1791, when he had formally renounced the rights of a member of the reigning dynasty, in order to cling to the rights of a plain French citizen. "My sentiments," said he, "are the same now as then, and my sons are ready to attest with their blood that their sentiments are the same as mine." Philippe had also secured an able advocate, in the House, in Fayau, who had made such ardent professions of republicanism, and who stood so well with the sansculottes and the popular societies, that he had little to fear from suspicion or from charges of being sold to Orleans. On the 19th of December Buzot returned to the question, saying that he cared little how it was settled, provided that, after the judgment of Louis XVI., he did not see another man advancing from behind the curtains to succeed him. Fayau, after going over all the arguments drawn from Philippe's character as a representative of the people, and the necessity of keeping the rights of representatives intact and sacred, dwelt upon the enormous sacrifices which Philippe had made since the beginning of liberty in France—a liberty which had no better defender than he. "Some men had pretended that these sacrifices had been made to pave the way to the throne; but where were the proofs of any such intention? Some thought that his birth was crime enough; but would they make crime hereditary, after declaring that virtue was not? Was it possible to think for one moment that the liberty of France depended upon the exile of an individual? In Rome, if a man had but gold and credit, and money enough to gain over thirty thousand individuals, liberty was in danger; but in France nothing could be done without seducing thirteen millions of men, who were and ever would be republicans, who had all sworn to maintain their own sovereignty, and to die rather than be slaves to any king." He called attention to Philippe's numerous acts of patriotism. "In 1789," said he, "when our revolution was rather in an uncertain condition, when we did not know whether it would produce the happy results which you are now enjoying, Philippe Egalité was a revolutionist. Recently, when all the princes and aristocracy of France were ranged with your foreign foes in order of battle upon our frontiers, and were threatening

our infant liberty, Philippe Egalité was here among us, and his sons were defending the rights of the people with muskets on their shoulders." Fayau was loudly applauded, and other portions of his speech excited still more enthusiasm, the men in the galleries being all ready to declare and swear that Philippe Egalité was in very deed the best patriot and republican in all France. At this moment a letter was handed in from Doctor Chambon, mayor of Paris, informing the Convention that he and commissaries from the forty-eight sections of Paris wished to present a petition against the banishment of the ci-devant Duke of Orleans. The Mountain sat silent until the Girondists had expressed their high indignation at this interference; but then Bazire rose and declared that the Girondists themselves had cunningly got up the petition in order to have a pretext for complaining that the sections were domineering over the Convention. "Being at the Hôtel-de-Ville," said Bazire, "as a member of the committee of general security, I perceived a great many citizens collecting there. I went to them—asked them what they were about—and they told me they were about this petition. I told them that they were very wrong to think of such a thing—that the National Convention, which admitted of no ascendancy but that of reason, was going to decide the question, and ought to be left to decide it without any popular dictation. 'You are quite right,' said they, 'and this false step has been suggested by men who are suspected by us: Mayor Chambon has been the busiest in this matter, and you know the party with which Chambon is connected.'" The first blow being thus given by Bazire, Robespierre rose to give the second. He declared in the most solemn manner that there was a plot on foot against public tranquillity, that this petition from the sections had no other object than that of making the world believe that the deliberations of the legislature were not free, that Paris was unworthy of being the seat of the legislature, and that the Convention ought of necessity to be removed to some other town of France. "At the first," said he, "this motion for banishment or ostracism was only introduced to bring about an *event*. It never was meant to be a question of principles. The principles were clear enough, the persons menaced were indifferent to us, the discussion delicate and dangerous. It never would have been brought on but for the private passions of men whose motives are well known. We had carried our fear of kings so far as to oppose the election of that representative of the people whom our principles now force us to defend. It has been foreseen that a debate which touched several officers of the army, which touched the national representation itself, would occasion great troubles and commotions, and therefore it has been provoked. And who are those who have been making the motion to revise all the elections? Who are those who have said that Paris is the centre of troubles, that the Convention is not safe here, that the constitu-

tion cannot be made here? Who are those who have spread such calumnies against different members of this Assembly? Why, the very men who have brought on the dangerous deliberations in which we are now engaged! On the other side, who are those that are interested in preserving the reign of tranquillity? Why, the same men who now wish to repel calumny, and to keep the Convention where it is, in the centre of the greatest enlightenment—the men who would be obliged to stab themselves with their own hands if any movement should take place to make it be believed that they are the authors of the evils of their country. It is certain that a movement seems to threaten Paris, and yet we have never ceased to preach tranquillity! [The *côté gauche* murmured, and the Mountain and the galleries applauded.] Calumny and suspicion are hovering over this Assembly, and at the very moment that I am making the truth heard. . . . Here he murmurs of the Girondists became so loud, that they interrupted him, but they in their turn were soon silenced by the shouts of the Mountain and the galleries, and he continued, "Well, then! I declare to you that the persons who have thrown this unhappy motion into the Convention are the very same persons who are provoking troubles and insurrections around us!" Here Louvet rose and exclaimed, "It was exactly in this manner that Robespierre spoke to the council general of the commune on the 1st of September, just before the massacres began!" "Listen to me," cried Robespierre, "listen to me, or butcher me where I stand!" And, after the Girondists had begun murmuring at this passionate sallie, he coldly and measuredly repeated that it was they and their friends who had got up the petition of the sections. Billaud Varennes and Tallien added their positive assertions to his. Tallien said that he had implored the mayor of Paris to have nothing to do with it, and that the only answer he got from the mayor was that he would present it. Turpin demanded that Mayor Chabron should be called to the bar. Robespierre then resumed, "I call my country to witness," said he, "that I have been telling a truth very useful to the public safety. I make the heart of all good men the depository of the secrets of my heart. I wish that a man known by his personal hatred against me would. . . ." Mazuyer, a Girondist, and a warm friend of Petion, interrupted him by saying, "I beg to observe to Robespierre, that where the public interest is concerned we have nothing to do with him or his personal enemies. I demand my turn to speak, and it will be to denounce Robespierre with proofs in my hand!" "I call my country to witness," resumed Robespierre, "that I have exposed the real plot that is now weaving against public security. I demand a truce to these angry passions, in order that we may calmly examine this question. Citizens, you see how I am persecuted, how impossible it is for me to defend myself against the darts that are perpetually thrown at me." He bowed meekly to the

citizens in the galleries, and descended from the tribune like a much injured and calumniated man. Mazuyer said not a word more about his denunciation or his proofs, but Petion rose to lament that it was indeed but too true that the House was distracted by suspicions, and jealousies, and deadly personal animosities, that it was but too true that no member could mount the tribune without being environed by suspicions, that it was but too true that the Convention was losing all its dignity, and setting an evil example of suspicion, calumny, rage, to all France. He intimated that he and his friends were ready to give up the motion touching the banishment of Philippe Egalité, and he even agreed with the Jacobins that the mayor should be called to the bar. As soon as Petion had done speaking, the Girondist executive stepped in very opportunely to make a diversion in favour of their brethren in the legislative body. The minister for foreign affairs, although he had nothing to announce but a London newspaper article came to state the possibility of friendly relations being interrupted with England. When he had occupied the House for some time, the minister of the marine and the minister of justice came in to make some unimportant reports. Jacobin Thuriot at last stopped this ministerial bavardage, and called the House back to the consideration of the banishment decree, which he said would be a sentence of death not only against Philippe Egalité, but against all his family. A Girondist who replied to him, and who declared that the exile of Orleans would be a good state measure, was hooted and threatened by the galleries, and he finished his speech by exclaiming, that the House was deliberating under the auspices of axes and diggers. Rewbell then proposed as the only means of restoring tranquillity, that the question concerning Philippe Egalité should be adjourned until after the trial and judgment of Louis XVI. Some of the Girondists attempted to speak against this proposition, and upon being agitated and menaced one of them imprudently exclaimed that they would quit Paris if they were not left free. Though merely a passionate exclamation, these words were noted by the Jacobins and the Parisian citizens in the galleries, who took them as another proof of some fixed design on the part of the Girondists to deprive the capital of its privileges and pre-eminence. Lanjumeau, who appears to have been a very bold and ready debater, succeeded in obtaining a hearing, but he too was hooted whenever he spoke of the banishment of Orleans as a necessary and justifiable state act, and, when he had finished, he was sorely pestered by Robespierre's adherents. Then Petion recommended the proposition of Rewbell, and, after some vain attempts made by Buzot to prevent the adjournment, the Girondists, stunned and terrified by the noise in the House, and bewildered by the accusations of Robespierre, gave up the point. The adjournment until after the judgment of the king was therefore voted almost unanimously. After

this vote had passed, Mavor Chamblon came to the bar to declare that he had had nothing whatever to do with the petition of the sections, that he had only been the bearer and passive organ of the petition, and that, as far as he knew, no improper influences had been employed to excite the citizens of the sections against the Convention. This second debate about banishing the Duke of Orleans did the Girondists still more mischief than the first. But the Jacobins, as soon as they had secured the victory, took especial care to show that it was not for any love or respect they bore to Philippe Egalité that they had fought the battle so earnestly. They filled their journal with satires upon his vices, his debaucheries, his manners and personal appearance treating the foremost friend of their revolution with a contempt difficult to be borne. Murat said that in his quality of a representative of the people Orleans had been entitled to the support he had met from the people and the patriotic part of the Convention, but that Orleans, as an individual, and as a member of the fallen dynasty, was entitled to no support and certainly to no respect. "I must speak plain upon this subject," said Murat in his 'Republican,' "since the creatures of Roland repeat all the departments that the party of Mirat and Robespierre—a party which never existed—never let the death of the deformed despot in order to put the crown upon the head of this Orleans. I declare, therefore, that I have always regarded Orleans as an unworthy favourite of fortune, as a man without virtue, without soul, without laws, having no merit except a popular jargon. I also declare that I have never believed in his civism but that I have believed that the profits he pretended to give of it proceeded from ambitious projects, which he had neither wit nor courage to achieve, notwithstanding the numerous partisans he had at one time obtained by his birth, fortune, and immense prodigalities. I further declare that I consider him as an insignificant capoling the patriots among whom he has crept, and secretly united with the Roland faction, who are scheming and plotting for him at the very moment they are making a show of persecuting and banishing him." Printer Prudhomme was scarcely less bitter, making the duke's visits to England, his intimacy with the Prince of Wales, and his known Anglomania, so many capital charges against him. The unhappy man, who, with all his vices, had strong paternal affections, had been seen to shed tears of joy at the recital of the gallant bearing of his two sons at Valmy and Jemappe. The printer cried "Fudge!" His present cue being to prove that such a contemptible, discredited personage could not be dangerous to the republic by staying in it, Prudhomme wrote—"Who is there that does not know the scandalous details of his private life? Look at his caruncled face! He carries his morals written on his countenance. How could Frenchmen ever love a man who seems never to have loved any but English, who finds more plea-

sure among them than among us, who has never been surrounded by any but by English? How could a party ever rally round a man that is *blase*, and that has neither talents nor character? He has served the revolution, we confess it. But was it for love of liberty? Was it not rather to take vengeance on a court which despised him as much as it hated him? Was it not even a cunning and selfish speculation? Yes! he speculated on the revolution, as he speculated on his English jockies and race-horses. He saw that if he opposed the torrent he would meet the same fate as his emigrant relations, that his property would be confiscated like theirs, and therefore he chose the wiser side, that is to say, the side which best suited his interests." [And here we confess that it seems to us Prudhomme has described both correctly and exactly some of the principal motives of Philippe Egalité's conduct between the years 1785 and 1793 his impulses after that period being simply those of terror and the instinct of self-preservation.] "No, Orleans is not dangerous, and ought not to be considered so. It is true, indeed, that his sons may unite great talents with high moral qualities, and that his elder son already promises to be both a man of ability and a moral man. But, as he has a brother and a sister, M. Charles will not be so rich as his father. But, if every man that has some virtue and some talent is to be considered as dangerous, we must expel from our republic all talents and all virtues, and then what will become of our liberty? We must say if we cannot believe ourselves strong enough to resist the ascendancy even of virtue! In vain shall we drive out the Bourbons, for in the present and most obscure family we may find individuals to tread. No! Frenchmen are not so vile, and if the present general is sometimes stumble, it will not be so with our children. Less corrupt than we they will make the ex-Duke of Chartres fulfil all the duties attached to his new name. *Philippe* or they will make his head tall at their feet. The present position of the ex-Duke of Chartres, as Louis Philippe, King of the French, is a strange commentary on the text of Prudhomme. Before quitting the Duke of Orleans we must briefly mention one other blunder which the Girondists committed in his business. While the decree of banishment was under deliberation, Louvet, acting as one of the secretaries of the House, sent it to the executive as a decree that had regularly passed, and the executive placarded it in the streets of Paris and sent it to the departments. The Jacobins called them to a severe account, and Louvet, in pleading in defence, lost his temper, and committed some more imprudence. In this angry war of words the Girondists called the Jacobins assassins, and the Jacobins accused Brissot of having been guilty of assassination and forgery in 1791, as an accomplice of Lafayette and Bailly, in slaughtering the people in the Champ de Mars. The great efforts made to prop up the reputation of Roland induced Thuriot to say sarcastically that

they ought to decree that the minister of the interior was infallible. On the next day the Girondists assumed the offensive, by calling again for the impeachment of Marat, not for his preaching massacres, but for his having said in his newspaper, the 'Republican,' that the misery of the people and the frightful anarchy that was reigning must inevitably lead to the establishment of a dictatorship or protectorate, or to the temporary rule of one single authority—"would I rec the people to renounce their democracy in order to give themselves a chief." They inferred from these words that Marat proposed setting up Philippe Egalité. Marat defended himself with rare audacity, repeating all that he had said against the life, conduct and character of the unhappy duke, and retorting with fresh accusations against the Gironde. He was indignant, he said, at the shameful disorder and the scandalous scenes which reigned in the Convention, and which left no honest man any hope that such an assembly would ever establish a good government. "I declare," said he, "that the anarchy in which France is plunged must drive the people on to fresh revolts by starving them. I declare that I am disgusted at seeing the favour of protection accorded to certain battalions of the army recruited in the capital by clandestine orders which have originated in this House. I declare that I have been still more disgusted at seeing these soldiers going through the streets of Paris and along the heads of Marat, Robespierre, Danton, and other enlightened patriots." In reply to some who had interrupted him, Marat exclaimed: "You call yourselves the protectors of liberty of opinion and you do nothing but cowardly tyrants. You would put a knife to my throat beautiful as it is that you are!" And, speaking to the galleries, he said, "Only look at your beautiful legislators!" And the galleries applauded him and he told the Gironde "I now believe that they will not be so much as to decree accusation against me" and with these words, and an admission to the House not to lose its precious time in such senseless discussions, Marat descended from the tribune. His friends, and many who were not his friends, called loudly for the order of the day, but the Girondists though sensible of their own miserable weakness, would not let the matter drop, but kept calling for a decree of accusation against Marat. He demanded to be heard again. They interrupted him with shouting Order! Order! To the Abbaye! "You shall not assassinate me thus!" cried he, rushing to the tribune, and keeping his ground there in spite of every effort made to drive him from it. After a most scandalous scene it was put to the vote whether he should be heard or not, and, this being carried in the affirmative, he delivered another long speech, which turned upon various subjects, but which dwelt principally upon the use Roland was making of the public money in retaining unpatriotic journalists. A member said, rather archly, that the Convention had better decree that

the minister of the interior should give Marat the 15,000 livres which he had refused some time ago when Marat had asked him for that sum. Nothing disconcerted, Marat responded, "I will no longer take the money. I despise Roland too much for that!" The House laughed and the galleries laughed, and then this terrible Girondist attack died away in the order of the day. The monstrous cynic, well knowing that their weakness and their fears dictated their moderation, devoted all their heads to destruction, and the leading Jacobins now began to feel that, as their adversaries persisted in linking them with Marat, and in holding them responsible for all the principles and opinions put forth in his journal, they must, in spite of themselves, make common cause with Marat. Two days before this last debate, or on the 23rd of December, the Jacobin club, after repudiating the attempt made by the Girondists to identify Robespierre with Marat, came to a formal resolution, which was printed, and sent to all the affiliated societies. In this manifesto they warned all true patriots not to confound the two names of Robespierre and Marat, and not to believe that there was any party union between them. They acknowledged that Marat, in his own peculiar line, had rendered essential services to liberty, but they held up Robespierre as the more prudent patriot of the two, and as the most eminent statesman among all the patriots. Even in the debate in the Convention on the 25th several members of the Mountain joined the Girondists in denouncing the unrepublishable paragraph in Marat's paper, and in calling down punishment upon him, but, in consequence of the wretched tactics of the Girondists, the Mountain and Marat soon became really identified.*

In the course of this same day—the now utterly despised Christmas day—a letter was read from commandant-general Santerre. "Citizen representatives," said the brewer, "to-morrow is the day you have fixed for hearing Louis Capet. Conformably with orders given by the executive power all measures of security have been taken to bring him before you without commotion or inconvenience. It is only this night that can do any harm. Please to let me have to-day a decree settling my duties and the hour at which the Convention wishes to have Louis Capet at the bar." The Convention decreed that he should be brought to the bar at nine o'clock precisely on the morning of the 26th.

In the mean time the king had been preparing his defence—a useless labour, except for the occupation it gave him. On the afternoon of the 16th four of the committee of Twenty-one—Valazé, Cochon, Grandpré, and Duprat—carried him a copy of his impeachment, and papers relating to the proceedings against him, the greater part of which were the papers which Roland had presented as having been found in the queen's chest. The reading of these papers lasted from four

* Hist. Parlement.

o'clock in the afternoon till midnight. After the reading of each piece Valazé asked Louis if he had any knowledge of it, and Louis simply replied yes or no. Another of the deputies gave him the papers and copies to sign. Louis calmly interrupted proceedings by asking the fatigued deputies if they would not sup. The deputies consented, and Cléry served a cold fowl and some fruit in the adjoining room. The generous Tronchet remained alone with the king. That day and night a municipal officer, lately a president of the commune of Paris, though a chairman at Versailles before the revolution, happened to be on guard at the Temple for the first time. He had now taken up the trade of a mason or a stone-cutter, and he wore his working clothes, which were in rags, a cross old hat, a leather apron, and his tri-coloured scarf. This dirty republican stretched himself out before the king, in an arm-chair, while the king was sitting in a common chair; he kept his hat on his head as if it had been nailed to it, and there'd and there'd every body with all the familiarity of equality. One of the four deputies of the Convention expressed his astonishment and disgust at this behaviour, but he had not the courage to attempt to check the fellow's insolence, being even afraid that he should have been overheard in expressing his opinion about it. Some of the papers examined contained plans for a monarchic constitution, with marginal notes written in the king's own hand. They had been composed by different Feuillant notables at a time when all the world was busy in constitution-making. Louis was also shown some registers of the police, in which were informations against him written and signed by his own servants. His equanimity was not equal to this exhibition of ingratitude; he seemed much affected by it. These informers related, or pretended to relate, conversations and occurrences which had passed in the king's or queen's apartments in the Tuilleries. At midnight, when the four deputies withdrew, Louis went to bed without uttering any complaint. A day or two after more papers were brought and read to him as evidence of his guilt. M. Deseze, an eminent advocate, was invited to join Malshérbes and Tronchet as counsel for the king, and he accepted the dangerous office. From the 14th to the 20th Louis saw his counsel every evening. Malshérbes brought in the newspapers which gave reports of the debates going on in the Convention, from which, if other evidence had been wanting, Louis must clearly have foreseen that they were fully resolved to have his head. But still he continued calm and firm or only lost his composure when he thought of his family and his cruel separation from them. Ever since that separation he had refused to go down to walk in the garden. "I cannot think of going by myself," said he, "I cannot enjoy the walk without my family." On the 19th he said to Cléry, before three or four municipals, "This day fourteen years you were up earlier than you were this morning—my daughter was born that day." He then exclaimed, "And am I not to

see her on her birthday!" Some tears trickled down his cheeks, and for a moment those obdurate municipals preserved a respectful silence. But, though deprived of the objects nearest his heart, and certain of the fate that awaited him, he suffered not a complaint, not a murmur to escape his lips. He had already forgiven his enemies. Every day he read for several hours, and his reading gave alimant to his natural fortitude. He had not been shaved since his razors had been taken away. His beard became very troublesome to him, and he was obliged to bathe his face in cold water many times a day. He desired Cléry to endeavour to procure for himself a pair of scissors or a razor, for he would not speak about it to the municipals. Cléry suggested that, if he would appear as he was at the bar of the Convention, the people would at least see with what barbarity the council general of the commune had treated him. "No," said Louis, "it does not become me to endeavour to excite commiseration." Cléry therefore applied to the municipals, and next day the commune resolved that the king's razors should be returned, but that he should not have the liberty of using them except in the presence of two of the municipals. The scoundrels, who nearly all proved themselves ready to cut their own impious throats when the last throw of the dice went against them, affected to believe that the religious and truly Christian king might commit suicide in order to escape from their infernal malice. On Christmas-day, while they were wrangling in the Convention, Louis, in a holy calm, sat down and wrote his will—a lasting monument of his piety, purity of heart, and unvarying goodness of intention. The longest clauses in it were those in which, before his God, he swore with all his heart all those who had in any way injured him.*

On the morning of the 26th the beating of drums and the rattling of arms were heard again all round the Temple. At about ten o'clock Mayor Chambon and Commandant Santerre conducted Louis to the carriage at the gate, and he was then carried away to the Convention with the same precautions and the same mighty parade of arms which had been adopted on the previous occasion. Again was the king the calmest man in all that countless multitude. He conversed with Chambon about Sinca and Lavi and about the state of the public hospitals; he even indulged in a goodnatured ban-mot at the expense of one of the municipals, who insisted on riding in the carriage with him with his hat on his head. He appeared at the bar attended by Malshérbes, Tronchet, and Deseze. Deseze, who had been working day and night, had drawn up the defence, which he now proceeded to read, after remarking upon the very short time which had been allowed for the difficult task. It ought to be mentioned as a proof of the king's taste and judgment, that he had previously gone over the paper, and drawn his pen across all the merely oratorical passages. The defence, as read, was a plain, able,

* Cléry, Journal.



THE CHATEAU DE LA FAYETTE

and manly paper. It dwelt upon the inviolability accorded to the person of the king, by the constitution, to which all France had so frequently sworn; it insisted that, as accusers, the Convention ought not to be judges, it exposed the difficulties in which the king had been constantly placed and urged the unvarying goodness of his intentions. But it would be a mere loss of time to analyse what had not, and what could not have, the slightest influence on the king's fate, which had been determined long before this by the hypotheses of some men, the cold systems of other men, and the dastardly fears of others. When Desze had finished reading the paper, Louis said a few words himself. "You have heard," said he, "my means of defence. I shall not dwell upon them. In speaking to you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my counsellers have told you nothing but the truth. I never feared a public examination of my conduct, but my heart is torn at the imputation that I wanted to shed the blood of the people, and above all, that the calamities of the 10th of August are attributable to me! I confess that it seems to me that the multiplied proofs I had given, in all times, of my love for the people, ought to clear me for ever from such imputations." The president (Defermont) asked him if he would recognise some keys which had been found in the Tuileries, in the apartment of Thierry, one of his valets, and one of which was said to open the iron chest. Louis said he could not recognise them. "Have you anything else to say in your defence?"

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said the president "No." "You may retire." When Louis had withdrawn into the hall of conferences with his counsel, he fell upon the neck of Desze, who appeared to be exhausted with his long exertion, and afflicted by its want of success, and, with his tears streaming from his eyes, he said, "My poor Desze!" He foresaw the great destruction to the three genera lawyers who had ventured to stand by him in his extremity. Manuel moved that the king's defence should be printed, together with all the charges against him, that copies should be distributed to the members of the Convention in four-and-twenty hours, and that the affair should be adjourned until three days after that distribution. A part of the Assembly applauded, but the galleries were furious at the thought of any adjournment, and expressed the feeling in their ordinary manner. Under cover of this fire, the men of the Mountain called for an immediate sentence. "What more do you want?" cried Duhem, "all formalities have been observed. Louis has had counsel, and he has told you himself that he has nothing to add in his defence. To the vote, then, by appeal nominal! We have nothing to do but to pronounce upon this question—Shall Louis Capet suffer the pain of death or not?" "I demand," cried Bazire, "that we give our answer before we rise this morning!" And Bazire and Duhem were both cheered by the bloodthirsty galleries. The Girondists sat silent, listening to the cries of the mob and to their own fears. At last, however, Lanjumeau, who scarcely belonged to their party, rushed to the tribune, and boldly

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raised his voice—his single, unsupported voice—against this bloody haste, and against the whole trial. He now declared, as Morisson had done before, that the Convention could not in any way try the king, that Louis could not be judged by the conspirators who had loudly proclaimed in the House that they themselves were the authors of the ‘illustrious day’ of the 10th of August. This excited a universal tumult, in which many members rose and shouted, “To the Abbaye!” to the Abbaye.” Butcher Legendre called him a conspirator, and Thuriot said he was too openly showing himself the partisan of the tyrant. “I say,” resumed Lamourais, “that you are the conspirators of the 10th of August, that *you* are, all at once, accusers, jury, and judges.” He was interrupted by another universal uproar, and by fresh threats of the Abbaye. Legendre, Billaud-Varennes and others cried out all in a voice, “It is a revolt!” He is impeaching the glorious 10th of August!” Mazuyer the Girondist and friend of Petion, declared that he himself was a conspirator of the 10th of August and gloried in it. Lamourais retracted his censorial diatribe the 10th of August an illustrious day, and said that in calling it a conspiracy he had misrepresented the words of Barras. After this sarcastic condemnation of opinion, Lamourais was all but silent, and did not propose that the Convention should reveal the secret in which they had decided that they were competent to try the king, but no one succeeded him—the Girondists were all being as silent as the grave. When some time had been spent, not in discussing, but in diluting every, all the House seemed to be of opinion that the business could not be finished that day, and at about four o’clock they agreed that Louis should be reconducted to the Temple. But this tumult and the fury did not end there. The Jacobin members succeeded each other rapidly in the tribune calling for an immediate decision and marking the cadence—the men of the such the real Girondists, sitting as silent as before. But at last Hardy of Rouen, who if not attached to the Girondist party, was a decided enemy to the Mountain, ventured to support Manuel’s proposition of adjournment and to say that all great publicists and especially Jean Jacques Rousseau, had laid down the principle that the people committed an act of tyranny in passing judgment on any man,—that justice required impartiality and something like a balance of power between the accuser and the accused,—that seven hundred and fifty members of the Convention, all set against one man, the king, was not far from Haras was hooted out of the tribune. Duhem exclaimed, ‘None of your adjournments!’ When the tyrant was butchering the patriots, he did not adjourn. When the Austrians were bombarding Lille in his name, they admitted of no delay. Let judgment and sentence be pronounced before we rise!” Kersaint mustered heart enough to demand a truce to these violent declamations, and to say that the Convention ought to act like judges,

and not like executioners, but still none of his party threw themselves like men into the arena. At last the president put the question of adjournment to the vote. The majority of the House rose in the affirmative. But there instantly succeeded a terrible cry that the votes should be taken by muster-roll or appel nominal, in order that the people might know who were the traitors that wanted to screen the tyrant, and from sixty to eighty members of the Mountain, cheered by the gallery mobs, rushed down to the floor of the House, and then advanced with menacing gestures to the table. Duhem, Thuriot, Billaud-Varennes, Camille Desmoulins, and Julien were at the head of the gang. Duhem put his feet on the president’s chair or stool, reproached him for having brought on the division prematurely, and threatened him with clenched fists. They cried—both Mountain and galleries cried as though they had been possessed by ten thousand devils—“The majority are seduced, but we will have no votes or divisions except by appel nominal!” The sixty or eighty who had run to the table wrote and signed the demand for the vote by muster-roll. The cowardly majority sat mute and motionless. When the Mountain men had signed the paper Julien mounted the tribune and begged permission to read the protest. The president helped the Assembly with his arm first. A second many voices cried ‘Yes!’ But Desjardine, Mirat, Billaud-Varennes and others, said that the president ought not to be concerned in his capacity as president then declared that there was an odious plot on foot to dissolve the republic, and that the president (Desjardine) was at the head of it, having had several interviews with Malherbes, the official moderate of the List. This protest, said Julien, I shall sign this too solemnly and too solemnly, that he is not worthy of our aid. A list such as shown such a revolting picture of the tyrant, I demand that his hand be cut from him, and that he be sent to hide himself in the darkest corner of our hall while we choose a better man to preside over us. The unhappy president, seen as the roaring galleries would permit him justified himself as best he could. The Girondists called for the adjournment, but they had no heart enough to claim an act up in the right which their majority gave them a right by which the adjournment was already a settled question. Instead of raising their unanimous voice, or (which would have been better) instead of quitting the House, they sat there and heard the Jacobin minority claim and exercise all the rights of a majority, and throw out arguments and hints which transported the mob with fresh fury. Bazire said that they were only seeking for delay in order to give time to certain men, who were to bring trouble and confusion with them, to arrive at Paris. Philippeaux said that the last news from England was that they were proposing in the British Parliament to send a solemn embassy to beg the life of Louis. Ducos

replied that the debates of the British parliament ought to have no influence on the deliberations of the National Convention, that the ministerial insults of a Windham or a Sheffield ought to be as insignificant in the eyes of a true Frenchman as the bloody manifestos of the Duke of Brunswick, and that *rien n'est justice*, and the salvation of the people ought to be the sole guides of the judges of Louis. Rather than risk that terrible or legal the appeal nominal, the majority consented to the resolution that the discussion or trial of the king should go on to the exclusion of all other business until sentence was pronounced. After this motion had been carried, Salles and Petion made some weak efforts to modify it. Hooted, menaced, interrupted, Salles exclaimed that his conscience was put to the torture, that he was speaking under the knife, that there was no liberty left for any man, and, so saying, thus Girondist quitted the scene. Nor did Petion obtain a much better hearing. His popularity, his influence, were gone entirely, and he was now condemned to taste the bitter draughts he had helped to brew for others; he was no longer Virtue Petion, but *King Petion*. Billaud-Varennes called up in the president's name in order to pull him out of the tribune, and Marat rushed towards that speaking place, spluttering in gesticulations. The president said he would put it to the vote whether Petion should be heard or not. "I tell you," cried Marat, "that the discussion is closed. And then turning to the Mountain and the galleries Marat added, 'Do you not see that this president treats the very perspicacity of patuity. He has played us fifty million bank tricks this very day.'" The president, however, consulted the House, and a great majority decided that Petion should be heard—a decision which could not signify much, unless the galleries and the Mountain should choose to satisfy it. Petion had scarcely said three words when he was interrupted by murmurs and hootings. He tried again and again, he was interrupted by a tremendous hubbub, in the midst of which one shrill voice was heard to cry, "Only hear King Petion!" But ex-mayor of Paris then implored the president to restore order. The poor president, who had been so lately hoaxed himself, replied, "How would you have me make myself heard in the midst of this tumult?" "I tell you what," cried Duhamel, "we want no opinions from Petion." "We have no need of his lessons," added Legendre the butcher. Still struggling to be heard Petion said, "I know not why, in such a case a question as this, which—" He was stopped again by hundreds of voices crying "Ah! Ah! King Jerome Petion!" The Girondists, who had so timely submitted to worse things, now seemed determined to assert a little spirit, because the brutality affected a leading member of their own party. One of them rose and exclaimed, threatening the Mountain and the galleries the while, "Gentlemen, this is too much, we are losing our patience!" "Yes," added a

number of voices from the same side, "it is high time that this should finish!" And then Barbaroux, Rebecqui, Serres, and a hundred other Girondists rushed down to the floor of the house, and advanced towards the men of the Mountain, threatening them by gestures and by words, and swearing that they were going to write to their departments that they were about to secede from the Convention. The president put on his hat. This solemn movement sent the Girondists back to their seats and by degrees something like tranquillity was established. All the house, all France, had been diligently studying the trial of our Charles I, a translation of which had been printed with copious notes, yet this was the way in which the French were imitating that singular iniquitous, yet still imposing process. The president said it was a very cruel moment for *le chœur public* to see such a disorder, that the majority had decided that Petion should be heard, and that Petion therefore ought to be heard. "We tell you again," cried several voices, "that we want none of his lessons!" Petion, however, was enabled to make a short speech, which signified little or nothing at all, as he was forced by his fears to proclaim the ascendancy of the Mountain, and to approve of a proposition which had been made by Couthon. The rest of his speech contained nothing but some weak complaints, and some loud sounding protestations of republicanism and hatred of all kings. He said that the Convention had very properly made themselves the judges of Louis Capet, because the crimes of that tyrant were not to be judged by positive laws, but by the interests of the republic. He said it was cruel that patriots and true republicans like himself should be insulted with nick-names, and designated as royalists, because, on some slight matter, they might chance to differ with the gentlemen of opiate. "We have all," said he, "solemnly sworn to have nothing more to do with kings. Who is there that would break that oath? Who is there that would have a king in France? No, we will have no more kings!" Every member in the house rose, and they all shouted together, "Never, never!" It was observed that Philippe Egalité waved his hat the highest, and shouted the loudest of them all. The miserable man already felt that he was struggling for his life.

On the morrow the discussion was renewed by a terrible speech from Saint Just, who declared that it would be the extremity of folly to permit any tender emotions to plead in favour of the crafty tyrant, and who indignantly exposed a project which the shuffling Girondists entertained, of voting an appeal to the people, in order that the nation at large might decide on the fate of the dethroned king. "Citizens," cried this fanatic, "if the king is innocent, the people are guilty, if Louis escape punishment, we shall all be punished. If the tyrant be allowed to appeal to the people who accuse him, he will do what Charles I did. It is not you who accuse, it is not you who judge Louis, it is the people who accuse him, and who judge him

through and by you. You have proclaimed martial-law against all the kings and tyrants of the earth, and would you spare your own? The revolution will only begin when our tyrant is ended. I demand that every member of the house mount the tribune, and deliver his opinion whether Louis shall be convicted or not." Saint Just was cheered by the Mountain and by the galleries. The Girondists, whose humanity and generosity amounted simply to this, that, if Louis's life was to be saved, it should be saved by the people without danger or risk to them, and that, if Louis's life was to be sacrificed, the guilt should not rest upon them, but upon the mass of the nation, now began to introduce their project of *appel au peuple*, and in so doing they proved that even upon this point their selfish imbecile fiction had no unity or secondness of purpose. The heads of the party kept in the background. Rouzet, who was the first to stand forward, was but a third-rate Girondist. He thought that Louis ought to be treated as a prisoner of war, but that nothing ought to be decided without consulting the nation at large, *la nation tout entière*. Salles proposed that the Convention should merely pronounce on the guilt of Louis, and leave it to the people to decide whether he should be put to death or only exiled till a general peace. Serres, saying nothing about the appeal to the people, recommended that Louis should be kept in a state prison so long as the war lasted, and that at the return of peace he should be sent into perpetual exile. Barbaroux, who must still be considered as acting under the impulse of Roland and his wife, made a long speech to prove that Louis was guilty, and was not inviolable, but he neither spoke of death nor of imprisonment, of banishment, or any other secondary punishment, and he never mentioned the appeal to the people at all, as if fully aware of the danger of committing himself in this manner. Lequinio mounted the tribune after Barbaroux, to tell the house and the galleries what the Mountain thought of the proposed appeal to the people. He was, of course, careful not to call in question the sovereignty of the people, or their right to decide the fate of the king, but he urged that twenty-five millions of souls could not deliberate and sit in judgement together: that the Convention, as representing the people, ought to decide for them, and that to convict the people in their primary assemblies for such an object would be to provoke a civil war, and plunge a great part of France in blood, and it appears that many members of the house, who belonged neither to the Mountain nor to the Girondists, were deeply impressed with this last conviction, and were determined thereby to resist at all hazards the appeal to the people. But not satisfied with predicting the inevitable civil war, Lequinio accused the Girondists of having proposed the appeal expressly and solely to bring about that worst of calamities as a means of destroying the Mountain, of making a Jacquerie against the Jacobins, and of reigning alone over France. The Parisian mob in the galleries, nat-

urally averse to any appeal that would include all the departments and give as much value to the vote of a Vendean as to the vote of a Parisian, applauded Lequinio most tumultuously. The president called them to order. The Mountain, who generally acted as fuglemen to the galleries, clapped hands and shouted, and then the galleries made a louder noise than ever. The president rang his bell with all his might, but this only provoked a louder and still louder roar. Barbaroux, with Faublas-Louvet, and about a hundred other Girondists, again rushed across the House and threatened the Mountain with clenched fists. The rest of the day was spent in much the same rage and rabid disorder, without a single word more being said either about the king or about the appeal to the people.

On the 28th of December Lebrun, the Girondist minister for foreign affairs, submitted to the Convention a note which he had just received from the court of Madrid. In this note, which was dated on the 17th, the Spanish minister declared that his country would remain strictly neutral in the present war. Not a word was said about Louis XVI. and his trial, but Lebrun took occasion to signify that the king of Spain promised this neutrality only in order to save the life of his cousin the ex-king of France. The Girondists remained silent while the Mountain denounced this detestable interference, and told the people that they had not only nothing to fear from so crippled a power as Spain, but nothing to fear from England and all the powers of Europe united. "Our republican principles," cried Thuriot, "are not to be influenced by any impulse from without, nor by any considerations for crowned despots. Our principles rest solely upon the eternal basis of reason. If we do not decree that this Louis, who has committed all manner of crimes, shall perish on the scaffold, we shall betray the people. Never suffer the ministers of foreign courts to form a congress here in Paris to intimate to us the will and declarations of the crowned brigands of Europe. Let us decree that no letters from abroad, no memorials that may be addressed to us about the king's trial, shall be read until we have passed sentence upon him." Charles was astonished that the House should have condescended to listen to the note from Madrid. "I demand," said he, "that for the future none of our ambassadors or diplomatic agents shall be allowed to treat with any of these crowned heads until they have solemnly recognised our republic. We ought no longer to treat with kings, but with their people." The House agreed that the Spanish note should be turned over to the diplomatic committee, and that the French minister at Madrid should be recalled, unless that court acknowledged forthwith the French republic.

They then took up the business of the trial or sentence, Lequinio proposing that the House should vote by *appel nominal* on the two following questions:—1. Is Louis convicted of crimes against the national sovereignty? 2. If he is convicted, what punish-

ment does he deserve? Buzot, one of the great Girondists, now took the field—and surely in the meanest and vilest manner. He devoted the greater part of his harangue to the offences and crimes of the king, declaring over and over again that the punishment he merited was death. Going wide away from the original proposition of appeal, he moved that the Convention should pass sentence of death, and that the people in their primary assemblies should only be appealed to to ratify and sanction that sentence. Blundering and still blundering, like every man of his party, Buzot exasperated the jealousy which the capital felt for the provinces, and made use of language that at the very least intimated that the splitting of France into a parcel of federating republics was a possible event. He finished with these words: "It is as a measure of general safety and security to us all that I demand this appeal to the nation *after* we have passed judgment. The appeal to the people will prevent all imaginable inconveniences; it will be the sovereign people that will sanction our decision, and the general will, legally expressed, must necessarily be just. Who will dare to say that the people are not the proper judges of the king? Insensate declaimers! you speak of civil war because we appeal to the national sovereignty, and because we will not admit that that sovereignty resides exclusively in a portion of the people here in Paris. Cease your calumnies, give over agitating the republic, and remember that it was upon the blood-smoking ruins of the throne of Charles I. that Cromwell established his tyranny, and that afterwards the same people who had demanded with loud cries the death of Charles pitied his fate, and demanded *the execution of his judges!* Louis, I condemn thee; I condemn thee to death, for my constituents have imposed that duty upon me. But, in condemning thee, justice does not regard thee, but merely sacrifices thee to the nation. Let then the nation pronounce thy sentence after me!" Robespierre, the real chief of the Mountain, followed this contemptible Girondist, whose principal and avowed object in recommending an appeal, was to identify the people with the Convention in this bloody act, so as to prevent subsequent crimination from the people—a design at least as absurd and puerile as it was cowardly and criminal. Robespierre's speech was very long, but its reasoning was close and terrible, without any equivocating or shirking;—at least he had the merit of going straight to his object without caring to prop himself up with other men's opinions, or to shift the responsibility from his own head. He powerfully exposed the vacillating, cowardly system or no-system of the Gironde, and called their pretended appeal to the people a paltry stratagem. He held up to derision the idea of forty-four thousand separate tribunals—for such was the total number of the primary assemblies—sitting in judgment on the king; and he repeated that nothing could come of such a mad attempt except a horrible civil war. He accused the

Girondists of all manner of imbecilities, state crimes, and plots, and hinted that they would be glad to patch up monarchy again if they could only humble the free people of Paris, and exterminate him and all the patriots, his friends. He concluded with moving that the Convention should pass sentence immediately, and send Louis to the scaffold without any appeal to the people. The House rose without coming to any conclusion. The 29th was spent in the same manner. But on the 30th of December deputations began to present themselves at the bar to tell the honourable deputies that the citizens of Paris were wearied out by their long delays. Eighteen of the Paris sections sent petitions and committees; and the men who had been wounded on the 10th of August, and the widows and orphans of the patriots who had perished on that day, came in one grand dramatic group to the Convention to demand vengeance and blood for blood. Some of the wounded dragged themselves slowly along upon crutches, and one of them was carried in a litter. Their orator delivered a terrible speech to "the fathers of the country, the legislators of all mankind," telling them that Louis must perish on the scaffold forthwith, that there would be no *humanity* upon earth until all kings were destroyed, and that there would be no virtue until all priests were destroyed also. The president made them a very complimentary speech in return, and invited them all to the honours of the sitting. The greater part of them went and sat on the benches with the members of the House. This quickener had scarcely been applied ere another was administered in the shape of an alarming rumour that the barriers were to be closed again that night in order to facilitate another wholesale massacre. On the next day—the 31st of December—this terrific report was renewed, and a deputation of respectable citizens complained at the bar of the Convention that papers were distributed in the streets and placarded on the walls, threatening proscription and extermination. Marat declared that all the trouble and alarm was created by the Girondists, that Roland and his faction were holding secret councils, and were inviting Dumouriez to come to Paris to use his sword in their favour. After Marat had spoken, the greatest of the Gironde orators, Vergniaud, rose for the first time to deliver his opinion as to the proper course to be pursued with the king. He complained bitterly of the calumnies and threats which had been employed against his party, and of the insolent, overbearing spirit of the minority, who, backed by the galleries, bade defiance to the majority. At the same time he applauded the 10th of August, and described Louis as one of the most treacherous and bloody of tyrants, treating his constitutional inviolability as an absurd dogma. "Nevertheless," said he, "though Louis cannot avail himself of the inviolability promised him against the people he has betrayed, it is not less certain that the people, and the people alone, can punish Louis without regard

to the inviolability with which they themselves invested him. Let me explain. It was not only the assembly of the representatives of the people who promised Louis this inviolability, it was the people themselves who gave the promise, it was the citizens who gave it individually in the several and separate oaths they took to maintain the constitution. Now, indeed, you may declare, as a principle of eternal truth, that the promise of inviolability given by the people was not obligatory or binding on the people, but still it is for the people alone to declare that they will not keep their promise. You may declare, as a principle of eternal truth, that the people can never validly renounce the right of punishing an oppressor, but it is for the people alone to declare that they will make use of a terrible right which they have renounced." Such is a part—a very small and not the worst part—of the miserable galleimatis which Thiers and other writers of that school still hold up to the admiration of the world as the very perfection of logic and reason and enlightened humanity. Vergniaud said he thought it not difficult but easy, not inconsistent, but very consistent, for the people to meet in their forty thousand and odd primary assemblies, and for the ploughman to leave his plough, the weaver his loom, the smith his anvil, the carpenter his bench, to sit in judgement upon the king, as a court of appeal. Nearly all the rest of his long speech was a furious attack on the Mountain who were charged with aiming at the civil war which they spoke of. Thiers says that Vergniaud's splendid improvisation produced on all sides of the House a profound impression and a general admiration. We can discover no evidence to this effect in the accounts which remain of the debate, but what we clearly see is, that the Jacobins scattered his flimsy argument to once, while not a man of his own party ventured to rise and support him. Jean Moreau represented that, if the people in their primary assemblies were to be appealed to in one case they must be appealed to in all serious cases—that if the Convention once allowed that it was incompetent to decide, he people would ever afterwards question its competence. "It," said he, "you only once admit that the people are personally to decide upon measures of general security, you will no longer have the right of adopting any measure without their direct consent. In this way the invasion of Savoy, the invasion of Belgium, the law about emigrants, nay, even the change of a minister may become so many crimes against the national sovereignty, as the people have not pronounced their opinion on those matters in their primary assemblies. Reflect upon the certain consequences of this proposed appeal to the people, and upon what an apple of discord you would throw among them. If here, in the National Convention, seven hundred educated men cannot agree on this subject but are thrown into a tempest of rage and confusion, what will be the nature of the discussion in the primary assemblies and among millions of men?" Dubois-Crance,

who followed Moreau, announced one plain truth, and that was, that the Girondists were afraid of taking upon themselves the entire responsibility of the king's execution. He said that the appeal to the people was so absurd, that Louis Capet himself had positively refused it, citing this maxim of Rousseau: "The general will cannot pronounce as a general will, either upon a fact or upon an individual." "Let us," cried this frank assassin, "let us take vengeance on the tyrant, and then say to the people, 'Make our heads fly off on the scaffold, if you will.' We will render thanks to the gods, for we have saved our country!" The House again adjourned without coming to any decision.

A D 1793.—When they met again (on the 1st of January), several addresses were presented from the departments demanding the immediate execution of the king, petitions were read which represented that bread was very dear and the people starving, and Labrun, the minister for foreign affairs, announced that the English government was assuming a very hostile attitude, and that the English parliament had shamelessly passed an alien bill which would greatly interfere with the liberty of Frenchmen residing or trading in England, and which was a manifest infraction of the last treaty of peace with France. Labrun also complained of "indecent diatribes uttered in both houses of parliament against the French people and their present government." He said that a vote had been carried for arming thirteen ships of the line at Portsmouth, but that if the French used proper expedition they might get their fleet to sea before the English. Blaud-Varenne was astonished that the French government had not sent over an address to the English people which had been prepared some time ago. "Everybody," said he, "knows the situation of the English people, and that they are our friends. There cannot be a wiser or better measure than an address to them. This is what I call a proper appeal to the people! The oppressed English desire nothing better than to fraternise with us." The Convention turned over the report of the minister for foreign affairs to the committees of marine and diplomacy, and did nothing more that day. People were now crying through the streets of Paris, "Give us bread or kill us!" "There has not been blood enough!" "Let the scythe of equality strike off more heads!" "Give us bread and equality!" "Put the traitor to death, and then we shall have both equality and bread!" "The cause of all our woes is in the Temple and it is a part of the Convention!" &c. Roland, as minister of the interior, declared that there was plenty of grain, but that traitors and plotters were preventing its arriving at Paris, in order to provoke the people to insurrection and other excesses. This business occupied the Convention during two or three days. On the 2nd or 3rd of January Gensonne made a prodigiously long speech to recommend, not the appeal to the people beforehand, but the appeal to the

people after judgment, in order to obtain the solemn sanction to the king's execution. He affected to treat Robespierre and his opinions with extreme contempt, and he told him that such an appeal could not be attended with danger to any party or to any person, as the people would tranquilly adopt and ratify the sentence of their representatives. He even ventured upon a prophecy, saying, with a sneer, "Irruquillize yourself, O Robespierre! you will not be murdered, and I do not believe that you will ever be able to murder anybody!" [Within ten months Robespierre sent this Genonne and twenty of his Girondist friends to the guillotine on one day.] In this same speech Genonne said, "While the ordinary tribunals are every day condemning to death some of the accomplices of Louis, how can he, the chief of the conspiracy, escape the same punishment?"

I vote for the affirmative of both these propositions—*I vote guilty—Louis has merited death.*

But the execution of Louis must not pass in the eyes of Europe and in the eyes of posterity as the work of a fiction in this Assembly. The national will must put an end to these scandalous debates. Here, then, I come to for the people the enjoyment of the plenitude of their rights. This applied to the people instead of lowering the republican spirit, will make it an unit higher than ever, as I give the people a new energy. If you fear that there is still some lingering superstition for royalty, and that many citizens still regard kings as superiors to other men, the best means of elevating their souls, and forming their minds for republican virtues, is to prove to them by the fact that they are more than kings inasmuch as they are indivisibly the king's judges.* Such was the manner in which these Girondists plied the cause of merit. From the beginning to the end of this shameful trial their conduct was one, calculated to send all the royal family to the block, and to screen themselves by making millions of people share in their guilt. So thoroughly had France been terrified, and into such madness had it been driven by the proceedings and harangues of the Convention (by their own harangues as much as by that of the Mountain), that, if the appeal had been all voted, the vast majority of the French people would have voted sentence of death. I would have confirmed it, the minority of the people, always so cowardly, would have acquiesced, or would have been cut to pieces in their unprotected and useless opposition, or, if that opposition could have proved at all formidable in some of the provinces, the commune, who kept the keys of the Temple, would have thrown the doors open to the Parisian egotists, and the king, the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal, and the princess Elizabeth would have been septembrized. On the next day the Girondists were thrown into incarceration by Gasparin, a member of the Mountain, who accused Genonne, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Brissot, of intriguing with the Tuileries by means of Boze, the painter, and Thierry, the king's

valet. He informed the House that at the time he was lodging with Boze, who had shown him a long letter signed by the four Girondists, whose principal condition was, that the king should recall Roland's ministry, that Boze had delivered this letter to Thierry, who had carried it to the king, that he had been much surprised that this letter had not been found among the papers presented by Roland as the contents of the iron chest, but that he (Gasparin) had taken some notes while the letter was fresh in his memory, and that he had shown his notes at the time to Carnot and another patriot. Upon this motion the House decreed that Boze should be brought to the bar, and that his papers should be seized and sealed. Robespierre's brother said that there were many interesting papers in Thierry's country house, and that Roland had been attempting to carry them off clandestinely. After a terrible tumult, in the course of which Boyer-Fonfrieux exclaimed, "Send these four Girondists to the Abbaye, and let them have Septembrizers for their judges," the House agreed that Roland also should be called to the bar. This Girondist minister of the interior came almost immediately. He declared that he knew nothing about the letter or about the papers in Thierry's country house—but, as it is not often that a minister of state has treated of such matters and in such a manner, we must let the eternally virtuous Roland speak a little for himself. "With respect to the seals," said he, "which have been put upon Thierry's country house, I have prevented their being removed until the pretended death of Thierry or the fact of his emigration be authentically verified. I have opposed the delivery of his effects to the citizenship Thierry, because I suspect that Thierry is not dead, but has emigrated, in which case all his property becomes confiscated to the nation. I have procured from the goler of the Conciergerie a list of the persons massacred there on the 2nd of September, that list contains one hundred and thirty persons, and Thierry is not among them.* I have been told since that he fled over to England. Thus, as for my breaking of seals and trying to carry off papers, I consider the charges as gratuitous and wicked calumnies." Robespierre the younger responded, denying that he was a calumniator, and accusing Roland of having spent money, given to him to promote the instruction of the people, upon Brissot and his writings. Painter Boze was then brought to the bar in the custody of the secretary of the commune's committee of general security. He made an ingenious defence, vowed that he had ever been a good patriot, and produced a letter written by Thierry, which seemed to exculpate both himself and the four Girondists, but which really and in a moral sense justified the king more than anybody else. Kerwant, Barbaroux, Vergniaud, and Guadet harangued each at great length, to show that the

* As Thierry was massacred at the Abbaye (see ante p. 159) it was not likely that Roland should find his name in the Conciergerie list.

correspondence with the court by means of Boze and Thierry had only been entered upon with the most patriotic views: but they could not conceal the fact avowed by Boze, that one of their objects was to regain possession of office; and this enabled the Mountain to cry out that they were a horde of intriguers,—that their system had always been to make themselves ministers and monopolise all the powers of the state, and that they had no system or design but that. Although the Girondists with their numerical majority could carry the order of the day, they were seriously wounded and lamed by this attack at this critical nick of time; and, if they had no courage before—no heart to commit themselves in the cause of mercy—they were not likely to be bolder now. In fact, on the next day, January the 4th, Barbaroux demanded that the discussion should be closed, and that sentence should be passed within four-and-twenty hours. He was followed by that chief of the Plain, Barrère, who had long since made up his own mind to the sentence of death, and who now, in a long and laboured speech, urged all the arguments he could command to prove the expediency of that sentence and of its immediate execution. The predominant argument was one drawn from the old logic of fear:—it was, that, if the ev-king were not put to death, there could be no safety for the republic or the founders of it. He condemned and again exposed the danger of any appeal to the people either for sentence or for a confirmation of sentence; and as he proceeded, like a true middle-man, he eulogized and flattered both sides of the House, the Girondists for their humanity and superhuman eloquence, and the men of the Mountain for their energy and republican directness. He carried along with him all the hesitating and timid, who had determined not to risk in any way their own heads to save the head of Louis, and who merely wanted some plausible argument wherewith to deaden their own consciences. At the same time more addresses came in from the departments crying for execution, and predicting or threatening the most terrible consequences if it were delayed many days longer. There was, too, another cause, which was not without its effect, even in this solemn matter, with that volatile and impatient people; they were weary with the length of the discussion, and could no longer listen with any patience to the repetition day after day of nearly the same arguments. On Sunday the 6th there was a furious debate, which turned chiefly upon the Paris municipality and upon Roland as minister of the interior. Marat apostrophised those who attacked the commune with the grossest and foulest language; and Robespierre, though frequently interrupted by cries of “The Abbaye! the Abbaye!” denounced, in a terrible style, the Girondist ministry and the Girondist majority in the House, declaring that the aid and assistance of the commune was essentially necessary to preserve the patriotic minority from their savage tyranny. Roland, who was pre-

sent, having been called to the bar to give an account of the state of the interior, protested, shrugged his shoulders, cried out calumny and abomination; but this did not prevent a prodigious effect being produced by Robespierre’s speech. On the 7th the House unanimously decreed that the discussion of the trial was closed, and that nothing remained to do but to fix the definitive sentence. The Mountain proposed that this should be fixed at once; but the Gironde moved an adjournment till the 14th, and this was carried after another tumultuous debate. In the interval the Jacobin newspapers employed themselves very busily in settling the how, the when, the where the king should be executed. Camille Desmoulins recommended that the place should be the Carrousel, right in front of the Tuileries; that he should have a placard on his breast with the words “PERJURED AND TRAITOR TO THE NATION,” and another placard behind him, with the simple word “KING.” Camille further recommended that the Convention should decree that the tombs of the kings of France in the Abbey of St. Denis should henceforward be set apart as the burying-places of thieves, robbers, assassins, and traitors. In the same interval the Convention, on the motion of Kersaint, who had been a naval officer before the revolution, decreed that thirty ships of the line and twenty frigates should be equipped and manned in order to anticipate the hostile movement of England.

On the morning of the 14th the Convention was completely surrounded by immense multitudes of armed citizens, who kept shouting, “Death to the tyrant!” “Death to him or to us!” and as soon as the House opened the galleries were crammed to suffocation. In order that the crowd might be the greater, the commune had taken upon itself to order that all theatres and other places of amusement should be closed that day; and, as the people were thus shut out from all other pastimes, nearly the whole Paris population gathered round that one spot. Buzot, who was the first that ascended the tribune on this tragical day, complained of this stopping of the theatres and spectacles, and proposed that the Convention, in order to lessen the crowd and the tumult, should order those places of amusement to be all opened as usual. The Jacobins opposed and ridiculed the proposition. Gensonné, after a fierce attack on the commune, which he accused of organizing trouble and sedition, and perhaps massacre, demanded that the Convention should decree that the police of Paris belonged to the House, and not to the municipality. This raised another tempest. One Jacobin cried out that it was Gensonné and his party who were conspiring; another said indignantly that the deputies of the Convention were not elected to act as a police; butcher Legendre demanded that Gensonné should be censured; and linen-draper Lecoindre exclaimed majestically, that they were met there to pass judgment on the king, and not to talk about theatres and police. The Gi-

rondistes were again compelled to give way; the theatres were left closed and the people where they were; and under this intimidation the Convention proceeded to decide the king's fate. Danton, who had taken no part whatever in the trial, having been absent on his money-making mission in Belgium, now presented three several series of questions; but after a long debate Danton's three schemes were rejected, and the House adopted the following scheme, or series, proposed by Boyer-Fonfrède, a Girondist:—

"1. Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiring against liberty, and of crimes against the general safety of the state?"

"2. Shall our sentence, whatever it may be, be submitted to the people for their ratification and sanction?"

"3. What punishment shall be inflicted on Louis?"

Danton, it appears, took his departure again that night, for on the following day he was not present to vote, and his name was set down with the names of nineteen other deputies as being "absent on commissions appointed by the Convention." In spite of all their efforts to defeat the vote by muster-roll or appel nominal, the resolution to adopt that mode of proceeding had been carried against the Girondists; and it was further resolved that every member should speak from the tribune, and deliver his opinion and motive also in writing, and signed with his name. Moreover, on the morning of the 15th, on the motions of Rouyer and Jean-Bon-Saint-André, it was ordered that all such members as were absent without cause should be censured, and that a list of their names and the censures pronounced upon them should be printed and sent to the departments. Buzot, however, succeeded in carrying a motion favourable to laggards and cowards: it was, that such as were absent might have leave to vote after the appel nominal.

When this muster-roll began, there was for once a solemn silence in all parts of the House. The president read the first question, Is Louis Capet guilty, &c.? The House was composed in all of 749 members: the muster-roll showed that 8 were absent on account of sickness, that 20 were absent on commission, and that 721 were present and answered to their names. Of all these 721 there was not one that would venture to say simply not guilty, and only 37 who declared that they were incompetent to pronounce judgment on the king, or recommended some punishment short of death. All the rest of the deputies, being 684, replied with a simple affirmative Yes, without offering any explanation or modification; and in this list we find, together with Robespierre and Marat, and all the Mountain, Condorcet, Kersaint, Thomas Paine, Isnard, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonne, Brissot, and all the great Girondists. The president (Vergniaud) proclaimed in a sonorous voice, and in the name of the French people, that the National Convention declared Louis Capet guilty. They then without loss of time proceeded to the second question—whether

there should be an appeal to the people to sanction the sentence. At this appel nominal 5 members refused to vote at all; 11 would only vote upon certain conditions; 260 (so potently had their fears worked upon the late majority) voted for the appeal to the people; and 425 voted against it. With the exception, however, of Condorcet and Thomas Paine, all the Girondist chiefs voted for the appeal. Philippe Egalité voted on both these questions with the majority, saying, as he gave his vote on the appeal, "I only think of my duty as a citizen; I say, No!" President Vergniaud then announced with the same solemnity, that the National Convention decreed in the name of the French people that there should be no appeal to the people for their ratification. By this time the night was advanced: the third question was reserved for the morrow, the 16th of January, with the understanding that the House would not rise until they had pronounced sentence.

On the morning of the 16th the debate was opened, not about the sentence, but about the theatres, and about a new drama entitled *L'Ami des Lois* (The Friend of the Laws), a miserable piece, but which had given mortal offence to the Jacobins, as it seemed intended to favour the king, and to hold up to the detestation of the world Robespierre, Marat, and one or two other leaders of the Mountain. There had been terrible scuffles and fights at the representation; and the ultra-Jacobin commune, out of pure regard to order and tranquillity, had prohibited the repetition of the drama. The executive council, on the other hand, had revoked the order of the commune, as contrary to the liberty of the press, in which was included the liberty of the theatre. Pétion condemned the conduct of the commune, justified that of the executive, and said some fine things about the uncontrolled liberty of opinion which became their perfect republic; as if he had not learned from the entire course of the revolution, and from his own personal experience in it, that no liberty was to be allowed except to one party. Robespierre a little later said, with great naïveté, "Without doubt the liberty of the press ought to be entire; but it must not be employed against liberty." And, as liberty was what the majority chose to make it, no man who differed from them could be permitted to express his dissent from them in any way. With respect to the offensive drama, *L'Ami des Lois*, Dubois-Grancé and other Jacobins said it was written with a perfidious object; that the acting of it served as a rallying-point to the enemies of *la chose publique*, to the ex-privileged orders and their miserable lacqueys; that it was a notorious fact that swarms of aristocrats were returning to Paris, and that the emigrants were deserting the army of Condé in order to excite troubles in the capital that might prevent the execution of Louis Capet; and from all these circumstances they concluded that the commune had only done its duty in prohibiting the play. Danton, whose last commission must have been a very short one, as he was now in the

House, exclaimed, "Citizens, I confess I thought that we were to be occupied upon a subject very different from a *comedy*!" Some voices said, "But liberty is concerned!" "True," rejoined Danton, "liberty is concerned. But we are to think about the *tragedy* that we are to present to nations: we are to occupy our minds as to how we are to let the axe of the law fall on the head of a tyrant, and not about miserable comedies!" Pétion expressed his astonishment at hearing such language from a man who had been a magistrate and a minister of justice, talked some more commonplace about the liberty of the press, and made a motion only to be outvoted. At this moment a letter from Roland was presented and read—a letter which announced that many persons, terror-stricken, were flying from Paris, that the closing of the barriers was again threatened, that nothing was talked of but fresh proscriptions, that the fermentation was universal, that everywhere one heard "projects of massacre and preaching to excite murder," that the incendiary resolutions of many sections, the sanguinary doctrines promulgated in the clubs, and, finally, the arrival of many pieces of artillery which had been parked at St. Denis, and which in the course of yesterday had been brought into Paris and distributed among the sections, could leave no doubt on the mind of any man as to what was intended. "I know," added the minister of the interior, "that the commune and Sans-culottes assure you that Paris is tranquil, I know that they gave you the same assurance on the 2nd of September, I know that I then made fruitless applications, and I also know that I am as powerless to-day as I was then. The same faction exists, the same horrors now threaten us!" The Girondists trembled; the Mountain laughed to scorn the notion that Paris was otherwise than tranquil. A member of the droit got up and said that Charles Villette had just been told at the very door of the Convention, that if he did not vote for the death of Louis he would be massacred. The Mountain hissed and murmured, and butcher Legendre exclaimed, "These fantastic terrors are only a part of your tactics to delay the sentence of the king. If you had to condemn the people, instead of the king, you would not be so slow!" It is only old slaves like you, that still bear the marks of their fetters on their wrists, that can talk of dangers and daggers that do not exist!" Marat trusted that the House would not be the dupes of a farce which the Girondists had been playing for three days. "These men," said he, "who now pretend to be in an agony of terror, are the very men who a few days ago boasted of their majority and of their power to carry votes and decrees—they are the very men who are constantly surrounded with bayonets, and who have been dining every day in the barracks of the federates! But their present despair proceeds from their having discovered that the brave federates reject the criminal principles they proposed to them, and refuse to do their work." Another member of the *côté droit* declared that some members of the

Mountain had been heard to say that the cannons had been brought in from St. Denis to make a revolution like that of the 10th of August, and another affirmed that he had just heard news-venders and hawkers crying through the streets, "Here is the true list of the royalists and aristocrats who voted yesterday for the appeal to the people." The Mountain roared, and Danton told the House that they were losing time in idle gossip. Gensonné called all France to witness that the faction of the Mountain was exercising a perfect tyranny. The galleries, which were still more crammed than on the preceding day, expressed in various ways how impatient they were for the third appeal nominal. The Convention, however, passed several more hours in hearing the reports of the minister of justice and the mayor of Paris on the actual state of the capital, and in voting and decreeing that the barriers should not be closed, and that the federates actually in Paris should mount guard and do duty with the national guards. The Girondists attempted to carry a vote to bring in a strong regiment of mounted gendarmes then quartered at Versailles, but the Jacobins, who were not quite sure of this regiment, opposed the project, and it ended in exciting one outcry more against the falling party.

As the day was now far advanced it was agreed, on the motion of Danton, that the House would not rise or take up any other business until the third appeal nominal was finished. Here there arose the question whether a simple majority should suffice for carrying the sentence, or whether, in such a case, a majority of two thirds should not be required. Lanjumeau demanded that there should be a majority of two-thirds to give any sentence the force of a judgment. The Jacobins cried out against this proposition, and Garat-Coulon said that it was impossible the Convention should follow any other rule than the ordinary one, which gave a majority all its weight and itself whether it was a majority of one or a majority of hundreds. Leclercq demanded that the question should be put thus—Interpretation of Death, and that the majority should be at least a majority of two thirds of the whole House. Duquesnoy, a Jacobin of the deepest dye, and afterwards a colleague of Carnot, exclaimed, "Citizens, I am too well convinced of the enlightenment of this Assembly to believe that there can be any serious difference of opinion upon this matter. All the world have declared that Louis is guilty of treason against the people. Well, then! we have nothing to do but to open the penal code, and apply the law to him. I read in that code that the law is equal for all citizens." Danton, knowing that this would not do, simply called for the order of the day, and, this being carried, it remained as a matter of course that a simple majority should decide the fate of Louis. Lanjumeau declared that all forms of justice and all feelings of humanity were outraged, and that the Convention was deliberating under the daggers and cannons of a

faction, but these self-evident truths made no impression either upon the mobs in the galleries or upon the men of the Mountain, who had the cannons and the daggers under their control. A secretary now began to call over the muster roll. It was eight o'clock at night, and the hall was only imperfectly lighted up with lamps and candles. All faces were either pale or flushed—the heads and shoulders projecting from the galleries seemed about to fall upon the members sitting in their seats. By a drawing of lots, or by some operation styled a *rendement* the deputies of the Girondins, Gers and the Gironde, who nearly all belonged to the party named Girondists, were the first called upon for their votes. The first of all who voted was Mullie, and his vote was *LA MORT* (Death). But he had remarked that the Convention should first discuss the point whether execution should follow or not, and whether sentence should be suspended for a time, taking care, however, to add that his vote for death was independent of this proposition. The next two members that voted were Delmas and Philippon, who both said *LA MORT* without more. As the business went on, the galleries applauded all who voted simply for death, and looked and threatened all such as attempted to qualify the sentence or to commit it into imprisonment or banishment. I only in the roll Vermaud, who was acting as president, was called upon, and paled and trembling, and becoming better than popular fury, he pronounced the monosyllable *DEATH*, although he had previously declared that his heart and conscience would never permit him to give such a vote, and that the unfortunate king. Guadet, who voted next, said *DEATH*, but recommended the suspension of execution (*la sursis*), which had been first suggested by Mullie. Next came Gensonne, who followed up the counter to *LA MORT*, by demanding that the Convention, in order to prove to Europe that the condemnation of Louis was not the work of a faction, should deliberate immediately after judgment on the measures of security proper to be taken in favour of the children of the condemned, and against his family, and that, in order to prove that no distinction was made between villains (*l'infamie*), the Convention should condemn the ministers of justice to pursue before the tribunals the assassins and brigands of the 2nd and 3rd of September! In some few instances courage and humanity were found where their existence could never have been expected. Thus Grangeneuve boldly voted '*IMPRISONNEMENT* (*la Detention*),' and Manuel, with equal boldness, said "*BANISHMENT*," and soon afterwards rushed out of the House for ever—but not before he had been hustled, kicked, and beaten, beaten on the very floor of the House, and then in the lobby. As the voting continued, one opinion, delivered by Serviere, to keep the king in prison, and only execute him in case of the coalition again invading France, seemed to make some little impression, but it was only for a moment, as the con-

viction was by this time universal that republican France, instead of suffering invasion, might now invade all Europe, and, in alliance with the people, bring down every throne to the dust. Lapellatier Saint-Targeau, a man of noble birth and large fortune, who had figured in the Constituent or first Assembly, and who had hunground and written largely for the abolition of all capital punishment, now, to save his own life, said, *DEATH*. Condorcet said, "*THE GREATEST PUNISHMENT SHORT OF DEATH*." Thomas Paine, who had previously urged his opinions with more courage than any of them, both in conversation and in writing, voted for *IMPRISONMENT TILL THE PEACE*, AND THEN *BANISHMENT*. Several members of the Mountain voted, like the majority of the Girondists, for *DEATH*, WITH THE *SURSIS*. As every member had to answer to his name, to ascend the tribune, to deliver his sentence *in a voce*, and then to write it and sign it in a *proces verbal*, the dismal business proceeded very slowly. Some of the deputies fell asleep in their places, and had to be roused by the ushers when their names were called. Others, choosing, their time, ran out of the House to get dinner or other refreshments. The people in the galleries brought their refreshments with them, and were seen drinking wine and brandy as in a common tavern. One particular gallery set aside for distinguished visitors was occupied by Philippe I., d'Orleans' mistresses, and by other rouged and splendidly dressed dames, some of whom, with cards and jinx, pricked down the eyes and noses as if they had been at the roulette table or playing at ruzette. Deputies of the Convention carried rice, and lemon buns and other condiments, to these picturesque of that temple of liberty, and the marking of the French fashion, and gallantry, and assignation, went on even as if the harlots and the scoundrels had been at a merry play. From time to time a tic fell was went over to the neighbouring coffee-house where other cold blooded scoundrels were betting upon the results of the appeal nominal. Marat voted, *DEATH WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS*, Danton, simply, *DEATH*, but Robespierre accompanied his vote of *DEATH* by a long comment, in which he said that the very reasons which had formerly induced him to call for the abolition of capital punishment now made him demand the death of the tyrant, and in him the death of all royalty. When the turn of Sieyes came, that evitable said, shrilly and briefly, *LA MORT SANS PHRASES* (Death without phrases). But the vote which made the most sensation was that delivered by the ex-Duke of Orleans, who mounted the tribune between night and morning, and with a hollow, shaking voice said, "Solely occupied by my duty, convinced that all those who have made attempts, or shall hereafter make attempts against the sovereignty of the people, merit death, I vote for *DEATH*." There was a universal murmur, a sort of subdued groan, but this was all, and, with the vast majority there collected, the feeling of horror was transitory. All

through the next day, the 17th of January, this voting continued. At eight o'clock at night, when Chazal the younger gave the last vote of all, the president announced that he had received two letters, one from Louis's counsel, the other from Lebrun the minister for foreign affairs, who enclosed a note about the king from the Spanish ambassador Garam-culon, and a great many more deputies, Girondists as well as Jacobins, shouted that the letter from the Spanish minister was an insult, and that it ought not to be read. Danton exclaimed, "I am astonished at the audacity of any power pretending to exercise an influence over our deliberations. If everybody was of my opinion, we would this instant declare war against Spain, were it only for this letter." Gensonne said he thought like Danton, and he moved the order of the day, which was carried unanimously. The note of the Spanish ambassador, who offered, in the name of his sovereign, not only the neutrality of Spain, but her friendly mediation with the other powers if they would only spare the life of Louis XVI., was thrown over the table and sent back unread to the foreign office, and, if all the courts of Europe had sent similar notes, they would all have been treated in the same manner. They then read the note from Louis's counsel, who begged to be heard once more at the bar. Robespierre insisted that the counsel could not be heard until the *appel nominal* had been scrutinised, and the result of it made known, and, after some debate or clamour, the House agreed with him. At this moment Duchatel, a farmer from the neighbourhood of Thiers in Pontou, who had been returned to the Convention by the department of Deux Sèvres, and who had generously exerted himself in favour of the king, was carried into the hall in blankets and with his head wrapped up. He had been lying on a sick bed, but had risen from it in the belief that one humane vote more would turn the balance. Draper Lecomte, Duhamel, and some other Jacobins, contended that he could not vote as the *appel nominal* was over and the result of it known, but Valaze, who was acting as one of the secretaries, said that the scrutiny was not over, and the majority decided that the House could not refuse to any member his right of voting. Duchatel crawled up the steps of the tribune, and gave his vote for BANISHMENT. Charlier, a member of the Mountain and a close adherent of Marat, demanded that the president should interrupt the sick member in order to make him confess who had sent to bring him there in that state, but this proposition was rejected with murmurs. The secretaries then presented the lists to the president (Vergniaud), who, putting on a solemn countenance, said, "Citizens, I am going to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You are going to perform a grand act of justice. I hope that humanity will induce you to maintain the most profound silence when justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn." After this preamble he read the result of the third *appel nominal*—The number of members

absent on commission was 15, 8 were absent through real or feigned sickness, and 5 had refused to vote. Of the 721 that remained, 2 had voted for the galleys, 256 for imprisonment and banishment at the peace, or for immediate banishment, or for an imprisonment which was to end in death if France should be again invaded, 46 had voted for death with the *sursis* either after the expulsion of the Bourbons, or at the peace, or at the ratification of the constitution, 26 had voted for death, but had subjoined the recommendation of Mailhe, and 361 had voted for death without any condition, restriction, or recommendation. Taking the 26 shuffling Girondists (Mailhe and those who had voted with him) as being on the side of mercy, the majority for Death was only a majority of *One*, but throwing Mailhe and his crew on the other side, as they must be thrown, the blood majority will stand at 53, or 357 against 334. When he had gone through these enumerations Vergniaud said, in a sorrowful tone of voice, "Citizens, I declare, in the name of the National Convention, that the punishment it pronounces on Louis Capet is DEATH."

The very next instant the king's counsel came to the bar. Danton read a protest signed by Louis, who, besides protesting, claimed to be permitted to appeal to the people. Danton pleaded eloquently for the helpless sovereign, dwelling up in the smallness of the majority and the anxiety which the large majority of the Convention had so lately shown for the ratification by the people. Tronchet spoke with equal eloquence, and the tears and sobs of the white-headed Mischersbes, which scarcely allowed him to speak one uninterrupted sentence, were more eloquent than any rhetoric or any pleading. Many members seemed overcome by the old man's tenderness, but Robespierre rose and delivered one of his freezing speeches. Gallet demonstrated that it was impossible to allow of the king's appeal to the people, and the House forthwith determined that there should be no such appeal, but that the *sursis*, or suspension of execution, should be debated in the morning. They then adjourned amid the things of the singing, for though it was not until eight of the 17th, and they had been sitting ever since nine o'clock of the morning of the 16th, the people were furious at their adjourning without settling the *sursis* question like all the rest, and leaving the king for immediate execution.

On the morrow, the 15th, two or three efforts were made to lengthen the delay by men who thought that delay might yet give Louis a feeble chance for life. Some charitable doubts were suggested that the enumeration of the votes of yesterday might not be quite correct, and some hours were passed in going over and scrutinising again that *appel nominal*. No error was detected. One member, a Jacobin of the Mountain, proposed that a *procès verbal* of all the late proceedings should be printed and sent to the departments, with an address to the people, in which the Convention

should clearly state the motives under which it had acted. Thuriot, Choudieu, Charlier, Tallien, Duquesnoy, Duhem, Julien, Robespierre, and others, vehemently opposed the proposition, saying that it was only meant to gain time, and that it was utterly useless, as the people had given their representatives the incontestable right of trying the tyrant and sending him to the scaffold. Several of the Girondists, who had not the courage to emit that opinion from the tribune, and whose own conduct had been in direct opposition to the principle, cried out in the crowd that this was not true—that the people had given the Convention no such right or powers! This cowardly inconsistency greatly incensed Choudieu, who roared, "President, call that *côte droit* to order! They are indirectly protesting against the vote and will of the majority!" Tallien, who had no more bowels than a rock, rose at the very top of the Mountain to recommend dispatch on account of humanity. "Louis," said he, "knows that he has been condemned, and that a suspension of punishment has been demanded for him. Now is it not barbarous to leave him any longer in uncertainty as to his fate? I demand that we decide this question before we rise, in order not to prolong the agonies of the condemned prisoner." Lareveillère-Lépeaux, now a member of the Plain, expressed some disgust at Tallien's sortie. "I have," said he, "voted against the appeal to the people; I have voted for the death of Louis; but it is not without horror that I hear humanity invoked with cries of blood! My advice is, not to admit any long delay to our final determination; but it is almost incredible that any one can wish this important question to be decreed in one sitting by an assembly worn out with the fatigue and extraordinary length of our last sitting." Lareveillère-Lépeaux concluded with demanding that the House should rise at its usual hour, and that the discussion should not be closed until every member in it should have been fully informed. Couthon demanded that Tallien's motion should have the priority, and that the House should decide both upon it and upon Mailhe's proposition or query whether a reprieve or suspension of punishment should be allowed before it adjourned. A voice cried out, "And let us vote upon this point too by *appel nominal*!"—to which there seemed to be a universal response, "Agreed, agreed." Dounau, of Boulogne, and a representative from the department Pas-du-Calais, which had returned Thomas Paine among its members, spoke against Tallien's mock humanity, and the indecent precipitation that was recommended. Dounau had voted for banishment at the last *appel nominal*, and he now wished to read a paper against the punishment of death, which had been drawn up by that brother member, who could not make speeches in French. "One of your members," said he, "Thomas Paine, has an important opinion to communicate. Perhaps it will be of some use to learn from him how in England——" He was interrupted by indignant murmurs, and called a

traitor to the people. Before descending from the tribune Dounau exclaimed that those were the enemies of the people who were flattering their evil passions, their atrocious curiosity to see how a king could die; that the true friends of the people were those who would stop bloodshed and dry up tears, and struggle to bring back the people to feelings of mercy, to principles of morality, justice, and reason! He was answered by Robespierre, who said it would greatly grieve him if one part of the Assembly should be obliged to do violence on the other, but that he hoped that no honest patriot would permit himself to be shamefully dragged in the train of a majority, instead of concurring with his free vote to eternize the glory of the French name. Sentences surely were not passed in order not to be executed; tyrants were not condemned for the sake of a barren formula; it was very absurd to attempt to interpose a space between condemnation and execution; it was very dangerous, by delay, or pity, or pusillanimity, to re-awaken the guilty hopes of the royalists. The longer the execution was delayed, the greater would be the risk of intrigues, plots, troubles, and civil war. The penal code demanded that every criminal sentence should be executed within four-and-twenty hours. If the House thought they might in the present instance depart from the written law, they ought at least to set aside all incidental propositions, and adjourn till to-morrow the actual question. A great many voices on his own side of the House cried No! No! "Citizens," rejoined Robespierre, "you know this adjournment is not my proposition. I have urged that humanity and the letter of the law command the execution within four-and-twenty hours. I demand, then, if this assembly—which I cannot believe—shall refuse to pronounce definitively before it rise, that it shall decree that to-morrow, at four o'clock, the *appel nominal* shall be commenced on the question of *suavis*, so that the execution may follow without loss of time." Many Jacobins shouted that the question ought to be settled to-day or to-night, or before the House rose; and a fresh tumult ensued. When it had lasted for some time the president put on his hat, and the majority of the members quitted the House. About three hundred remained, collected in groups in the centre of the hall, and many voices among them cried out that the House had not been prorogued—that the debates ought to go on—that the president had acted irregularly and illegally, and ought to be called to the bar. Several members who had formerly been presidents of the House were consulted as to the rules; and at last Lacroix, the friend of Danton, took possession of the president's fauteuil. Some of the Mountain, who fancied that Lacroix was going to preside, and that the minority that remained would deliberate and vote against the majority that had taken their departure, exclaimed that this was a superb moment—that this was an excellent opportunity for annihilating the royalists and the Brissotins. But

a good many members refused to take their seats, or to deliberate, and Lacroix thought himself obliged to confess that he could not properly preside, that the members present did not make a Convention, and that the majority had certainly pronounced the adjournment. Some of the Mountain cried out, "But now *we* are the majority!" "I know no majority when an adjournment has been legally pronounced," responded Lacroix. "You may name a president if you will, but I declare that I will not preside." And so saying he quitted the chair in the midst of murmurs. Some said that they would appoint a president, some that they would remain all night in the House, though no business were done, in order to show the people who were the true patriots, and who the traitors that abandoned their posts. Couthon said it would be better to avoid any irregular act by going quietly home, and leaving every man on his honour, to be at his post to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. Robespierre rose and said, "I am now speaking only to friends and brothers, for all who are now here are good citizens and of one mind. Our only motive for demanding the immediate execution of the condemned tyrant is the fear that he may be rescued, or that troubles may arise. The only object, then, of all good citizens, at this moment, ought to be to prevent this danger. Let, therefore, every one of us exert himself according to his ability. Let us give good warning to the commandant general to the municipality, to the sections, to the clubs, to the federates, and to this end let us now calmly retire from this House. To-morrow we will return and resume our glorious labours for terrifying kings and firmly establishing liberty!" While he was speaking Santerre stalked into the House, followed by some of his aides-de-camp, and spoke apart with Marat and other chiefs of the Mountain, and as soon as the incorruptible had finished his speech, Santerre, though not a member of the House, mounted the tribune to deliver a very significant discourse. "I speak to you," said the brewer, "as a citizen. All Paris is perfectly tranquil. The judgment of the condemned king will be executed with great safety and ceremony. I have a reserve of five thousand men ready to march in, there are cannons everywhere, but we shall not want them, tranquillity cannot be interrupted. . . . Then be tranquil yourselves, for the people will never suffer the head of Louis to fall otherwise than as the laws direct." Having thus said, he descended from the tribune in the midst of tremendous applause, and quitted the House. The members and the mobs in the galleries soon followed Santerre, saying, "Citizens, to-morrow at nine in the morning!" It was now almost midnight.

At the appointed hour on the 19th they met again. A letter was presented from Manuel, declaring that he could no longer consider himself as a member, that he would never again deliberate or attend the House, that it was impossible for the

Convention, composed as it was, to save France, and that the virtuous man had now nothing to do but to envelope himself in his mantle and die. The House took no notice of the letter. An order of the general council of the commune was next read. This order imported that, now that the trial of Louis was finished, he should not be allowed to see his counsel or any one else, and that the commissioners of the municipality should make a strict search in his apartments. Choudieu moved that there should be no debate about this order, and that the Convention should now decide that it would not rise until the question of *susces* or *reprise* was finally settled, and this was agreed to without a division. The debate which followed was as tumultuous and as indecent as the preceding ones, and the conduct of the humane Girondists just as equivocal and cowardly, as ill combined and inconsistent as ever. Vergniaud, Gensonne, Boyer Indredi, Ducos, Barbaroux, Robespierre, and many more of them, voted against the *mise*, which had been recommended by their own friend Mailhe; Guadet voted for it, as did Buzot, Brissot, and Pétion, while Grangeneuve and the great Condorcet declined voting at all. Buzot said, in a fury, that the Mountain only wanted to put Louis to death in order to place Philippe Egalité on the throne. Condorcet, though he would not commit himself by a vote, delivered a long, pedantic, perfectibilian harangue beginning and ending in remark. He was in doubt whether Louis ought to be executed within four-and-twenty hours or not, he was a mercurial man, but he loved strict justice. As he was near us that the matter should be settled, but still he was alarmed at the evil consequences and unfavorable impressions that might be produced by sending Louis to the guillotine. Excesses of calumny and misrepresentation the sovereigns of Europe might have their subjects to believe that the tyrant had been unjustly dealt with, and thus not merely the kings, but the peoples of Europe—the masses from whom co-operation and federation might otherwise be expected—would be set against the French republicans. The despots might say to their subjects that the Convention beheaded Louis in sheer enmity, might represent the friends of liberty as men greedy for blood, might describe the revolution as a thing that led to anarchy and disorder, and this was the only means by which the good and great cause could be injured. "When," continued this equivocator, "I saw my colleagues mount the tribune to pronounce their vote, I remarked that many of the firmest of our patriots did not pronounce the word '*Death*' without shuddering. Well, then! let us abolish the punishment of death for all *political* crimes, reserving for another time the examination of the question whether we shall preserve that punishment for crimes against the state, for here the considerations are very different." The prompt execution of sentence upon a convict is certainly a duty of humanity, and we ought to fulfil it. In Paris people complain that the prisons are

full, and terrible reports are spread as to the fate these prisoners may meet with at this season of excitement and movement. But what is the cause of this? It is that there is only one tribunal in Paris. Let us increase the number of criminal tribunals in the capital, and then these prisoners may be tried expeditiously. You have hitherto testified an active solicitude for liberty. Since have accused you of carrying your zeal too far. I do not, nor do I wish to diminish it, but I demand from you some measures of philanthropy and beneficence. Hasten to decree laws of adoption! Hasten to secure the fortune of children born out of marriage, act and decree in such a manner that the terms foundling and bastard be expunged for ever from the French language. The necessities of the state oblige us to impose taxes, but there are means proper to prevent those taxes from pressing heavily on the poor. Legislators, make haste to consult us to these matters." Such was the speech which the humane philosopher Condorcet delivered on the question of *war*. When he had done this Paine, who had still some remains of the English nature in him, ascended the tribune to read or rather cause to be read, the written discourse to which his colleague, Dumouris of Boulogne, had alluded the day before. Mirat, who knew that Paine's opinion was strongly pronounced against the execution of the king, and who possibly did not know that d'ism and quakerism were two very different creeds, cried out that Thomas Paine, the English priest of modern deism, could not be allowed to vote on this question, as he was a *Quaker*, and as the religious principle of the Quakers were opposed to the punishment of death. The majority, however, decided that Paine's written discourse should be heard and read, and that the effect might be promoted by mispronunciation of it at one of the secret meetings of the House. Should read it for him. In this discourse Thomas is boasted that he had had some experience in revolutions, having twenty years contributed to the revolution of the United States of America, that his language had ever been the language of liberty and *humanity*, and that he knew by experience that nothing so exalted the soul of a nation as the union of these two principles in all circumstances. He announced, in a manner much more direct and manly than that of Condorcet, that, considering the furious passions which reigned in France, and particularly in Paris, the execution of the king would be looked upon by the world as nothing but an act of vengeance. "My anxiety for the cause of France," said he, "is now limited to an anxiety for the honour of the French people. It is reserved to me, after my return to America, to write the history of the French revolution, I would rather have to record a thousand errors dictated by humanity, than one mistake proceeding from a too severe justice." He said that the most humane and strict punishment would be imprisonment till the pear, and then banishment. He reminded them that the present Convention had only been elected to make a republican constitution, which must be

submitted to the acceptance of the people, that, as soon as the people in their primary assemblies accepted the constitution, there must be a general election, and that the actual Convention could not exist more than five or six months. The new choice of representatives would enable the entire body of the people to express their opinion, and he therefore proposed that the decision of the king's fate should be left to the next legislature. He represented briefly and energetically that the death of Louis would greatly increase the number of the enemies of the French republic and decrease the number of its friends. "France," said he, "has now only one ally, the American republic, and that ally is the sole nation that can furnish her with naval stores, for the kingdoms of the north of Europe, from which she has been accustomed to procure those provisions, are or soon will be at war with her. Now it unfortunately happens that the person who is the object of the present discussion (Louis) is regarded by the people of the United States as their best friend, as he who procured them their liberty. I can assure you that his execution will spread a universal affliction through the United States, and it is yet in your power to spare your best friends that affliction. If I could speak your language like a Frenchman, I would descend, a suppliant, to your bar, and in the name of all my brethren in America present to you a petition and prayer to suspend the execution of Louis." The galleries and the Mountain roared furiously. "Thou art a traitor!" That is not the true language of Thomas Paine! Mirat ran up to the tribune, spoke with Paine, then ran down again and shrieked in his secret voice, "I denounce the translator of this discourse! These are not the opinions of Thomas Paine!" It is a wicked and unfaithful translation! Girardin solemnly affirmed that he had seen the criminal in Paine's own hands, and that the translation was strictly exact. The secretary was then allowed to continue the reading of Paine's discourse, which concluded with these words: "Your executive council have just appointed an ambassador to the United States, who will set sail in a few days. Nothing can be more agreeable to your allies than if your ambassador on his arrival should be able to tell them that, in consideration of the part which Louis Capet took in the American revolution, and in consideration of the affliction which the Americans might have felt at his execution, you have suspended the penalty of death. *Ah! citizens, do not give the despair of England the pleasure of seeing sent to the scaffold the man who helped my beloved brethren of America to free them from his chains!*" [King George of England wept for the fate of the hapless Bourbon, but too many of Thomas Paine's beloved brethren of America—as we may show hereafter—hailed the execution of their benefactor as a grand republican triumph, and celebrated the death of Louis with feasts and songs.] As for Thomas Paine, whose discourse produced no salutary effect, he incurred from this moment the

deadly hatred of the Mountain and Robespierre, who, in the month of June following, drove him out of the Convention as a base foreigner and no republican.



Brissot

Brissot, in his speech, told the Convention that if they cut off Louis's head one day, they must declare, on the next, war against England, Holland, Spain, and all the tyrants of Europe, on whose part a war was inevitable; but their recent victories over the Prussians, Austrians, and Sardinians, and their cherished belief that they could revolutionize and Jacobinize the popular masses in all countries, made the French confident of a perpetuity of triumph, and the vast majority of the Convention were quite ready to declare war against all Europe. At a late hour the *appel nominal* commenced, each member voting simply "Yes" or "No." Seventeen members were absent on commission—the number of those who pleaded sickness as the cause of their absence was now swollen to 21—8 were reported absent without known cause, and 12 refused to vote. Philippe Egalité and 379 more said "No!" to the *sursis*, and 310 said "Yes!" It was, therefore, carried by a majority, an unqualified majority of SEVENTY, that there should be no delay, and that Louis should suffer death within four-and-twenty hours. Santerre's cannon-speech and other demonstrations had operated; the present majority was greater by 17 than the majority which had pronounced sentence of death; 21 were sick now, instead of 8; an additional number were absent without saying why; and, instead of 5, 12 refused to vote. It was three o'clock on the morning of the 20th when the House adjourned, and then the members went to their houses or obscure lodgings followed by an applauding mob.

On the morning of the 18th Malesherbes had gone to the Temple to announce the result of the third *appel nominal*. Cléry ran to meet him. "All is lost," said the old man; "the king is condemned." Louis, who saw him coming, rose to receive him. Malesherbes threw himself at his feet; his voice was stifled with sobs, and for some minutes he could not utter a word. The king

raised him and pressed him to his bosom; and then Malesherbes told the terrible sentence. Louis betrayed no surprise, no agitation; he seemed only affected at the grief of that venerable old man, and he endeavoured to console him. They retired together into the inner closet, and there remained about an hour. When Malesherbes took his departure, Louis conducted him to the outer door, begging that he would return early in the evening and not forsake him in his last moments. When the old minister had withdrawn, the king shaved and dressed himself, and said to Cléry, who was standing by his side pale and trembling, and almost fainting, "Come, more courage!" If his own active courage had been but a tithe of his passive courage or fortitude, matters could never have come to this sad pass, and possibly, notwithstanding all the talk about mighty and irresistible agencies, the revolution would have been put down by this time. He then took up his book and passed the time in reading. In the evening he said to Cléry, "You have heard the sentence they have pronounced against me." The affectionate attendant said he hoped that it would be superseded. "I seek no hope," replied the king; "but it grieves me exceedingly to think that Monsieur d'Orleans, my near relation, should have voted for my death: read that list." Hoping against hope, or striving to give a feeling to his master to which he himself was a stranger, Cléry said that part of the public were murmuring greatly at the proceedings of the Convention; that General Dumouriez, who had come from Liege to Paris, was said to entertain favourable intentions, and to have brought with him the sentiments of his army; that the people generally were shocked at the conduct of Orleans; that it was reported that all the foreign ambassadors who remained in Paris would meet and go to the Convention in a body; and, finally, that the members of the Convention were in evident fear of some popular insurrection in the king's favour. Louis replied, "I should grieve to see an insurrection take place on my account, for it will only lead to fresh massacres, and there have been victims enough." But then, thinking of his wife, his sister, and innocent helpless children, he added, "Cléry, I do not fear death, but I cannot contemplate without shuddering the cruel lot I leave behind me to my family, to the queen, to our unfortunate children! . . . and to those faithful servants who never forsook me, and to those old men whose subsistence depended upon the little pensions I allowed them! . . . I see the people delivered over a prey to anarchy—the victims of every faction—crimes succeed crimes—long dissensions tear France in pieces!" After pausing for a moment, and seeming to reflect upon the eagerness with which he had entered into all the first schemes for political reform and for bettering the condition of the people, he exclaimed, "Oh, my God! and is this the reward for all my sacrifices? Have I not tried everything to insure the happiness of the French people?" He ex-

pected to see Malesherbes, but in vain. At night he asked Clery if he had not been at the Temple. Clery put the same question to the municipals on guard, who all answered No, without mentioning that the Convention and the commune had forbidden further access. On the following day Louis was exceedingly uneasy at hearing no news of Malesherbes. He took up an old number of the 'Mercure de France,' and asked Clery if he could guess a riddle or anagram that was in it. Clery could not. "And yet," said the king, "it is something very applicable to my present case. *Servit eus est verbum*." He then ordered Clery to bring him the volume of Hume's history which contained the death of Charles I., and thus he read again. Clery found that the king had perused since his coming to the Temple two hundred and fifty volumes. At night he observed that his majesty could not be deprived of the attendance of his council with a decree of the Convention, and he felt that a friend should be made for them. This night Louis said, "Let us wait till tomorrow. On the following morning a municipal officer came, bringing a paper in his hands. He was employed by the wardens of the Temple. Mathys, who carried papers into and out of the Temple, told the king that he had read it to take an inventory of the furniture and the effects, and forthwith he began a very minute description, as he said, that no arms or sharp instruments had been secreted in the rooms. There was a small desk containing some papers, the king was employed to open it and every drawer in it. To remove and show all the papers one after the other. At the bottom of one of the drawers there were three volumes. "That," said Louis, "is money which belongs to me but to Malesherbes. I have put it up for the purpose of giving it to him when he comes." The third volume contained 3000 livres in gold, and in the first of them was written in the king's hand *F / M / M / h / s*. The officer left the money in the desk. While the search was making in the nursery the king wanted to warm himself the weather being very cold. Mathys, the warden, was standing before the fire, with his back to it, and his coat slips tucked up under his arms. As he scarcely left room on either side for the king to approach, and as he continued silently standing in the same place, Louis, with some quickness, told him to have a little more room, and upon this the brute withdrew altogether, sneaking out of the room, and being followed by the municipal officer. Whenever he displayed any sharpness or boldness, these wretches were cowed, but it was very rarely that he could assume that tone, and to pity or commiseration, or respect for fallen greatness, or sympathy for the man, the father, the husband, and the brother, or to any tender emotion, their hearts were inaccessible. It would be impossible to find an instance where so many individuals, in close contact with the sufferer, displayed anything like such a consistent and unvarying bar-

barity. The commissaries that were sent, from time to time, by the commune were numerous, the municipals that kept guard within the Temple were changed every day, as were also the detachments of national guards, and in the rotation, in the course of more than six months, a vast number of individuals of various ages, characters, professions, and callings, did duty in the prison, and witnessed the sufferings of the royal family, and the mock spirit with which they were borne, yet of all these numbers, of all these hundreds of witnesses of a long protracted martyrdom, there were only four that ever showed any symptom of feeling, and only two that ever rendered a trifling assistance or comfort. It seemed to be the study of all the rest to add insult to harshness, and to make refinements, in barbarity. Some of the municipals never named any individual of the royal family without making use of some gross epithet. One of them said, in the hearing of Clery, "If no executioner can be found to guillotine this . . . family, I will guillotine them myself." Simon, the shoemaker, into whose keeping the little dauphin fell, after the execution of the king and queen, distinguished himself by a systematic cruelty. He was a municipal officer, and the only one that was on permanent duty, and that never quitted the prison. He never appeared in the presence of the royal family without treating them with the vilest insolence. Before the trial was commenced, one of the soldiers wrote on the door of the king's chamber, 'TU GUILLOTINERAS L'ERMINE ET LE CHATON DU TYRAN Louis XVI.' The king read the words and prevented Clery from rubbing them out. At that time, when the family were as yet together, and allowed at stated times to walk in the garden of the Temple surrounded by national guardsmen, Rocher, one of the door keepers—a man of a horrid figure with a black hairy cap on his head and a huge sabre by his side—never let the royal captives go through the door that opened into the garden without puffing the fumes of his tobacco-pipe at each of them and met at the queen and the princesses, and the national guardsmen used to be amused with this indelicacy, and to burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke. At times these civic patriot soldiers would run and bring chairs from their guard room to sit and enjoy the sight at their ease. They would also assemble in the garden, while the family were walking, and dance the Carmagnole (these Frenchmen committed scarcely any atrocity without a dance and a song), and sing the Ça Ira, the Marseillaise, and things of that sort, their songs being always revolutionary and often obscene—and he who is not aware of the depth of French obscenity is happily exempted from the knowledge of one of the great proofs and ingredients of human depravity. The same indelicacies were repeated when the royal family returned from the garden into the prison. The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might

not escape notice. Among others were—"MADAME VÊTO SHALL SWING"—"WE SHALL FIND A WAY OF BRINGING DOWN THE GREAT HOG'S HEAD"—"THE LITTLE WOLVES MUST BE STRANGL'D." Under a gallows, with a figure hanging to it, was written—"LOUIS TAKING AN AIR-BATH." And under a guillotine and a figure laid prostrate, with the head over the sack which received the heads when struck off by the machine, were the words, "LOUIS SPITTING IN THE SACK." We repeat it: there is not upon record anything like an instance where the same number of individuals, for the same length of time, committed such atrocities, and were so totally insensible to human suffering—where so much cruelty was accompanied with so much ribaldry and obscenity—where such savage deeds were done with *gaieté de cœur*. Or, if a companion-piece is to be found for the infernal picture, we must look for it in earlier French history, and in French history alone.

On the evening of the 19th Louis, still separated from his family, and still grieving at being debarred the society of the good Malesherbes, requested the municipals to inquire of the commune upon what grounds they objected to his counsel coming to him, requesting to be allowed at least a short conversation with M. de Malesherbes. The municipals said they would mention it, but one of them now confessed that they had been forbidden to lay any application from Louis XVI. before the council of the commune unless it was written and signed by himself. "Why," said the king, "have I been left two whole days ignorant of this alteration?" He then calmly wrote a note to the council-general of the commune desiring to have a free communication with his counsel, and complaining of the barbarous order for keeping him in sight both by night and by day. "It must be supposed," wrote he, "that, in the situation I am now in, it is painful not to have it in my power to be alone, and not to be allowed the tranquillity necessary to collect my thoughts." He gave the note to the municipals, but they did not choose to present it till the next morning. On Sunday, January 20th, as soon as Louis awoke, he inquired about the note; and a little later he said to Cléry, "I see that M. de Malesherbes is not coming." Cléry then informed him that he had just learned that the good old man had been several times at the Temple, but had always been refused admission. Louis spent the rest of the morning in walking up and down his gloomy cell, and in reading and writing. Just as the clock struck two the door was suddenly thrown open, and from a dozen to fifteen individuals walked, or rather rushed, into the room. Two of them were ministers of state, who owed their appointments to the virtuous Roland and the Gironde—namely, Garat, the minister of justice, and Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs: among the others were Grouvelle, heretofore a man of letters, a comic poet, an amanuensis to the atheistical academician Champfort, and collaborateur with Cerutti in his infamous journal, and now

secretary of the council of government, Santerre, the commandant-general, the president and attorney-general of the department, the mayor and solicitor to the commune, and the president and public accuser of the criminal tribunal. The brawny Santerre, stepping before the others, bade Cléry announce to his master the executive council. Louis advanced some steps to meet them, and then stopped in a firm and noble attitude. Garat, the minister of justice, who had pretended to be much affected on being ordered by the Convention to announce the death sentence to Louis, and who had muttered repeatedly, "What a frightful commission!"—Garat, the ingenious author, ideologist, reformer, philanthropist, and perfectibilian, who had won golden opinions not merely from reformers at home, but also from reformers and friends of humanity abroad—Garat, who, after a few more turns of the wheel, licked the dust and spittle at the feet of Napoleon Bonaparte, and became the panegyrist of absolutism and despotism, now, without a blush or a tear, or any apparent emotion, played off the starch republican, and, with his hat upon his head, addressed the king thus:—"Louis, the National Convention has charged the Provisionary Executive Council to make known to you its decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January. The secretary of the council will read them to you." Grouvelle, the secretary, then unrolled a paper he held in his hand, and read it with a weak and tremulous voice. The substance of the paper was that Louis was to die to-morrow morning. While it was reading no alteration took place in the king's countenance, except at the word *conspiracy*, when a smile of contempt played upon his lips; but at the words *shall suffer the punishment of death* the serene expression of his countenance told them that death had no terrors for him. He stepped forward, and took the decree from the hands of the secretary, folded it up, and put it into his pocket, from which he took out another paper, and presented it to the minister Garat, desiring he would deliver it immediately to the Convention. As Garat seemed to hesitate, Louis added, "I will read it to you first:" and he then read with perfect composure the letter, which demanded a respite of three days in order that he might prepare himself to appear before his God—which demanded that he might freely see a confessor, and that that person should be ensured from all fear and uneasiness on account of the act of charity he would bestow upon him—that he might be freed from the incessant presence of the municipals, and be at liberty to see his family without witnesses. The earnest, but hopeless, entreaty was added that the Convention would now allow his family to quit France, or go wherever they might think proper. We have mentioned, as one of the best traits in the character of this weak but good and kind-hearted man, that he never in

* The fact is kept carefully out of sight, but we believe that Garat, like so many other men of letters, enjoyed a pension from Louis XVI. when the revolution began.

any extremity forgot his servants and friends. This paper—apparently the last he wrote—ended with the following words, which would in themselves be his best funeral panegyric or epitaph :—"I commend to the bounty of the nation at large those persons who were dependent on me: there are very many of them who have sunk their whole fortune in their places, from the loss of which they must now be in great want, and others who never had anything to live upon but their appointments; among the pensioners, there are many old men, women, and children, who have also no other support." After he had heard it read, Garat took the letter, and said he would present it immediately to the Convention. As he was leaving the room with foreign minister Lebrun and the other functionaries, the king gave him another slip of paper, on which was written the name and address of the priest he desired to have for his last confessor. When they were all gone, Cléry stood by the door in silent, motionless despair; but Louis, after taking two or three turns, round him by bidding him order dinner. On entering the eating room he saw a tray with the queen's dinner upon it, and asked why his family had been kept waiting an hour beyond their usual time, saying that the delay must have alarmed them. He then sat down to table, and said, "I have no knife." One of the municipals hereupon told him that the commune had passed a resolution that he should be allowed neither knife nor fork at his meals, but that his valet might be trusted with a knife to cut his bread and meat in the presence of two municipal officers. "Do they think me such a coward," said Louis, "as to make an attempt on my own life? I am innocent, and shall die in their way without fear. Would to God my death could avert the miseries I foresee." A profound silence ensued. He ate a little, helping himself to some steamed beef with a spoon, and breaking his bread with his fingers. About six in the evening, minister of justice Garat returned with his train, and informed Louis that the Convention had decreed that he should have a confessor, and see his family freely and without witnesses—"that the nation, ever great and ever just," would take into consideration the state of his family—that proper indemnities should be granted to the creditors of his household—and that with respect to the delay of three days the Convention had passed to the order of the day. Louis made no observation, but returned to the inner chamber. The commissaries of the commune then took the minister of justice aside, and asked him how the king was to see his family. Garat replied, "Strictly in private; it is so intended by the Convention." To which the commissaries responded, "But we are enjoined never to lose sight of the king by night or by day; it is so ordered by the commune." The minister of justice was too wise in his generation to think of disputing the omnipotence of the municipality, or of setting against it the inferior power of the Convention, and he readily agreed to a compromise: the king was to receive

his family in the outer room so as to be seen through the glazed part of the door, but the door was to be shut, so that they should not be heard. When this discussion was over, Louis called the minister of justice back to ask whether he had sent for the confessor. Garat answered that he had brought the priest with him in his carriage, that he was below stairs with the council, and would soon come up. Louis then gave the 3000 livres in gold to a municipal officer, begging him to deliver the money to M. de Malesherbes. The municipal promised he would do so, but he immediately carried it to the council of the commune: it is scarcely necessary to add that Malesherbes never saw the money. The confessor whom Louis had chosen was M. Edgeworth de Firmont, the descendant of an Irish family settled in France, and a man revered for the piety and purity of his life. This priest now made his appearance, and the king instantly retired with him into the inner room. About eight o'clock Louis came out of the closet with a serene countenance, and desired the municipals to conduct him to his family. Those officers replied that this could not be, but that his family should be brought down to him if he desired it. "Be it so," said the king, "but I may at least see them alone in my bed-room?" "No," replied one of them, "we have settled with the minister of justice that it shall be in the outer room." "You have heard," said Louis, still calm as a martyr with his foot on heaven's threshold, "you have heard that the decree of the Convention permits me to see them without witnesses." "True," said the municipals, "you will be in private; the door shall be shut, but we shall have our eyes upon you through the glass." "Let my family come," said Louis. The municipals disappeared, and Cléry set chairs, and arranged the narrow miserable apartment as best he could. Louis desired that some water and a glass might be ready. There was a decanter of iced water standing on a table, so Cléry merely brought a glass; but the king told him to bring some water that was not iced, for if the queen drank that it might make her ill. Afterwards he bade Cléry go and tell the confessor not to leave the closet, lest his family should be suddenly shocked. The municipals were more than a quarter of an hour before they returned: during the time, the king went into the closet to the good priest, but from time to time came out to the door in extreme agitation. At last, at about half-past eight in the evening, the outer door was thrown open, and his family entered unannounced. The queen came first, leading her son by the hand; Madame Elizabeth followed, with the princess-royal. They all threw themselves into the arms of the king. A sad silence, only broken by sighs and sobs, prevailed for some minutes. The queen turned towards the closet. "No," said Louis, "let us go into this room: I can see you only there." They went in, and Cléry shut the glass door, remaining himself outside with the brutal men of the commune, who watched all that passed.

The king sat down the queen was on his left hand, his sister on his right his daughter stood nearly opposite, and the little dauphin stood between his knees—many were the fond embraces and the silent tears. "This scene of sorrow," adds Clery, "lasted an hour and three-quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything from outside the glass door. It could, however, be seen that, after every low sentence uttered by the king, the agitation of the queen and princesses increased that this lasted some minutes, and that then the king began to speak again in the same gentle low voice. It was quite plain from their features, that they received from his own lips the first intelligence of his condemnation. At a quarter past ten the king rose, and moved towards the door, his family following him. Clery threw open the glass door. The queen then clung to her husband's right arm, the sister and his children hung round him, and as he advanced in steps towards the outer door, which was so near to be closed between him and them forever, their irrepressible anguish burst forth in a mingled lamentation. The king tried to comfort them. 'I love you,' said he, "that I will see you again in a few mornings, at eight o'clock." "You promise!" said they, speaking all to each other. "You promise!" "Yes, I promise." "Why not?" said Clery. "Well," said the queen—"Well," said she, "said the king," "and now farewell!" "farewell!"—At this sad word their sobbing lamentation was renewed, and the princess royal flung out her feet feeling her arms, and whom she had been clinging. Clery lifted her up, and assisted Madame Elizabeth to support her and bring her round. Later to put an end to the heart-rending scene, Louis recommended them all most tenderly, then resolutely turned himself from their arms, and for the last time "I crew ill! farewell!" and shut himself up in the closet with his confessor. Clery attempted to continue supporting the almost lifeless princesses up the stairs, but the municipal officers stopped him before he had gone up two steps, and compelled him to go in. Although both the doors were now shut, the screams of the queen and princesses were heard for some time on the stairs. It is said that the queen, in passing through the ante-room, looked with flashing eyes on the municipals, and exclaimed, "You are all villains!—all!" But Clery does not mention the fact, and it should appear that the imperial Marie Antoinette was not too broken-hearted and crushed in spirit to be capable of any such indignation. In half an hour the king came out of his closet, and sat down to his supper, eating little, but heartily. He then returned to his closet, and in a few minutes the confessor came forth to request the municipals that he might be furnished with the sacraments and what else was necessary for celebrating mass. With extreme difficulty, M. Edgeworth induced these unbelieving, unfeeling men, to procure the things he required they were brought in from the church of the Capuchins of the Marais. He then returned

to the closet, and remained in conversation and prayer with the king till half an hour after midnight. Clery then helped the king to undress, and was going to roll his hair as usual, but here Louis said, "It does not signify now." As the weeping attendant was drawing his bed-curtains he said, "Clery, you will call me at five o'clock." He was scarcely in bed before he fell into a deep sleep, which was calm and uninterrupted, like the blessed sleep of innocence and infancy. The confessor threw himself upon Clery's bed, and Clery passed the night on a chair by the king's bedside. On hearing five o'clock strike Clery began to light the fire, and the noise he made woke Louis, who asked whether it had struck five. "I have slept soundly," said he, "and I stood in need of it yesterday was a trying day to me—a dreadful day." He expressed his concern at the uncomfortable way in which Clery had passed the night on the chair, and tenderly pressed that good man's hand. He then dressed himself, and emptied his pockets of his snuff-box and the very few articles of the communion held fast in his possession. He then from his watch chain a little seal, and from his ring finger a little ring which led at the ring and in the middle of a chain on his finger, to which he fastened the seal, into his waistcoat pocket—this was his worldly treasure, which he was to wait about to return to the queen as his last memento for well. As soon as he was dressed he sent Clery to advise the confessor, and assist him in preparing for the celebration of mass. They placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the ante-room to serve as an altar, and an arm chair in front of it, with a large cushion on the floor and for the king to kneel upon. The priest put on his stole, and in a few minutes all was ready. The municipals, who had been giving all up, quitted the room, leaving only the faithful deacon. When the king came in he desired Clery to take away the large cushion he had laid on the ground. He went himself to his closet and brought a smaller cushion made of his bed-curtain, which he immediately used at his prayer. His last mass began at six o'clock. There was a profound silence during the awful celebration and the king was on his knees all the time, with a countenance full of devotion and heavenly hope. When the mass was over he took the sacrament, and then the priest, retiring to unrobe, left him for a few minutes alone with Clery, his sole attendant and companion in form and a sad day. He took both the poor man's hands into his own, and in a tone of holy tenderness thanked him for all his services. Clery, whose head was bewildered, threw himself at his feet, and bade him still hope. "Hope, Sir," said he, "hope yet!" They will not dare to strike the blow!" Louis who better knew their danger, and who had never allowed hope to delude him for one moment, said that death did not alarm him, that he was quite prepared for it, but that Clery must take heed not to expose himself to danger by giving vent to his feelings and after

this he spoke about his son, his only son, who was to be left in this horrid abode, saying he meant to request them to allow Clery to remain with the dauphin, and enjoin him to take every care of him if the request should be granted. The faithful attendant could say little more than, "Oh, my master! oh, my king!"

Give me your blessing. Bless the list Frenchmen remaining with you! I thus raised him from the ground, blessed him, and pressed him to his bosom, saying, 'Give my blessing to all who were in my service—and now leave me, to avoid suspicions that may be done us to you.' Clery was withdrawn, but the king called him back to give him a letter which he had received from Petion on his first coming to the Temple, and which he thought might be of some use to him. Clery once more pressed his hand, and then retired, the king saying to him as he went, "I never shall again farewell!"

At length now rejoined the king, and they returned together to the closet. At seven o'clock Louis came out, called for Clery, and, taking him into the recess of the window, he gave him the little seal for the dauphin and the ring for the queen. "This little packet," said he, "contains some of the hair of all my family, you will give it to them. And I tell the queen,

"If my dear children and my sister, that, although I promised to see them this morning, I have refused to spare them that pang."

Yet tell me how much it costs me to go hence without leaving them, and how much more!" He wiped away his tears, then added in the most mournful and solemn accent, "I charge you to bear to me my last farewell!" He returned to Matheval.

The municipals, who had been pressing and spying, came up. Clery unceremoniously turned to them the articles which the king had given him, but after some altercation it was agreed that Clery should keep the things till the council of the commune should decide what was to be done with them. This council was now

meeting in the hall of the Temple. In about a quarter of nine the king again came out and called Clery to ask whether he could have a pair of scissors. The commune hesitated to comply, much excited by this request. (We say *hesitated*, because it was not possible for them to suspect that the religious and resigned king entertained the idea of suicide, and because it is perfectly evident that all their study was how to keep violence and degradation upon him—how to crowd his last few moments with torture, and how to make more and more a scene of his execution.) "Do you know what he wants to do with the scissors?" said they. "I know nothing about it," replied Clery.

"But we must know," said they, advancing towards the door of the closet. Clery tapped at the door and the king came out. "You want a pair of scissors," said one of the municipals, "but before we make the request known to the council we must know what you want to do with them." Louis said, "I only wanted Clery to cut

my hair off." One of the municipals went down to the council, and they, after half an hour's deliberation, refused the scissors, intending that his long black hair, if cut at all, should be cut by his own hands. The obdurate villain, leaving his brother scoundrels below, came up and acquainted the king with the decision. "I did not mean to touch the scissors," said Louis, "Clery might cut off my hair before you all. . . . Sir, try once more."

Sir, I beg you to repeat this request." The fellow went, and presently returned to say it could not be. At this moment Clery was told that he was to accompany the king in order to undress him on the scaffold. The poor man shuddered and trembled all over at this intelligence, but he collected all his strength, and was getting himself ready to discharge this last duty to his royal master, when another municipal officer came and told him that he was not to go, adding, "*The common execution is good enough for him!*"

All the troops in Paris had been under arms since five o'clock. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the rumbling of cannon, which were successively carried from one place to another, the cries of the populace—all resounded through the stone tower of the Temple, and were heard by the family above, as by the king below. At about half-past eight o'clock the noise waxed louder, the gates of the prison were thrown open with a terrible clatter, the footsteps of many men were heard on the stone staircase, and presently Santerre entered the king's apartment, followed by seven or eight municipals, and by ten soldiers, who drew up in two lines. On the instant Louis came out of his closet, and said to Santerre, "You are come for me, sir?"—The latter responded with a loud "Yes!"—"One moment," said the king, and going into the closet he forthwith returned, followed by his confessor. He had his wail in his hand, and, addressing one of the municipals, he said, "I beg you to give this paper to the queen—to my wife, I mean" (remembering that *queen* was now a prohibited word). Jacques Roux, the man he addressed, was a renegade priest, who now styled himself the preacher of the sans-culottes. "It is no business of mine," replied he. "I am come here only to execute you to the guillotine!"—The king then turned to another municipal named Gobaut, and said, "I entrust you to give this paper to my wife—you may read it—there are particulars in it that I wish to be made known to the commune." This fellow took the will. Clery offered the king his great coat. "I do not want it," said Louis, "give me only my hat." Clery presented a hat, when the king once more, and for the last time, pressed his hand. Louis then requested that Clery might be allowed to remain to wait upon the dauphin—and then, looking at Santerre, he said, "*Partez!*" (let us go). "These," says Clery, "were the last words he spoke in his apartment. On the top of the stairs he met Mathev, the warden of the prison,

to whom he said, 'I spoke with some little quickness to you the day before yesterday, do not take it ill' Mathey made no answer, and even affected to turn his back on the king while his majesty was speaking."

As Louis issued from the gates of the Temple to get into the vehicle that was to convey him to the scaffold, some faint, timid cries were heard of "*Grace! Grace!*" (*Pardon! Pardon!*)—and this, with the distribution of some printed papers which had been cautiously made by night, was almost the only attempt made to save Louis from his doom. Dumouriez was indeed in Paris but he could do nothing, being, in spite of his far superior address, adroitness, and ability, more helpless than Lafayette had been when he came to rescue the king in the month of June. One royalist, in his despair and madness, had done something more but the deed only increased the popular ferocity, which was eternally accompanied or caused by dastardly terror. On the preceding evening—a Sabbath evening—Michel Lepelletier St Fargeau, who had voted for the king's death, went over from the Convention to the Palais-Royal to take a hasty dinner at a restaurateur's. He had dined, and was paying his bill, when a thick-set man, wrapped in a loose cloak, stepped up to him with "Are you Michel Lepelletier?"—"The same."—"You voted on the king's trial?"—"Yes, I voted death."—"Villain, there is death for you!"—and in the next instant Lepelletier was mortally wounded in the side by a sabre, and the thick-set man had taken flight, Leverier, the keeper of the house, in vain attempted to arrest him. The fugitive was, however, recognised as one Paris, who had formerly belonged to the king's guard. The description of his person was presently spread all over France, but he was not discovered until several weeks after, when he was found in a stable, where he had committed suicide by shooting himself. As soon as the assassination was known in Paris the absurd report was circulated on all hands that there was a royalist plot on foot for assassinating that night, every member of the Convention who had voted for the king's death, and for preventing his execution by a general massacre of the patriots of the capital. Robespierre and others declared that Count d'Artois the king's brother, was concealed somewhere in Paris for the purpose of heading all the fanatic royalists and bands of hired bravos, chiefly foreigners, Goupilleau announced that he had had a narrow escape from being murdered in a coffee house, and other members of the Convention, or leaders in the Jacobin Club, remembered or invented many suspicious circumstances which seemed to indicate some horrible plot. As we have said, nothing was too horrible or incredible to obtain belief among these excited, suspicious mortals. The people believed all that it was wished they should believe, and Lepelletier's fate and their own panic flares gave a fresh edge to their cruelty, making them anxious, restless, rabidly impatient, until they should see the head of Louis in the sack. The Jacobin Club

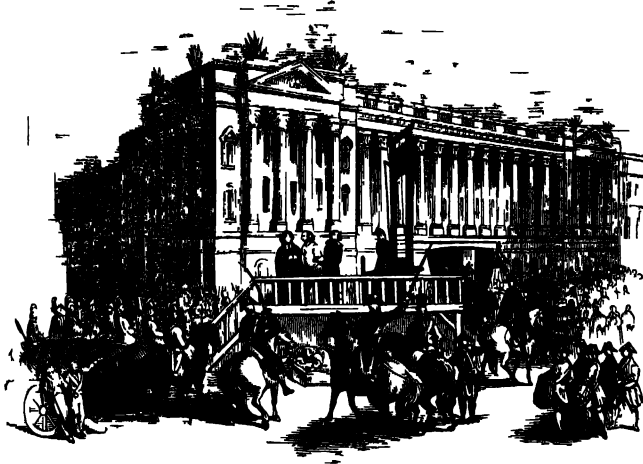
declared themselves in permanent session, and sent their commissioner to every section, street, alley, and court of Paris, to call upon every patriot man, woman, boy, or girl to be wide awake and under harness—with pikes, clubs, and knives, where they had no better weapons—all that Sunday night and all the next morning.

On quitting the Temple the king was conducted to the Place Louis XV, now called Place de la Revolution, in the midst of which, between the garden and palace of the Tuileries and the Champs Elysees, and close by the base of the overthrown equestrian statue of his grandfather, they had erected the scaffold and the guillotine, the latter being so placed that the face of the dying man, when under the axe, must be turned towards the palace. The square bristled with artillery, and every street and avenue leading to it was crowded with troops and armed multitudes, who had cannon with them charged with grape-shot. The carriage was surrounded by picked men, who are said to have had orders to dispatch the king with their carbines in case of any rescue being attempted. During the long slow drive the king read the prayers for the dead with his confessor, two gendarmes, who rode in the coach with him, and who were more especially charged with the duty of dispatching him if any movement should take place, are said to have been deeply affected by his pity and resignation. At about half-past ten o'clock, or an hour after quitting the Temple, Louis arrived at the scaffold, which was guarded and surrounded by federates of the most determined kind, behind whom were ranged the men of the faubourg St Antoine and all the worst portions of the sanguinary Parisian mob. These federates, or the mob, or both together, raised a shout of savage joy as the coach stopped at the foot of the scaffold. The king descended from the carriage, and M Edgeworth followed him. Three executioners approached to undress him, but he put them back, and threw off his coat and undid his stock himself. He was then told that his hands must be tied behind him. He made some resistance, and kept off the executioners, but after a few words from his confessor, he quietly placed his hands as they wished, and the executioners tied them together by the wrists. He requested to be permitted to cut off his own hair, but it appears that that work was done, even as the commune wished it should be, by the hangmen's hands. He ascended the stairs that led to the platform with a firm step, being still followed by M Edgeworth. He made a sudden movement towards the edge of the scaffold, and exclaimed with a loud and firm voice, "Frenchemen, I die innocent, it is from the scaffold, and when about to appear before my God, that I tell you so. I pardon my enemies, I pray that France . . ." Here Santerre, on horseback, raised his right hand, and cried, "Tambours! Executioners, do your duty!" and the drummers beat their drums, and drowned the king's voice, and six executioners dragged him

from the edge of the scaffold to the guillotine. He said again, "I die innocent, I ever desired the good of the people," but his voice could be heard only by the executioners and the priest. He then knelt down in order to place his head in the appointed place, the confessor, bending over him, said, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven!" The spring of the machine was touched, the heavy axe descended in its groove, and, quicker than the eye could follow, the king's neck was severed. It was nicely calculated that the whole execution did not last eight seconds. Samson, the chief executioner, took up the bleeding head by the hair and walked three times round the scaffold, holding it up at arm's-length to show it to all the people. The people and the troops shouted "Vive la République!" put their hats and caps upon their bayonets and their pikes, and waved them in the

air, with prolonged and re-echoing cries of "Vive la République!" "Vive la Nation!" "Vive la Liberté!" It was twenty-four minutes past ten o'clock of Monday morning, the 21st of January, 1793. Louis was only in the thirty-ninth year of his age, he had reigned nineteen years all but four months and a few days.*

The patriots standing near the scaffold dipped the heads of their pikes in the king's blood, and others pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs, but not, as we are assured, "out of any royalist superstition." It was said, however, that Samson afterwards made a deal of money by selling to the royalists locks of the king's hair and fragments of his coat, but, as this was a very dangerous imputation, he denied the facts in a letter, which was printed in the 'Republican' newspaper. The roar of cannon announced to the captives in the Temple



Execution of Louis XVI. From Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française

that the king—the husband, brother, father—was no more, and a little later in the day the mob paraded with their bloody pikes before the windows of the queen's prison, and sang, and shouted, and danced their infernal Carmagnole. The body of Louis was put into a large wicker basket, placed in the coach which had brought him to the scaffold, and carried to the cemetery of La Madeleine, the destined burying-place of all the victims of the guillotine. It was apprehended or expected that the people would seize the headless body to drag it through the streets of Paris, and to treat it as they had treated the bodies of Foulon, the Princess de Lamballe, and so many other persons, and they were applauded by the journalists because they offered no insult to the royal corpse, but magnanimously permitted it to be thrown, without coffin or shroud or any grave-clothes into a deep

grave, which was partly filled up with quick-lime. One poor man, who afterwards suffered a long imprisonment, and narrowly escaped the guillotine for this conduct, made a generous effort to obtain a more fitting burying-place for the hapless descendant of so many kings. This was Benoît Leduc, a tailor of Paris, who at one time had been tailor to Louis. As soon as the Convention met on this Monday morning he presented a petition, praying to be allowed, at his own expense, to bury

* In the different accounts of the execution of Louis there is considerable variety and contradiction as to some of the minor details but they all agree in the capital fact that Louis displayed the greatest fortitude during his last awful moments. Samson the headman—or as he styled himself, the executor of criminal judgments—had the best opportunity of all for judging of the king's behaviour on the scaffold and Samson says—"To render homage to truth, he certainly bore it all with a sang froid and a firmness that astonished every one. As I remain perfectly convinced that he deserved the honours of the price given of religion with a lock of a man could be more thoroughly imbued than he was.—See *Esquisses Historiques* by Du Laure who tells us that he had Samson's original letter in his possession.

the body of the king by the side of his father, the dauphin, and under the monument which had been raised to that prince by the *city of Sens*, but the Convention rejected his petition, and ordered the executive council to see that Louis was buried like other criminals.

In the evening, the republicans rejoiced, shook hands or embraced in the streets, and in all coffee-houses and places of entertainment, congratulating one another that, now the deed was done, their political millennium must begin, and on the following morning their newspapers sung peans for the death of the tyrant. One of those pestilent journalists exclaimed, 'What a glorious day for France! What a lesson for the universe! Louis Capet is no more. We have proved to the world that a king is but a mortal man. People of Europe, nations of the earth, look at your tyrants, and see that they are but dust! Let us all unite in n, and imitate us' . . . Oh, celestial bliss! Oh day forever memorable!' Another exclaimed, 'This was an example we owed to the world! We were bound to give this lesson in the person of the sixty-sixth of our kings, and the greatest villain of them all. The blood of Louis, shed by the sword of the law, will wipe out the darkness of thirteen hundred years of slavery. It is only from the 21st of January that we are really republicans, and that we have the right to set ourselves forward as models to the neighbouring nations.' Marat in his journal said, 'The same blow that cut off the head of the tyrant has upset forever the foundations of monarchy. At last I begin to believe in the republic. How happy! During the execution there was not a single voice raised in favour of the man who, not long ago, decided the destinies of France! . . . The rest of the day was perfectly calm, the people seemed animated with a serene joy, one would have thought that they had been attending some religious fete. Delivered from the weight of oppression and penetrated with sentiments of fraternal unity, all men gave themselves up to the bright hopes of a happy future. The execution of Louis will have a prodigious effect on the fate of the crowned despots of Europe, and on the fortunes of the nations that have not yet risen to break their chains.'" Robespierre, in his 'Letters to his Constituents' which he printed in the shape of a newspaper from time to time, said, "This grand act of justice has thrown aristocracy into consternation, has annihilated the royalist superstition, and has created the republic. We may now defy Pitt and the arms and guncas of England, and the wrath of all the tyrants of Europe.'" The Girondist journalists were not quite so jubilant, for they already dreaded the evil consequences that might follow to themselves personally. Brissot's journal, after giving a cold formal, and most brief account of the execution, without venturing to express the slightest sympathy for the victim, or for his unhappy family, said, in a style truly characteristic of the cowardly, sneaking party, "Louis

spoke of the calamities which would ensue after his death. Oh, fellow-citizens! Let your conduct prove that there is no more truth in that fatal prediction than there was in his protestations that he was innocent. Let us all be united together to save the republic. The representatives of the people sent Louis to the scaffold, let their decision be respected, *share with them, oh! fellow-citizens, in the responsibility which they have taken onto ly upon th ms lvs*.' You who foresaw that the greatest danger must follow the execution of the tyrant, and you who thought there was no danger whatever in putting him to death, join your exertions, and act together to prevent the possibility of the calamities which you have foreseen, or which you have not expected.' On the 23rd of January the Convention issued an address to the French people, glorifying in the deed which had been done, and defining the hostilities with which they said they were threatened by England and by Spain. This address was written by Barrere, but it was signed by Vergniaud who happened to be president, and by five other Girondists, who happened to be secretaries of the House. It contained the ordinary quantity of allusions to Roman history, and of outrage and insult to all established governments whatsoever.

The day that the death of Louis XVI was made known in London, that immortal day! led us if a great national calamity had happened. The news carried grief and consternation to the popular assemblies, in many of which remained the blind relations or the close connexions of the unfortunate monarch, who might command the outward signs of mourning, grand masses for the dead, and pious funeral services, but in none of those cities was the sadness so universal and spontaneous, so much the uncontrolled and undisguised feeling of the masses of the people, of all classes and conditions of men, as in London. The general conviction had been that the Convention would stop short of death, and at first the report of the execution was scarcely credited, but a moment's incredulity, or stupor and bewilderment, gave way to indignation and horror, and, except in the case of some incurable political fanatics, the French people and their present rulers were execrated for the deed by every man, woman, and child in the three kingdoms. So vehement was this feeling that there rose a cry of War from every part of the island. Parliament had met on the preceding 18th of December, several weeks earlier than had been intended, the government having by royal proclamation called out the militia on the 1st of December. The speech from the throne was much longer than usual, and full of alarm—alarm at the spread of French principles, not only on the Continent, but at home. It attributed the calling out the militia to seditious practices which had already been discovered, and to a spirit of insubordination, tumult, and disorder which had manifested itself in various places. It declared that there was some fixed design against the constitution, and that this design

was evidently pursued in connection and concert with persons residing in foreign countries. It declared that his majesty had observed the strictest neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see without serious uneasiness the increasing indications which appeared there of an intention to excite insurrection in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue schemes of conquest and aggrandisement. It mentioned the fate with which Holland was threatened by the French armies which had overrun the Netherlands; and it said that under all these circumstances his majesty had thought it right to adopt precautionary measures, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. Sir James Saunderson, lord-mayor of London, who moved the address in the Commons, affirmed that seditious practices were very prevalent, that there had been established within the city of London itself various political societies, corresponding and confederating with other societies in different parts of the united kingdoms; that these societies, who aimed at nothing less than subverting the constitution and destroying monarchy, were circulating with great activity, and free of all cost to the receivers, a vast number of pernicious pamphlets and publications, accommodated to the perusal of the meanest capacity. He referred to the situation of our ancient ally the States-General of the United Provinces as something that would justify and call for our armed interference in the affairs of the Continent, even if France ceased to agitate England by her secret agents and by the correspondence of her Jacobin clubs. The address was seconded by Mr. Wallace, who deplored the ill success of the Duke of Brunswick and the army of the Coalition. Lord Fielding not only approved of all that the government had done, in calling out the militia, in quartering troops round London, in doubling the guards at the Bank, &c, but also declared that, if ministers required any extraordinary powers at this alarming and critical period, he would gladly vote them. Fox, who was not yet disenchanted of his dream and idolatry of French liberty, and who perhaps had some reason to say that ministers were exaggerating the dangers to be apprehended from popular disaffection at home, made a brilliant speech, condemning every part of the address, and every sentiment that had been uttered in support of it. He declared it to be his firm opinion and belief that every fact asserted in the king's speech was false, that all its insinuations were unfounded, that no improper spirit existed, and that the alarm had only been raised by the artful designs and practices of ministers. He rejoiced in the triumph of men fighting for liberty over the invading armies of despots, and said that when there had been a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prussia over the liberties of France his spirits had drooped, and

his heart desponded. He bitterly condemned the calling out of the militia; he taunted government for daring to assume a power or control over the minds and speculative opinions of men; and he said, not without some foundation, that the ultra-loyal and Tory clubs and societies had been going to as great extremes in one direction as the reforming societies could have gone in the other. He did not think that England was in a state to go to war—he did not think that anything which had occurred in France, or in Belgium, or in Savoy, or anywhere else, would justify us in going to war with the French republicans. He condemned ministers for not sending a *new ambassador to treat with the present executive government of France*. He praised the dissenters, who were said to be republicans and levellers; he praised the English constitution as being “the best adapted to England, because the people of England thought it best;” and in conclusion he moved an amendment to the address, the purport of which was that the House should enter into an immediate examination of the facts stated in the speech from the throne. Pitt was not there to answer him, for he had just accepted the profitable sinecure of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and was thus obliged to wait for the form of a re-election to the Commons. But the reply came with more force from the lips of Windham, who had figured for so many years as one of the leaders and most eloquent chiefs of the Whig opposition, and who had been linked in such close friendship and fellowship with Fox. This eloquent and elegant man had been scared by the horrors perpetrated in France, and had followed Burke, whose political pupil and friend he had ever considered himself. He declared—and this was at the least as true as Fox's asseveration that the danger was exaggerated—that, whatever might be the amount of real danger, the real alarm was exceedingly great, was felt in every town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom, was agitating every man who had a veneration for the institutions of the country, or had property to lose, or had a proper English aversion to anarchy and bloodshed. For himself he believed that the alarm was not greater than the real danger. He knew of his own knowledge, and all men must know, that there had been and still was a constant communication between persons in Paris and persons in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of government. The effect was already felt in an alarming degree; for in every town and village, and almost in every house, these worthy gentlemen had their agents, who regularly disseminated their pamphlets. These agents delivered these pamphlets gratis; a proof that there must be somewhere a society that defrayed the expense, for the agents themselves were poor men. The greatest pains had been taken with the poorer part of the community, to wean their affections from government, to make them dissatisfied with their lot, and eager to pull down and plunder all who were above them in fortune and station. It might not succeed

here in the end, but this was the system which had made France a country of anarchists. Speculative opinions in politics and in religion had long been allowed in this country, and they might have continued to be freely published, but both the matter and the manner of publishing were entirely new. They were putting their seditious pamphlets into the hands of the labourer as books of instruction, they were giving innocent names to things that were intended to reverse suddenly and violently the order of society. Windham believed that the motives of the combined armies that had attempted to march to Paris and liberate Louis XVI were good. The maxim that no country ought to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another might be true in a limited sense, but he could not admit it as an unvarying rule, as some countries might choose to set up principles that were subversive of the government and tranquillity of all their neighbours, and, even without stirring beyond their own frontiers, or openly intermeddling in the affairs of their neighbours, they might commit incredible mischief, which would call for repression and suppression. But, he would ask, how had France observed the rule that no country ought to interfere with another? How had she abided by her decree that she abandoned for ever all ideas of foreign conquest? What had she done with Savoy? She had converted it into a department. She was now treating the little republic of Geneva still worse. Her decree that she would give liberty to all mankind was no better than an avowal of a design to disturb every power in Europe. They talked, indeed, of giving to the people of every country where their arms were victorious a free choice of the form of government, but did they ever wait to take the sense of the majority? No, they. When two or three Jacobins and republicans were gathered together, that was enough for them. The correspondence of the Jacobin Club of Manchester and the Jacobin Club of Paris might throw some light on their intentions towards this country. Windham concluded by repeating that the alarm was not fictitious, but real, and that ministers had acted right in calling out the militia and increasing the army and navy. No one doubted the perfect sincerity of Windham's conviction, and, as very few men in the country had so high a reputation as he, his speech made a deep and lasting impression upon some minds that were as yet wavering as to the expediency of preparing for an immediate war with France. Mr Grey, who remained an unchanged Foxite, replied to Windham, and Dundas to him. Dundas declared that the utmost arts and industry had been used to circulate Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and other works of the same tendency, among the poorest and most ignorant of the people, and that the people had been told, over and over again, that it was time for them to assert their own rights, to confound all distinctions, to seize and divide property, and, in short, to follow the example which the French had set them. He said it was absurd to charge ministers with having

excited an unnecessary alarm. That feeling was spontaneous, and the fact was that a universal and most serious alarm pervaded the country gentlemen, farmers, and others. This had rendered some active measures absolutely necessary on the part of government, in order to restore confidence. The National Convention had been eager to counterbalance every complaint of grievance from the factious and discontented in this country, and, in proof of this fact, Dundas read addresses which the Convention had received, with great applause, from several political societies in England. Was not this, on the part of the French, an unjustifiable interference in the internal affairs of another country? And had not leading members of the Convention repeatedly declared that they would look not to the sovereign, but to the people of Great Britain—that they would appeal from the government to the republicans of England? Some might pretend to shut their eyes to the truth, but he would never believe that the passion of the French for conquest and aggrandisement had been changed by the change of their government from a monarchy to a democracy, or that the slightest trust was to be put in their decrees, manifestos, and proclamations, to which they had already given the lie by their conduct in Belgium, in Savoy, and at Geneva. He referred to the treaties which bound us to assist Holland, intimating that these alone imposed the necessity of our arming and preparing for the worst. The French, since their conquests in the Low Countries and the capture of Antwerp, had declared that they would open the navigation of the Scheldt. This must be ruinous to the commerce of the United Provinces, and England was a guarantee that this should never be allowed. In conclusion, Dundas said that, under all the circumstances, government were fully justified in all they had done, and would have incurred impeachment if they had remained inactive and passive at so critical a juncture. Sheridan, who remained with the Foxite Whigs, said, in his fluent confident manner, that the alarms were ridiculous, and had been created by ministers themselves for the most selfish and wicked purposes, that the formidable band of republicans said to exist in England were men of buckram, and that certainly every hand and heart in the country would be united to resist any French army that might attempt to invade England with the idea of effecting any change in our government. On the other hand, he said he would vote for the impeachment of that English minister who should enter into a war with France for the purpose of re-establishing the old despotism of the Bourbons. He did not consider the language held by the French republicans towards Holland, or the opening of the Scheldt, as sufficient ground for a war, nor would he believe that the Dutch would apply to us for an armed interference, unless they were previously prompted to do it by our own ministers. Burke, who had seen many of his predictions already verified, and whose horror of the Gallic revolution was unbounded—

Burke, who believed that, if Fox had been suffered to succeed in his project for the amendment to the address, he would for ever have ruined this nation, along with the rest of Europe, rose and spoke with extraordinary warmth. Considerations of party, he said, and all minor considerations, must now give way: he came forward not as the defender of opposition or of ministry, but of the country. He believed the country to be in great danger; he knew that there was a faction in England who wished to submit to France, in order that our government might be reformed upon the French system; and he knew that the French corresponded with and encouraged this faction, and were preparing to aid them. The cabals and conspiracies, the practices and correspondences, of this French faction in England, were of public notoriety. Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt had been deputed from Manchester to the Jacobins: these ambassadors had been received at Paris as British representatives. Other deputations of English had been received at the bar of the National Assembly: they had gone the length of giving supplies to the Jacobin armies, expecting in return military assistance in England. A regular correspondence for fraternising the two nations had been carried on by societies in London with the Jacobin societies in various parts of France. To prove the truth of these assertions, he read the addresses of the Englishmen and Irishmen resident at Paris; and of Joel Barlow and John Frost, deputies from the Constitutional Society of London to the National Convention. He declared that the question was not whether they should make an address to the throne, but whether they should have a throne at all. There would soon be no thrones or settled governments in Europe, if French arms and French principles were allowed to take their own course; and he recommended and prayed for unanimity and determination in England as the best means of stopping the progress of French arms. Mr. Erskine, who continued to be connected with Fox and to be a member of the Society for Parliamentary Reform, justified that society and himself, and blamed ministers for delaying to prosecute Thomas Paine, the author of 'The Rights of Man,' till a year and a half after the publication of the book. He then charged Burke with inconsistency, and concluded with recommending the House, instead of loading the English people with abuse and calumny, to meet their complaints, redress their grievances, and remove the grounds of their dissatisfaction by reforming parliament and granting them a fair representation. The attorney-general, Sir John Scott, the solicitor-general, Sir John Mitford, Mr. Anstruther, and others supported the address in all its parts, the attorney-general dwelling more particularly upon the different modes which had been adopted to work upon the minds of the poorer classes of society. The division, which did not take place till three hours after midnight, exhibited the numerical weakness of the Foxites: 290

members voted for the address and only 50 against it. The great majority of the Whigs, vexed at his imprudent conduct and alarmed at the tone held by men and societies which Fox frequented, had parted company with him for ever, and had followed the Duke of Portland and Burke. He, however, now gave notice that to-morrow he would move an amendment upon the report. And accordingly on the 14th of December, when the lord mayor brought up the report of the address, he proposed the addition of a clause requesting that the king would enter into negotiations with the present Jacobin government of France, or "that his majesty would employ every means of negotiation consistent with the honour and safety of this country to avert the calamities of war." In his speech Fox threw the whole blame of the horrid scenes which had occurred in France upon the Coalition, and eulogised the spirit and valour of the French republicans, who had taught the proudest men in this world that there was an energy in the cause of justice and freedom which nothing could defeat. "Thank God," said he, "Nature has been true to herself! Tyranny has been defeated, and those who fought for freedom are triumphant." He said that all the inhabitants of Europe sympathised with the French and wished them success, regarding them as men struggling with tyrants and despots. He could see no force in the objection raised by some men that France had actually no government to treat with. Surely that was a government which the people considered as such. Great Britain ought immediately to acknowledge that government and negotiate with it. He proceeded to contend that we could not go to war without the greatest hazard; that Ireland was disaffected, so that no man in his senses could expect any hearty support from that kingdom; that we could obtain no new allies on the Continent, and that our ally the King of Prussia could not be depended upon; and that no reliance whatever was to be placed on the emperor. Even the invasion of Holland by the French would give us but doubtful allies, inasmuch as the democrats there would be sure to join the French republicans, and the democratic party there was already nearly as strong as the party of the Stadtholder. In spite of the aristocracy and the clergy the people of Flanders and Brabant had received the French with open arms. It would be the same with their neighbours the Dutch, and it might be the same with the peoples of other countries. He represented the people of Scotland as being almost as disaffected as the Irish, and the truth, he said, was, that the people of Scotland had been treated with shameful indignity by that House, which had scandalously refused to hear their petitions for reform. Those acquainted with Scotland had affirmed that Mr. Paine's works had far greater influence there than in the southern parts of the island; that they were read by all descriptions of people, but particularly by the lower class. He paid high compliments to

Windham, "who to the soundest heart joined the clearest head;" but he complained that Burke, in the preceding debate, had scarcely treated him with civility. He said that Burke, who had accused him of using more invective than argument, had himself been obliged to descend to hell for similes and figures of speech with which to stigmatise the present rulers of the French nation. Among *some exceptional characters* he (Burke) had classed and reprobated M. Roland, a man *eminent for many virtues!* [The cant about this "eternally virtuous" individual had reached England, and Fox probably did not yet know to what a condition of discredit and insignificance Roland had by this time fallen in France, any more than he knew that these Girondist rulers with whom he would have negotiated were to be swept away in the course of a very few months by the "exceptionable characters" to whom he alluded as being the only bad men in this new republic.] He said that such invectives did not tend to conciliate France; that such gross insults and injuries could not be forgotten or forgiven by a spirited people like the French. He said that sooner or later we must acknowledge this French republic. Was not the republic of this country readily acknowledged at the time of Cromwell? Did not courts vie in their civilities to our commonwealth after the execution of Charles I.? Whatever difference of opinion might be entertained about it, that execution was certainly less unjust than that which he feared was about to be inflicted on the late unhappy monarch of France, but still he would hope a deed so foul would not be committed. His right honourable friend (Burke) had said yesterday that we could not receive an ambassador reeking with the blood of innocent men, and, perhaps, even of the king of France; but, if the French should even proceed to extremities against that unfortunate monarch, he (Fox) would consider it as an act that would be an eternal disgrace to the nation, but still he could not think that we were, therefore, never to have any connection with France. If ministers' objection to receive an ambassador at present was that they did not know how to introduce a French republican minister into the king's drawing-room, he wished they would fairly confess it, to the end that the English people might see that their blood and treasure were to be sacrificed for a mere punctilio! [Many persons were hurt at this sarcasm, and none more than George III., who is said to have treasured it in his memory, and to have frequently repeated afterwards that Mr. Fox would have presented to him Marat or Robespierre, or Sanson the headman.] He bestowed some pathos upon the unhappy prisoners of the Temple; but he soon passed from their sufferings to dwell more tenderly upon those of that "brave but unfortunate gentleman" Lafayette, whom the despots had locked up like a felon because he had always been a friend to liberty. Sheridan seconded the amendment, as being calculated to rescue the country from a war with France. Burke again rose to declare that he

saw a spirit at work that would leave England no option between war and peace. Considering it as admitted that France must not be permitted to open the navigation of the Scheldt, and that she must be induced by negotiation or compelled by arms to restore the conquests she had made, he thought it a very extraordinary way of effecting either purpose to represent our internal situation as rotten, and all our allies as powers not to be depended upon. He would not believe that our internal condition was so bad, although our constitution was certainly assailed by men who might do much mischief if not stopped in time. If the fidelity of our allies was not to be relied on now, what could we expect from them if we acknowledged and entered into negotiations with the new republic of France, the fiercest enemies of those allies and of all crowned heads? Would Mr. Fox make a choice of friendships and enmities, and renounce all former alliances with established governments to contract a close alliance with a country that had no government at all—with an anarchy? And were we sure that the French republicans, even if courted, would come to any reasonable terms with us? Yet this was the contingency for which we were to renounce our present allies, the ancient and established governments of Europe. The French republic had not yet been recognised by any power whatever. And what was the peculiar time when England was to be the first to recognise it, and to send over an ambassador to Paris? Why, it was the very moment, perhaps, when the merciless savages had their hands red with the blood of a murdered sovereign! To follow the course proposed would look like giving a sanction to a bloody act, like giving currency to regicide, and affording a preliminary to the murder of our own sovereign. He shattered at a blow the argument that Fox had drawn from the conduct of Europe towards Cromwell and the English commonwealth. The French republic, he said, was *en genereis*, and bore no analogy to any other republic or system of government that had ever existed in the known world. The English commonwealth did not attempt to turn all the states of Christendom into republics: it did not wage war with kings merely because they were not democrats; it professed no principles of proselytism. The same might be said of the republic of the United States of America. But France wanted to make all the world proselytes to her opinions and dogmas—France was for turning every government in the world into a democratic republic. If every government was against her, it was because she had declared herself hostile to every government. This strange republic might be compared to the system of Mahomet, who, with a Koran in one hand and a sword in the other, compelled men to adopt his creed. The Koran which France held out was the Declaration of the Rights of Man and universal fraternity, and with the sword she was determined to propagate her doctrine, and conquer those whom she could not convince. He did not

wish to hurry the nation into a war; he wished only to make the people of England see that France had really declared war against them, and that the two countries might be considered as actually engaged in hostilities. The French Assembly and Convention had passed a variety of decrees, every one of which might fairly be considered as a declaration of war against every government in Europe. France had resolved to wage an eternal war against kings and all kinds of kingly government. She had received at the bar of the Convention Englishmen, whom, in contempt of the king and parliament, she professed to consider as the representatives of the people of England. Between the two nations there was at this moment a moral war, which must soon become an actual war. Mr. Yorke spoke of Fox and his opposition in terms of severe invective: he allowed them eloquence and talent, but denied that they possessed patriotism, moderation, or candour. Dundas repeated that there was every reason to apprehend that the French army, under Dumouriez, meditated an attack on Holland. England must, therefore, either abide by her treaties or abandon them. If she abandoned them, she would lose at once the respect hitherto paid to her high character, and be no longer considered by any other nation as worthy of confidence. Other men might rejoice in representing the state of their country to be degraded, weak, and helpless; but he could find more pleasure in believing that England was still high in spirit, and great and powerful, abounding in resources which, if she should be forced into a war, would enable her to bring it to an honourable termination. Mr. Powys, an hereditary Whig, and one who had long and steadily voted on the same side as Fox, now declared that gentleman's political intentions to be peculiarly baneful to his country, and his present amendment only proper to alienate the people of England from their government. Negotiation appeared to him to be impracticable. He asked to whom could we send an ambassador? Who could be sure that the men who had proscribed our king and invited his people to take up arms against him, would receive an ambassador sent by him? The faith of treaties and the duty of securing our internal peace justified the address and the whole conduct of ministers. If he could have his wish, he would draw a cordon round France to prevent the spreading of her infection. Wilberforce, though deprecating war—if war could possibly be avoided consistently with justice—concurred with the speech from the throne and the proposed address; and Fox's amendment was rejected without a division.

On the very next day—December the 15th, which was a Saturday, a day when Parliament did not usually sit—Fox came forward with a third proposition, moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give direction that a minister may be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of ex-

ecutive government in France, touching such points as may be in discussion between his majesty and his allies and the French nation." He said he knew how little anything he could say on this subject would be attended to by the House. He was, besides, indisposed, and so hoarse that it was physically impossible for him to speak above a few minutes. "By his motion he did not mean to imply any approbation of the conduct of the existing French government, or of the proceedings that had led to the present state of things in France. His object was simply to declare and record his opinion, that it was the true policy of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation with which it had relative interests, without inquiring or regarding how that government was constituted, or by what means those who exercised it came into power. This was not only the policy, but frequently the practice. If we objected to the existing form of government in France, we had as strong objections to the form of government at Algiers; yet at Algiers we had a consul. If we abhorred the crimes committed in France, we equally abhorred the crimes committed in Morocco; yet to the court of Morocco we had sent a consul almost immediately after the commission of crimes at which humanity shuddered. By these acts we were neither supposed to approve of the form of government at Algiers, nor of the crimes committed in Morocco. From his motion, therefore, no opinion was to be implied, but the opinion he had stated. It would have been better if what he proposed had been done sooner, and there were circumstances that made it less proper now than at an earlier period. But this was not imputable to him. The earliest period was now the best; and this was the earliest opportunity that the meeting of parliament afforded him. It would have been still better if our minister had not been recalled from Paris, but had continued there, as the ministers of some other courts had done." Mr. Grey seconded the motion, declaring that an immediate embassy to Paris was the only means of averting the greatest of calamities, the most dangerous war that England had ever undertaken. Lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon the historian, reprobated the object of the motion, and declared he was almost ashamed of his former enthusiasm for Fox. He thought that the surest way of avoiding war would be by making vigorous preparations for it; and he affirmed that the disturbers of the world, when they had overrun other nations, would not fail to fall upon us with double force. Some gentlemen expressed a hope that Fox might be prevailed upon to withdraw his motion; some said that that motion was a palpable encroachment on the royal prerogative; and some bitterly censured him for his conduct during the last three days. Fox, however, pursued his object with so much heat and perseverance as to cause the House to sit into Sunday morning; a thing not known in parliament for many years.* Mr.

* Burke, Letter to the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Ministry, &c.

Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool) was of opinion that the motion did encroach on the prerogative, and was otherwise improper and dangerous. He believed that there were disaffected persons in the country whose activity made them dangerous, but he thought that war, instead of increasing their power of mischief, would greatly lessen it. The French knew that we were engaged by every tie of national faith to protect Holland, and their insolent threats to that state must be considered as an intentional insult to England, which could not be overlooked without incurring the imputation of a cowardly and base submission. The king of Sardinia had endeavoured to negotiate and conciliate the French, and what had he gained by it? Ministers were blamed for not having taken the same course—I not having some months ago treated with the French, but for many months there had been nothing in France with which they could treat. And now, when persons and things were every day changing, when all rule belonged to a mob of robbers and assassins, where could we apply? What government could we a knowledge where there was actually no government? How could England recognise a constitution which the French themselves were every day violating. How could we negotiate with men who had declared a universal war to all governments? "On this very day," he exclaimed, "while we are here debating about sending an ambassador to the French republic, on this very day is the king to receive sentence, and in all probability, it is the day of his murder! What is it, then, that gentlemen would propose to their sovereign? To bow his neck to a band of sanguinary ruffians, and address an ambassador to a set of murderous regicides, whose hands are still reeking with the blood of a slaughtered monarch. No, Sir, the British character is too noble to run a race for infamy, nor shall we be the first to compliment a set of monsters, who, while we are agitating the subject, are probably being through the streets of Paris—horrid spectacle!—the bloody victim of their fury." The Master of the Rolls thought that Fox himself ought to be sent in this embassy. Perhaps he might be as well received as Frost and Joel Barlow, perhaps not. The French rulers might say to him, "Do you come from the king of Great Britain?" If you do, you can have no business here, as we have sworn eternal enmity to all kings; you had, therefore, better be gone!" Mr Windham contended that not only experience, but higher principles and the dictates of humanity forbade any present recognition of the French republic. If Great Britain gave that recognition, which had been given by no other power, what would be the consequences? Some of those consequences would be the alienation of all those powers with whom she was at present allied, and a universal discouragement on the Continent, for, by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation truly deplorable,—she

would arm every subject of every kingdom against the powers that governed that kingdom,—she would recommend and facilitate the imitation of what had been done, or was still doing, by the sans-culottes of Paris, and all this could not be otherwise than fatal to the future interests of the world. Mr Grant, who had studied the law of nations, and who was well read in what the French now styled "the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel,"* replied to some gentlemen who chose to think that the forcible opening of the navigation of the Scheldt was not of sufficient importance to justify any loud complaint on the part of the Dutch. Not only the trade, but also the internal security and independence of Holland depended upon that river. All the celebrated writers on the law of nations had laid it down as a clear and indubitable principle that rivers belonged to those who inhabited their banks, just as far and no farther than those banks extended. If the banks belonged to different peoples or nations, then the dominion over the river was divided, each people possessing the part of the river that was contiguous to their domain, and such was the policy of this distribution, that, if it had not been laid down by the law of nature, it would have been a positive stipulation under the law of nations, for without it no state traversed by rivers could be secure. If, as the French were now contending, the course of rivers was as open and common to all mankind as the sea itself, a fleet of French or Spaniards might sail up the Rhine, and we should have no right to molest them until they actually began hostilities. The mouth of the Scheldt being between the banks of Holland, gave the Dutch, under the law of nature and nations, an incontrovertible right to the possession of that river as far as their banks extended and this right, moreover, had been repeatedly acknowledged and ratified by express treaty. The emperor Joseph, although he had attempted to open the navigation of the Scheldt for the benefit of his subjects in the Netherlands, who possessed the upper banks of the river, had been obliged to forgo his purpose. France had no direct interest in the question—at least, the French pretended in their own declaration, that they had not conquered the Netherlands, but had only restored the sovereignty of that country to the inhabitants of it. The Belgians might want to have the free navigation of the river from their own country, through Holland, to its mouth, but what had the French to do with this question? Were we to permit them to arrogate to themselves the umpirage of all the disputes in Europe? The restless, meddling disposition of that country, which an honourable gentleman had declared was so long the scourge of mankind under the old despotism of its kings, seemed now no less disposed to pursue the same course under the still more wild and unlimited despotism of the people. The French had already seized some territory belonging to Holland,

* See *Chateaubriand's* minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to Mr. Jefferson, American secretary of state.

or had threatened to seize it instantly; and yet some gentlemen could suggest that the Dutch government, instead of preparing to fight, ought to have sent an ambassador to Paris. If France, by force or surprise, had seized on Portsmouth, or any other of our harbours, or had declared its intention of doing so, would Englishmen condescend to send an ambassador to negotiate? They had declared publicly their intention of invading the rights of our allies; and those rights, so long as faith and honour remained in England, were the rights of Englishmen. The French had admitted the subsisting treaties, but denied their force upon grounds on which all treaties and compacts must fall. If Holland or England were to attempt to treat, they should send to them not a statesman, but a professor of casuistry; for nothing remained for inquiry but an abstract and metaphysical question on the moral competence of contracts. But was it to be allowed that the first principle of morals should be controverted, and the community of nations turned into a school of metaphysical sceptics? If we settled the dispute with the present executive government of France, their successors, armed with their natural imprescriptible Rights of Man, would, by the very same reasons, deny their right to settle it. There was nothing that could be obtained, short of a total abandonment of their project, but what the metaphysical wand of those logicians would destroy as by magic. They would tell you that it was impossible to bind by treaty the Rights of Man; that right is paramount to treaty; that the executive with whom you negotiated had exceeded their power, had betrayed their constituents, and that therefore the contract and treaty with you must be void. Sir William Young said that, if we wanted to facilitate the importation of plots and treasons, we would do well to open and prolong a negotiation with the present French executive; and he declared (what was perfectly certain) that, if we proposed preliminaries, we should be looked upon as trembling cowards, we should earn contempt and infamy, and be attacked all the same. Burke, who this evening for the first time took his seat on the Treasury bench, again spoke with the most impassioned eloquence. Kings, said he, are anointed with oil—the new sovereignty of the people, with blood! The massacres of September, at which all Europe revolted, heightened this striking likeness; and none but the murderers themselves could help deploring those horrible barbarities, which exceeded all ancient and modern crime. He declared his solemn conviction that a war with France was rendered necessary for the security of the liberties of England, the interests of Europe, and the happiness of mankind. He drew a ludicrous picture of the figure an ambassador from the king of Great Britain would make at the bar of the National Convention. His credentials would state that he was commissioned by “George III., by the grace of God,” &c. At the reading of these words, how would that pious

assembly be convulsed with laughter! The president, Robespierre or Marat, or some other sworn enemy to kings, would surely not be able to keep his indignation within bounds. On the one side, citizen Frost would inflame the resentment of the House; and on the other citizen Paine would proceed to denounce us! Dundas gave a good answer to those who urged that the English ambassador ought not to have been recalled from Paris, as he had been, after the 10th of August. As for the motion now before the House, he was willing to put it upon this issue:—“If, under the former government of France, while we had an ambassador in France, and France an ambassador here, the French government had received persons from this country complaining of the constitution, and proposing an alliance to subvert it, and given a favourable answer to such persons, what would have been the duty of his Majesty’s ministers? Would it not have been to recall our ambassador, and order the French ambassador to quit this country? How could we now send an ambassador to France, when the present French government had openly and vauntingly pursued the same conduct?” Fox said a few words in reply to Dundas, or rather to Burke. He said he had done his duty in submitting his ideas to the House; and in doing this, he could not possibly have had any other motive than that of public duty. He was not courting the favour of ministers, or of those by whom ministers were supposed to be favoured; he was not gratifying his friends, as the debates in the House had shown; he was not courting popularity, for now popularity was to be gained only by the very opposite course; but the misled people might even treat his house as they had done that of Dr. Priestley. All that he wanted was that they might know the real cause of the war into which they were likely to be plunged; that they might know it depended on a matter of *mere form and ceremony*. Fox was supported by Mr. Grey, Francis, Erskine, Whitbread, Sheridan, and two or three others; but, after a long debate, his motion was negatived without a division. Burke, writing upon the subject a few months after, thanks heaven for this rejection of a measure which he believed to be full of peril. If it had succeeded, he says—“At home, all the Jacobin societies, formed for the utter destruction of our constitution, would have lifted up their heads, which had been beaten down by the two proclamations. Those societies would have been infinitely strengthened and multiplied in every quarter; their dangerous foreign communications would have been left broad and open; the crown would not have been authorised to take any measure whatever for our immediate defence, by sea or land. The closest, the most natural, the nearest, and, at the same time, from many internal as well as external circumstances, the weakest of our allies, Holland, would have been given up, bound hand and foot, to France, just on the point of invading that republic. A general consternation would have seized upon all Europe; and all

alliance with every other power, except France, would have been for ever rendered impracticable to us. I think it is impossible for any man, who regards the dignity and safety of his country, or indeed the common safety of mankind, ever to forget Mr Fox's proceedings in that tremendous crisis of all human affairs."* On this very same day, on which Fox made his motion for sending an ambassador to France, the National Convention had published a decree in which they declared that the French people would treat as enemies all other peoples or nations who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, should be desirous of preserving their king or prince, and their privileged castes, or of entering into an accommodation with them, that the French promised and engaged not to lay down their arms until the liberty and the sovereignty of the people on whose territories the French armies had entered, or might hereafter enter, should be established, and that they would never consent to any treaty or arrangement with king, princes, aristocracies, or privileged classes of any kind.

On the following Monday, the 17th of December, Fox pursued the same line of conduct. Mr Grey complained that the loyalists and high churchmen had been committing riots in various towns, and particularly in Manchester, where the house of a Mr Walker, a most respectable manufacturer and merchant had been attacked. This Manchester riot, he said, had risen out of a loyal meeting held in the town. An honourable gentleman, Mr Peel (the father of the present Sir Robert), whom he saw in his place, was reported to have been present at that meeting, and to have said in his address to it, that it was time for the people to rouse from their lethargy, as there were incendiaries in the country. If Mr Peel had really used those words he called upon him to name the incendiaries. Mr Grey next called the attention of the House to a paper issued by the Association against republicans and levellers, established at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in London. His paper was entitled, 'One Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his Brother John,' and contained, Mr Grey said, some most unflinching and libellous invectives against the dissenters, whom it charged with having been the authors of the American war. [The simple truth was, that this loyal association, and others of the same kind, were weary and impatient of seeing the popular press in a great measure monopolised by the revolutionary or reforming party, and were now retaliating with the same sort of fury and exaggeration as had animated their adversaries.] Mr Grey stated that Mr Paine's 'Rights of Man' had not produced a single riot, but that this 'Pennyworth of Truth,' by exciting the people against the dissenters, seemed calculated to produce effects the most alarming. His motion was, that the said libellous paper should be delivered in at the table and read. Mr Peel begged to observe that there was no truth in any part of the new paper

paragraph to which Mr Grey had alluded, except that part of it which stated that 'God save the King' had been sung at the Manchester meeting. He read the resolutions of the committee of that Manchester society against republicans and levellers, and showed that they were calculated to dissuade the populace from insurrection. The motion was strongly opposed by Dundas, Windham, the Master of the Rolls, and others. Mr Grey said that Fox himself had promulgated dangerous opinions, and that, if he chose, he would point them out. Fox said that he was quite ready to meet this discussion if the House chose to appoint a time for examining his opinions. There were, he said, certain terms and phrases which every gentleman who now rose to speak was required to repeat, all these, whether "Church and State," or "God save the King," or anything else, he begged to be understood as having said or sung. There were other terms and phrases not so acceptable. But, as those who had read Italian operas might recollect to have seen prefixed an advertisement by the author, that when he introduced the names of the heathen gods and goddesses he meant nothing against the holy Catholic religion, so he must advertise the House, that, when he made use of the words 'liberty,' 'equality,' he used them only in the true sense of the British constitution, and that it was understood, or supposed to be understood, in any other country whatever. He implored the House to be equal and impartial, for it was not for the dignity of the House or of the Government to reject seditious publications on one side and pass by those on the other. He had always advised never to excite riots and insurrections with seditious writings, but to repress and punish the criminal act. He mentioned that libels against the constitution like Paine's 'Rights of Man,' had not led to riots, whereas the libels against the dissenters had provoked great riotings in several places, and this rioting had not been punished. He severely criticised the loyal associations and subscriptions which were in progress to aid in the prosecution of dissident persons. These associations, he said, were made an instrument of tyranny over men's minds almost as bad as the clubs in France, that went about, as often as they thought fit, requiring men to renew their civic oath on pain of proscription for misivism. Papers were handed about in London and the country for signatures, and the names of those who signed and of those who did not were taken down, with the mark of misivism fixed on the latter. He treated the associations for prosecuting libels against the constitution, or order, morals, and religion, as tending to hinder the improvement of the human mind, and as a mobbish tyranny. He compared them with Lord George Gordon's mob, declaring that he had advised his friends in Westminster to sign the said associations whether they agreed with them or not, in order that they might avoid destruction to their persons or their houses, or a desertion of their

* Letter to the Duke of Portland on the Conduct of the Ministry &c.

shops. "This insidious advice," says Burke, "tended to confound those who wished well to the object of the association with the seditious, against whom the association was directed. By this stratagem the confederacy intended for preserving the British constitution and the public peace would be wholly defeated. The magistrates, utterly incapable of distinguishing the friends from the enemies of order, would in vain look for support when they stood in the greatest need of it."* Dundas took the same view of Fox's advice, and told him that men who signed papers of which they disapproved might soon learn to swear what they did not believe, and the signatures of traitors might thus appear among those of good citizens. Fox said he kept no such company as the right honourable secretary talked of; he conversed with no men who would refuse to aid the civil magistrate; and he had no advice to give to traitors except to become good subjects. He complained of inflammatory handbills circulated to call meetings of the friends of the constitution, and mentioned one which concluded with the words, "Destruction to Fox and all his Jacobin crew." This might be intended to cause his house to be treated like Mr. Walker's or Dr. Priestley's. He was, however, not much afraid, for, although he had been often made unpopular where he was not personally known, he had the good fortune never to have been unpopular in his own neighbourhood. Mr. Grey's motion was negated without a division. The very morning after these declamations in the House of Commons against the loyal associations, Fox went down to a meeting of St. George's parish, and there signed an association of the nature and tendency of those he had the night before so vehemently condemned; and several of his most intimate friends attended the meeting and signed along with him. Immediately after this extraordinary step a society was formed under Fox's auspices, called "The Friends of the Liberty of the Press." This society, according to Burke, was only a modification of the society calling itself "The Friends of the People;" being composed of many, if not most, of the members of that club, with the addition of a great many other individuals, such as Mr. Horne Tooke, "of the worst and most seditious dispositions that could be found in the whole kingdom." "In the first meeting of this club," continues Burke, "Mr. Erskine took the lead, and directly (without any disavowal ever since on Mr. Fox's part) *made use of his name and authority in favour of its formation and purposes.* In the same meeting Mr. Erskine had thanks for his defence of *Paine*, which amounted to a complete avowal of that Jacobin incendiary, else it is impossible to know how Mr. Erskine should have derived such marked applauses for acting merely as a lawyer for his fee, in the ordinary course of his profession."[†]

At this time London and several of our provin-

* Letter to the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Minority
† *Id.*

cial towns were swarming with Frenchmen. Many of these were priests or noblemen who had fled for their lives; the vast majority of them were decided royalists, without a hope on earth save that of overthrowing the Jacobin system; but mixed among them were individuals who wore the garb of loyalty in order to serve the republicans, who were nothing else than spies and secret agents; while others there were who made an open profession of atheism and sans-culottism in all its branches, and who, protected by the large liberality of the English law, were using all their efforts to seduce the people. The success of these men was not likely to be very great, but they excited a panic and an outcry, and it was assuredly the duty of government to adopt some measures calculated to clear the country of the nuisance. Our laws were not made for foreigners, and least of all for foreigners that were trying to subvert them. On the 19th of December Lord Grenville brought forward a bill in the House of Lords for subjecting aliens to certain regulations. The bill proposed in the first instance to make all foreigners arriving in the kingdom give an account of themselves, and surrender such arms as they might have in their possession—to oblige them in their several removals through the country to use passports, by which their actual residence or occasional movements might be known—to distribute those emigrants who received allowances from the British government, and who had no other means of subsistence, into certain districts where they could be more under the cognizance of the civil power—and to pay particular attention to such foreigners as had come within the present year, or as might afterwards arrive without obvious reasons. As it had always been a part of the royal prerogative to send foreigners out of the kingdom, this alien bill merely re-affirmed that right. Although opposed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Lord Guildford, and Lord Lauderdale, the bill was carried through the three readings in the House of Lords without a division. On the order of the day for the second reading, the Marquess of Lansdowne moved that government should enter into an immediate negotiation with France, for two important objects: 1. To propose to the ruling powers in that country either to receive back that vast number of people they had driven into banishment, or to contribute to their means of support; 2. To save the unfortunate Louis XVI. from the horrible fate which appeared to menace him. The Lords negated both propositions as hopeless and useless; and the Commons pursued the same course with respect to some suggestions of the same sort which were offered by Sheridan and Fox, who both expressed their detestation of French cruelty. Pitt said that a vote passed on the subject of the unfortunate King of France, and framed in those indignant terms which became the House, might, in the present furious temper of the French people, only serve to disguise the atrocity of their conduct, and hurry them on to the commission of that very

crime which the House so warmly desired to prevent. We may add, that, in whatever terms the vote and overture had been made, they would have hastened both the execution of Louis and the declaration of war against England. When the Alien bill was brought down to the Commons, Fox and his diminished party opposed it with all their might, describing it as a measure contrary to the existing treaties between Great Britain and France, as a violation of the law of nations, and as an outrage on Magna Charta itself. On the second reading of the bill there was a memorable debate. Dundas observed that so very great and extraordinary an influx of foreigners into this country must at any time have called for the attention of government; but that at a time and under circumstances like the present, such an immigration from a country which had been the scene of the most convulsive proceedings and the most dreadful enormities made the necessity of adopting some particular measure still more imperative and urgent. In these transactions a vast number of the French people had taken a direct and an active part. The principles which guided the French revolution were not confined to France, they were spread, or attempts were making to spread them over the whole of Europe: there were Jacobin emissaries in Italy, in Spain, in Holland, in Germany—there was a systematized proselitism at work. The matter became more serious as there had been found even in England men so infatuated as to adopt these principles, and to send ever addresses to the executive government and the clubs of France. Everybody, he said, knew that among the hapless emigrants who had come hither for refuge there were many who had been engaged in deeds of outrage and cruelty at Paris—in some of the worst deeds of the revolution. Burke, who says in his letter to the Duke of Portland that this Alien bill was “fickle and lax, and far short of the vigour required by the conjuncture,” supported ministers even more strenuously than Fox opposed them. It was in his speech on this occasion that he had recourse to that strike of oratorical acting which has been so often commented upon. In alluding to the fact that three thousand daggers had been ordered and manufactured at Birmingham, he drew a concealed dagger from his bosom and threw it down upon the floor of the House, exclaiming, “This is what you are to gain by an alliance with the French!” Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice must follow. You must equally proscribe their tenets and their persons! You must keep their principles from our minds, and their daggers from our hearts!’’ On the motion for the third reading, Fox undertook to prove that the anxiety about a few French republicans in England was as ridiculous as all the rest of the alarm, that no Alien act could guard against the introduction of opinions, and that if dangerous principles were propagated in the country they must be propagated by English agents, who would remain if every foreigner was sent out

of the kingdom. He wished that all the Frenchmen who had been concerned in the detestable massacres of September should be expelled, but he thought that the horrors of those days ought not to be mentioned as the act either of the French government or the French people, for both disclaimed it. To disclaim, indeed, was not enough. That the crime was not prevented or followed up by punishment would be an indelible disgrace to Paris and to France. But were we to go to war on account of these inhuman murders? No war could be rational that had not some object which, being obtained, made way for peace. He believed that the prerogative of the crown to send foreigners out of the kingdom did not exist, and, if it did, that it was too dangerous to be all wed to remain. Fox was answered at great length by Pitt, and after a warm debate the bill was read a third time and passed. Another bill to prevent the circulation in England of French assignats, bonds, promissory notes, &c., was carried through both Houses with scarcely any opposition, as was also another bill to enable his majesty to restrain the exportation of naval stores, saltpetre, arms, and ammunition.

On the 30th of January, 1793, Dundas presented to the House of Commons a royal message alluding to the execution of Louis XVI., and stating that orders had been given to lay before the House copies of several papers which had been received from M. Chauvigny, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, and of the answers which had been returned thereto, as likewise a copy of an order to quit the kingdom made by his majesty in council and transmitted to the said M. Chauvigny, in consequence of the accounts received of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris. The message, moreover, stated that his majesty thought it indispensably necessary to make a farther augmentation of his forces by sea and land. The House took this message into consideration on the 2nd of February, when Pitt recited all the aggravations which England, in common with her allies, had received from France, and intimated that, however anxious we might be for peace, the French would not allow us to enjoy that blessing. He dwelt with great eloquence upon the murder of the French king, a crime which had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence. He stated that the British government, having adopted from the beginning a system of neutrality, had religiously adhered to that system, that they had declined taking any part in the internal affairs of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. In return for this declaration the French had entered into a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had since provoked the indignation of this country. In a paper which was now on the table they disclaimed all views of conquest and aggrandizement, they had given assurances of friendship to all neutral nations, they had protested that they entertained no idea of interfering with the government of other countries, or

making any attempts to excite insurrection, as they held any such interference and any such attempts to be a violation of the law of nations. During the whole preceding summer, when France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, the King of Great Britain had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe. But what had been the conduct of the French? The first instance of their success in Savoy had been quite sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately annexed Savoy to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same wherever they could carry their arms. They had rendered the Netherlands a province, in substance as well as name, entirely dependent on France. Their system, aided by the Jacobin societies and their correspondence in foreign countries, had given a more fatal blow to the independence of nations than any which had ever been inflicted by the most ambitious king. On the 27th of December their ambassador here had complained of the injurious constraint which was laid upon the decree of the 19th of November, when they promised fraternity and assistance to all nations that would revolt against their governments. Yet on the 31st of December their minister of the interior had addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the capitals of France, in which was the following passage:—‘The king and his parliament intend to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their discontent and the republic they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Will we will fly to their aid—we will make a descent on the island—we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—we will plant there the sacred tree—we will stretch our arms to our republican brethren, and the tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed.’ It declared his conviction that war was preferable to a peace which could be consistent neither with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of England, and he mentioned his majesty to that effect. Lord Beauchamp seconded the motion. Windham in a long and earnest speech intended that we must go to war for the security of this country, that never had a war been undertaken with a more specific or more important object, that in his opinion this war was inevitable, that the French were actuated by as great a spirit of conquest as they had ever shown, that their success would be destructive of all order, morality, and religion, that this indeed would be a war *pro res et foveis*. Fox and a few of his friends spoke on the other side, still insisting that war was not necessary and might be avoided, but Pitt’s motion was carried without a division. An address to the same effect was voted by the Lords, where the ministerial party had been strengthened by the accession of Lord Loughborough, who on the 26th of January obtained the great seal, which he had so often endeavoured to snatch from Thurlow.

On the 11th of February Dundas presented a royal message acquainting the House that the National Convention had declared war against the King of Great Britain and the Stadtholder of Holland on the 1st of February. This message was taken into consideration on the next day, when Pitt entered into a detailed statement of our dealings with France, and of our endeavours to remain neutral so long as neutrality seemed honourable and possible. His motion for the address in answer to his majesty’s message was seconded by Mr. Poyas, who spoke the opinion of the vast majority of parliament and people when he said that under present circumstances, war with France was far preferable to peace with her. If it were asked, he said, what we should get by going to war, he would answer, we should get just what we should lose by not going to war. There might be men who asserted that the constitution of this country had not been in danger, but it was his honest opinion that it had recently been in great danger, and, for his part, he was fearful the arrows that fly by day through the pestilence that walk through night. Fox said that, if there was any necessity of going to war with France, that necessity must have been made by the unwise, arrogant and provoking conduct of our ministers, and he concluded a long speech by moving an amendment, promising an effectual support to his majesty in repelling every hostile attempt upon this country, and in such other exertions as might be necessary to induce France to consent to such terms of pacification as should be consistent with the honour of his majesty’s crown, the security of his allies, and the interests of his people. Dundas strongly defended the conduct of ministers and threw some more light on the spirit of France on her sans culottes anarchy, and her ravenous ambition, which equally contributed to render a peace with her impracticable. He did not deny that this was a great exertion, was to be a war of principles, for he said that Great Britain entered into the war to secure her best interests, by opposing a system of principles which, if not checked, must end in the destruction of this and of every other country. Burke, in a vehement speech, taxed Fox with using in the English House of Commons language exceedingly like that used in the National Convention by M. Brissot. Fox had said, or had seemed to say, that it was only against absolute monarchs that the French had declared eternal war, but Burke showed—that scarcely required any showing—that they were as furious against the free constitutional monarchy of England as against absolutism. This new-created empire of theirs was intended to shake all surrounding governments. Their minister, Cambon, had declared that the limits of their empire should be those that nature had set to them—the sea on one side, and the Alps and the Rhine on the other, together with a large cut of the Apennines—and all this was said to be for the benefit of mankind and of liberty and equality, as the subjects of other governments situated within those wide limits were

to be duped and flattered into insurrection. They had directed their invectives and reproaches at England more than at any other country. They had executed their unhappy, innocent monarch, not as an example to France, not to extinguish the royal race there, but, as they themselves alleged, as a warning to all other kings and an example to all other nations. Only a few hours after the execution of Louis, their minister of justice, Garat, had said to the Convention, "We have now thrown the gauntlet to tyrants, which gauntlet is the head of a tyrant." They intended the murder of their king only as a step to the murders of the other kings of Europe, for they had declared that no monarchical country could have alliance with them; and this too at the very moment when they were pretending to conciliate England and to explain away the decree of the 19th of November. Neither the sovereign nor the people of any other country had any doubt as to their intentions, or as to the meaning of the public detests and their secret machinations. But if Burke held the war with France to be inevitable, and on our part a sacred duty, he did not disguise the dangers and difficulties of the struggle: instead of believing, with the unreflecting or over sanguine majority of the nation, that the odds would be on the side of England and her allies, he showed that the odds would be on the side of France; and, if his warning voice had been attended to, the war would have been conducted in a very different manner from that in which it was unfortunately carried on. The French, he said, *having abandoned arts, industry, religion, law, order, everything but the sword, having armed the entire population, must prove most formidable and dreadful to all nations composed of quiet citizens who only used a given number of soldiers as a defence.* All France had, in fact, become one vast camp, from which armies might be poured in every direction; and, as they had already adopted the principle that the countries overrun by them were to support their armies and furnish money to the head-quarters at Paris, they would have no need of commissariats or supplies from home, which cost so much and caused such delays in the movements of armies. There would only be some primary expenses, and these were so easily met! Their minister had stated that France had been purged of 70,000 men of property, all of whose effects were to be confiscated, to the amount of 200,000,000*l.* sterling. Thus, like a band of robbers in a cave, they were reckoning the strength of their plunders. They had two terms for raising supplies—Confiscation and Loan. The common people were at present relieved in their taxation by the confiscation of the property of the rich; and they reckoned on the confiscation of property in every country they entered as a sufficient supply for their exigencies in that country, and as their resource for carrying the war further. Thus they were making war supply them with plunder, and plunder with the means of war. Men who could find no work at home would readily turn soldiers,

even in countries where the passion for war was not so predominant as in France, and where there was no new fanaticism to impel them. In the manufacturing city of Lyons alone there were 30,000 artisans destitute of employment; and these men would seek for a remedy for starvation in the ranks of the army. In a crisis like the present he thought that gentlemen should examine, as if in the divine presence, whether they had any sinister motive, and act upon the pure result of that examination. For himself he had no hesitation to pronounce, as if before the divine presence, that ministers had not precipitated the nation into this war, but were brought to it by over-ruling necessity. Fox's amendment was negatived, and the address, as moved by Pitt, was carried without a division. In the Lords, on the same day, an address to the same effect was moved by Lord Grenville and seconded by the Duke of Portland, the head of the old Whig party. Earl Stanhope, who had not recovered from any of his delusions, and whose genius was too irregular and flighty to submit to party rules, moved an amendment much more extreme than that of Fox, with whom he had engaged to act, for it accused ministers of producing the rupture with France, and demanded specific information as to the objects which his majesty proposed to obtain by carrying on this war. Lord Lauderdale moved another amendment, which was the counterpart of that proposed by Fox. Both amendments were negatived, and the motion for the address was carried without a division. In all these proceedings the parliamentary majority was backed by the feeling of the people. There had not been anything like so near an approach to unanimity for many years. Yet, on the 18th of February, Fox moved a string of resolutions, the effect of which was that the two Houses were to load themselves with every kind of reproach for having voted the address which they had just carried up to the throne. They were to begin by declaring that England was not to intermeddle in the interior concerns of France, a thing unexampled in the history of the world when one nation has been actually at war with another, and a doctrine contrary to the uniform practice of France, who, whether in peace or in war, was making it her great aim not only to change the interior government, but to effect an entire revolution in the whole of the social order, of every other country. They were next to declare that the particular complaints which had been stated against the conduct of the French government were not of a nature to justify war; and that ministers had not taken such measures in their negotiations with the French government as were likely to procure redress, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained. The next resolution came with a singularly bad grace from the eulogist of the Empress Catherine, and the statesman who had invariably opposed whatever tended to check the ambition and insolence of that imperial termagant. It imported that it did not appear that the security of Europe and the rights

of independent nations now stated among the grounds of war against France, had been attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland, in the invasion of which unhappy country the most open contempt of the law of nations and the most unjustifiable spirit of aggrandisement had been manifested, without having produced as far as appeared to the House, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers. Burke, who had always felt most warmly for the fate of Poland, and who ever deplored the iniquity of the partition committed at a moment when, were it only for their own sakes, the sovereigns of Europe ought to have been setting examples of justice, forbearance, and generosity, said Mr Fox's intention, in the choice of this extraordinary topic, was evident enough. He well knew two things, first, that no wise or honest man can approve of that partition, or think of it with utopianotic tranquillity, great mischiefs from it to all countries at some future time. Secondly, he knew quite as well that, let our opinions on that partition be what they will, England by itself, is not in a situation to afford to Poland any assistance whatsoever. The purpose of the introduction of Polish politics into this discussion was not for the sake of Poland, it was to throw an odium upon those who are obliged to decline the cause of justice from their impossibility of supporting a cause which they approve, as it were, who think more strongly on this subject than he does were of a party against Poland because we are obliged to act with some of the authors of that injustice against our common enemy France. But the great leading purpose of this introduction of Poland into the debates in the House was to divert the public attention from what was in our power, that is from a steady exertion against France to a quarrel with the allies for the sake of a Polish war, which, far from any purpose to Poland, he knew it was out of our power to make. If England can touch Poland ever so remotely, it must be through the medium of allies. But, by attacking all the combined powers together for their supposed unjust aggression upon France, he bound them by a new common interest, not separately to join England for the rescue of Poland. The proposition could only mean to do what all the writers of his party in the Morning Chronicle have aimed at persuading the public to, through the whole of the last autumn and winter, and to this hour, that is, to an alliance with the Jacobins of France for the pretended purpose of succouring Poland. This curious project would leave to Great Britain no other ally in all Europe except its old enemy France.* The last of Fox's string of resolutions was, that it was the duty of ministers to advise his majesty against entering into any engagements with his allies which might prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace, or which might countenance an opinion in Europe that his majesty was acting in concert with other powers, for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling

the people of France to submit to a form of government not approved by that nation. Hitherto he had rather avoided dividing the House, but he pressed these resolutions to a division. They were rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty-six the numbers voting being 270 against 44.

Notwithstanding the decided victory of ministers, Fox, a few days after (on the 21st of February), encouraged and supported Mr Grey in producing the very same string of resolutions in a new form, and in moving, under the guise of an address of the House to the crown, another censure on all its own proceedings in this session. The charge about Poland was dwelt upon at much greater length, and the French republicans were likened to the unfortunate Poles, the attack upon France by the allies being represented in the same light as the invasion and dismemberment of Poland. Fresh pulitives were offered for the conduct of the French executive, and it was again affirmed that we were going to it without any sufficient ground. The motion, however, was negatived without a division.

Instead of entering upon the long and complicated debates (which did not end with the present session) upon the justice and propriety of England's conduct in this war, we will endeavour to detail briefly some of the facts and reasons which seem to justify the belief that the choice of war or peace no longer rested with the British government, that the direct provocations to hostilities did not originate with us, and that, whatever complaints may justly lie against the manner in which the war was or is now conducted, the government of the day must be wholly freed from the charge of heedlessly and wantonly running into hostilities. In the conference at Pilnitz, where, in the month of August, 1791, the emperor and the king of Prussia signed a declaration that they would take certain measures to rescue the king of France, provided other powers would support them, England took no part whatever, and when the conferences were over, and the emperor had returned to Vienna, she declared that she was resolved to preserve the strictest neutrality. Besides the letter of the emperor, whom the British government could have no interest in deceiving, there are various other proofs that Great Britain, at that period, took no part in a coalition against France. It was an afterthought of the French republicans to charge Great Britain with being a party to that coalition: they did not mention the charge in their present long declaration of war, and before issuing that declaration, they had repeatedly declared, in the Convention

* In this I was well assisted by a very clear rental of the contents supported by documents and proofs, taken in the Library of the Houses of Commons and printed in the times of the Conference at Pilnitz by Herbert Marsh (the late Bishop of Exeter) in 1795. This little work, in which no facts are stated without convincing evidence (taken chiefly from French decrees, ministerial declarations, and other state papers and news) was originally written in German in 1794, in a language which I have rendered at the University of Edinburgh in Latin, and then in French in his own name and a first published at Leipzig, in February 1795. He translated it himself into English in the ensuing of the same year and it was published in London in 1800.

* Letter to the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Ministry

and elsewhere, that Great Britain had nothing to do with the conferences at Pilnitz. Bismarck, a bitter enemy to England, said she acted the part of a mediator on that occasion, and laboured to calm the effervescence of the German princes. When the late king of Sweden was discussing his generous but romantic projects with the Marquis de Bouillé, he said, in all the confidence of friendship and private correspondence, that it would be a grand point gained if England would only remain neutral, by which his majesty even seemed to doubt whether she might not at that time have thought of assisting the French. When, towards the close of the summer of 1791, the negroes of St Domingo asserted the rights of man, and reduced the French inhabitants of the island to a state of despair—when the French capital of that island was surrounded by the black insurgents, and the inhabitants had neither arms nor ammunition—the French governor of Jamaica, at the request and priver of the French governor, sent them arms, ammunition, and provisions, with all possible expedition, and, at that time, saved many thousands of Frenchmen from destruction. This was in the days of the Legislative Assembly, when the Jacobins were a minority, yet how did that legislature respond to the humane act? The person who spoke first when the facts were laid before the Assembly, proposed neither a vote of thanks to the British government nor to Lord Effingham, the governor of Jamaica, but directed his whole attention to the state of the French colony, till M. Dubayet reminded him of the obligations which they owed to the generous English governor. An obscure member of the Assembly then proposed a vote of thanks to the British government, but the motion was seconded by no one. On the contrary, when Goussin moved that the thanks of the Assembly should be voted neither to the British government nor to the governor of Jamaica, but to the British nation, there were found plenty to second and support the motion, which was carried only with the amendment that *Monsieur Effingham*, is a member of the British nation, should be named in particular. The insult was the more gross as it was Lord Gower, the English ambassador, who had not said what had happened at St Domingo, and who had informed them that his sovereign had highly approved of Lord Effingham's conduct. But it was something more than an insult—something more than an exhibition of republican conceit and impertinence—it was a public intimation—the most public that could be made—of the design already formed to draw a distinction between the English people and their government, and to flatter the nation (if it could swallow so vile a compliment) at the expense of the king, and of those who held their commissions under him. A proud government, eager for war, might have proceeded to hostilities on no greater provocation, and between the months of November, 1791, and February, 1793, the French had offered many other provocations and insults greater than this.

When Louis XVI sent his circular letters to foreign courts, announcing that he had accepted the constitution of 1791—that model and perfect constitution which all Frenchmen swore to, and which was never to be altered—the court of Great Britain was one of the first which sent a respectful and friendly answer, whereas several of the European courts answered much later, some of them did not answer at all—the king of Spain giving for his answer that he could not consider that Louis XVI had the use of his free-will when he accepted the said constitution, and the king of Sweden refusing to open the circular letter, which was delivered to him by the French minister at Stockholm. It was never pretended that the British government approved of that absurd constitution, the makers of which prepared the way for the anarchy and blood that followed, or that they believed, any more than the king of Spain, that Louis had been in the enjoyment of liberty and free will when he accepted it, but they abstained from all remark, not considering themselves justified in offering any, and returned a civil note of form to a circular which was in itself nothing more. Nearly at the same time that the National Assembly made such a return for the grievance exercised by the English at St Domingo, a French frigate, streaming all over with tricolor flags, and bidding defiance to treaties, fired upon an English man-of-war on the coast of Malabar. By an article in the treaty of commerce of 1786—that treaty in which Pitt had taken so much pride—it was stipulated between France and England that, if either of the two contracting powers should be engaged in a war with a third power, all vessels belonging to subjects of the other contracting power should be provided with sea letters and certificates, that the masters of them, in case they should be suspected of carrying ammunition, or any warlike stores to the enemy of the former power (a thing strictly prohibited by another article of the same treaty), might be able to clear themselves, and, as a necessary consequence, it was further stipulated, that, if a ship of war belonging to the former power met a merchant ship belonging to the latter, the captain of the ship if war should be at liberty to send an officer on board the merchantman, to examine the said sea-letter and certificate. Sir Richard Strachan, in the 'Phoenix,' met, on the Indian coast, several French merchantmen that were under convoy of a French frigate. As the war with Tippoo Sultan was then at its height, as Tippoo and his father Hyder had always been the allies of the French, as the embassy which Tippoo had sent to Paris was no secret to the English officer, as it was very unusual for vessels which had nothing contraband on board to be conveyed by a man-of-war in time of peace, the suspicion unavoidably arose that these vessels must be carrying ammunition and warlike stores to Tippoo. Sir Richard Strachan sent off an officer in a boat to the captain of the French frigate, to request him to make a

signal to the merchantmen to lay to, in order that their certificates might be inspected. But, instead of doing this, the captain of the frigate made a signal to the merchantmen to crowd all sail and get off, and, to prevent Sir Richard Strachan from following them, he attacked the 'Phoenix,' beginning to fire upon her even before the English lieutenant in the open boat had time to return on board to make his report to Sir Richard. As soon as the officer and men got on board, Sir Richard Strachan replied in the proper manner to this unexpected attack, and, after a short engagement, in which the French captain fell mortally wounded, the frigate struck her flag—the first of many French tricolour flags that struck to the flag of England in the revolutionary war. Commodore Cornwallis, who commanded the English fleet which was lying at Toulon, gave immediate orders for the release of the frigate and afterwards, when Lord Greyer complained to the court of France of this violation of the treaty of commerce and this attack upon his ship, his complaint was delivered in most moderate terms, being coupled with the hope that the French government would give orders to prevent similar accidents in future, which might disturb the peace which his Britannic majesty so earnestly wished to maintain. Yet, when this note of our ambassador was read in the National Assembly they would not condescend to make any apology or to give any promise for the future, although, after repeatedly attempting to justify the conduct of the captain of their frigate, they referred the matter to a committee, while it slept. If our government had been desirous of a war, this alone would have justified the declaration of it, and if the thing had occurred when Pitt's father was minister and at the height of his warlike ardour, it may be doubted whether hostilities would not have been proclaimed immediately. To a succession of such acts no nation can submit without losing spirit, character, and moral force—without bringing upon itself, with the most unfavourable and discouraging circumstances, the war it would fain have avoided. The insults heaped personally upon Lord Greyer were numerous and excessive. They so openly accused him of facilitating the correspondence of the aristocrats in Paris with the emigrant princes, that he came forward with a public denial and a solemn protestation that he observed in all things the neutrality between parties which his government had imposed upon him. But for great temper on his part he would have withdrawn from Paris long before the 10th of August, and but for the real anxiety of his government to avoid a war, he must have been recalled. For many months he could not take up a newspaper without reading the most ferocious attacks on his king and government, and the writers of these things were not merely journalists and newsmongers, but known to be members of the national legislature, leading men of foreign committees (as Brissot), or ministers of state. At the beginning of the year 1792 the

British government reduced the number of sailors and marines to 16,000 men, made a reduction in its very inconsiderable army, and gave up, or rather did not renew, the treaty of subsidy with Hesse-Cassel, Pitt, in his confidence of peace, abolishing taxes to the annual amount of 200,000*l*. At the same time the French not only augmented prodigiously their land forces, but also increased their navy, declaring that they would have 80,000 sailors and marines, and that the thunder of their ships was ready to roar in all seas. They must have contemplated a war with England, for Prussia and Austria had no fleets whatever. When these two powers moved their armies towards the French frontier, the great naval preparations were of necessity suspended, but, as soon as those armies were in retreat, the preparations were resumed, and three months before they declared war they had 21 ships of the line, 30 frigates, 18 sloops, 24 cutters, and 10 sloop-armed *en flûte*, not only in commission, but actually at sea. The brutal bombardment of Oneglia, and the impunity with which they had been allowed to scour a part of the Mediterranean and to insult the helpless Italian states, had wonderfully elated their sailors. Upon war being declared by the Convention against Austria (in April 1792), Chauvelin notified the event to the English court, and received another positive assurance that England would persevere in her neutrality. Chauvelin, an observing and an acute man, expressed his conviction that there was every reason for relying on these assurances of the English government, stating that Pitt was solely occupied with his schemes of finance and home improvements, that he had formally assured a deputation of merchants that England would not meddle in the affairs of France, that the nation had no taste for war, that no preparations were making either in the ports or in the arsenals. A few days after Chauvelin delivered a note to Lord Grenville, the secretary for foreign affairs, requesting that all British subjects should be forbidden to serve under any foreign power at war with France, and with this request the court of Great Britain promptly complied, issuing a proclamation on the 25th of May, forbidding all British subjects "to receive any commission for arming and acting at sea as privateers, or letters of reprisals from any enemy of the most Christian king, or, by virtue or under colour of such commissions or reprisals, to disturb infest, or in any way damage his subjects, or to arm ships as privateers, or to go out to sea therewith, under the severest punishments that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done damage." Chauvelin was instructed by his government (we use the term for the sake of brevity, but government there was none in France) to thank his Britannic majesty for his friendly dispositions, and for the sentiments of humanity, justice, and peace which he had manifested. Nearly at the same time that this proclamation was issued at Chauve-

lin's request, the proclamation was issued against seditious writings; but this was a mere act of national police, which had no relation to the government of France, and which no more concerned that government than the measures taken in France relative to the emigrants concerned the English government. There was not a sentence, a word in the proclamation against the government of France: alarmed at the proceedings of the corresponding societies and clubs, who had not merely addressed letters and sent delegates to the National Assembly, but had also sent delegates to the Société Mère, which was not then the French government nor the friend of that government, but its vilifier and oppressor, the English proclamation merely said that "dangerous correspondences had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts." If, instead of these very general expressions, the terms "sundry Frenchmen" had been used, still no objection could reasonably have been taken, as individuals are not a government or a nation. Chauvelin never pretended that any injury or insult was intended against his government or country in this proclamation. Immediately after its appearance he sent a note to Lord Grenville declaring that, "if certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad, tending to excite troubles here, and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, this is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the legislative body, to the king, and his ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and which, whenever it becomes known, will be universally condemned in France." In his eagerness to rescue his government from all suspicion, and in his ignorance of the forms of the English constitution, Chauvelin even requested that his note might be laid before the two Houses of Parliament. On the 18th of June, 1792, nearly a month after the proclamation against seditious writings, Chauvelin, in the name of his government, thanked his Britannic majesty for his pacific intentions; and a month after that, or on the 17th of July, Chauvelin acquainted his own government that the British court remained steady to their friendly disposition. In the interval, on the 18th of June, he had even communicated a note to Lord Grenville, in which the mediation of the British cabinet was requested between France and the allied powers of Austria and Prussia. Although the note was printed at the time in the 'Moniteur,' nearly every French historian has passed over the fact in perfect silence. On the 8th of July, after mature deliberation, the English government answered, that the intervention of his majesty's councils could not be of use, *unless they should be desired by all the parties interested.* No answer could be more reasonable, for, unless the contending parties invite and agree to the mediation of a third party, there can be no mediation at all on a friendly footing. But it was not mediation or friendly ne-

gotiation that the French wanted; and Chauvelin gave Lord Grenville clearly to understand that what they required was an English armament and an effectual and decisive co-operation on our part with France against our ancient friend and ally the House of Austria, and against our present closest ally the King of Prussia! Mr. Fox and his opposition, who had made so terrible an outcry against our Russian armament, and who had defeated the object of it, could hardly have expected the government to comply with this strange request. Moreover, a naval armament against two powers who had neither ships nor ports would have been of no more use than an armament against the moon: to adopt effectual and decisive measures, England must have sent a land army to the continent to co-operate and fraternize with the thoroughly Jacobinized and sans-culottized armies of the French republic. But the whole proposition is too gross and monstrous to deserve a thought or a word, were it not that the Foxite opposition pretended that the French had never made any very unreasonable demands, and that by continuing our friendly negotiations with them we might very well have kept out of the continental war. If that had been possible which was utterly impossible, if England had been able to bring about a general peace in June or July, 1792, the National Assembly would have declared war a second time, for peace would have left a king on the throne, and they wanted a republic; and Brissot and other leading men had declared in the government journals and in the Assembly, over and over again, that France did not require peace, but war; that the condition of the country and the circumstances of the times were all favourable to the most extensive military operations; that the resolution was formed "to break with all the courts," "to set all Europe at defiance," "to set fire to the four corners of Europe, for therein lay the salvation of France." Even the eternally virtuous Roland said to the friend of an English gentleman who was eager for peace, and who undertook to show that France might obtain peace with Prussia and Austria if so inclined—"Peace is out of the question. We have 300,000 men in arms; we must make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats!"* Here again was that logic of fear which was the motive of so many deeds and the groundwork of so much of the revolutionary fabric. And this dread of an armed multitude must have existed and have led to the same decision, of making them march as far as their legs would carry them, if Prussia and Austria had never given refuge to the emigrants, or remonstrated against the acts of violence and encroachment that were committed,—if they had reduced their armies to the peace establishment, and quietly assented to all that France was doing at home and abroad; for the popular masses were armed long before there was any talk

* Mr. Miles. Authentic Correspondence with M. Lebrun, the French minister, and others, to February, 1793, as cited by Massé.

of foreign invasion; they were armed, not to contend with Prussia and Austria, but to put down, destroy, or drive out the aristocrats, by which term was understood every Frenchman that differed in opinion with the majority, and had property and a name. Before the conference at Pilnitz the principle had been adopted of arming the sans-culottes, as the class that was the most interested in the progress of the revolution, and best prepared for the privations and risks of war. Before there was any intimation of foreign interference France was converted into a great drill-ground, and the shock and convulsion which had taken place, the flight of the opulent and luxurious classes, had created a dearth of employment which drove men to the army as their only resource. These legions, after doing the work of their rulers and legislators at home, would have demanded a proportionate reward, and their rulers would have sent them to glean it in the neighbouring countries, in the circles on the Rhine in the rich fields of Belgium and Piedmont and Lombardy. This they would have equally done to save their own throats. Such an army could neither have been reduced nor maintained by any government in France; but, in the national passion for war and conquest, these troops would have been ready at any signal to throw themselves upon their neighbours to obtain not only free quarters, but excitement, fame, and the chances of high promotion, the highest ranks in the army being now not merely open to, but almost exclusively reserved for, men of the lowest conditions. Thus, whatever course the European sovereigns and governments had pursued, there would still have been a European war.

On the 17th of August, 1792, after Louis XVI. had been dethroned and his Swiss Guards butchered the British government recalled their ambassador, but, in his letter of recall, Lord Gower was instructed to take especial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring that his majesty meant to observe the principles of neutrality in everything which regarded the arrangement of the internal government of France. Lord Gower communicated this letter to Lebrun, and that French minister returned an answer to it in the name of the new republican government of France, expressing, indeed, some regret at his recall, but at the same time their great joy at the continuance of the friendly assurances of Great Britain. They did not affect to consider the recall as a violation of neutrality, they left that gloss to be put upon the affair by Mr. Fox and his friends. In ordinary circumstances the recall of an ambassador precedes a declaration of hostilities, but ambassadors had often been recalled without that step being followed by any war, and, in itself, it never amounts to a declaration of hostilities. When hostilities are intended the ambassador takes no leave; but Lord Gower had taken leave in a friendly note. In the present case a recognised government had been overthrown, and no regular government had been substituted for it. No one yet knew what manner of government might

be set up by the plotting Jacobins and Girondists who had made the revolution of the 10th of August, but who had scarcely begun to make the constitution which was to take the place of the one they had all sworn to—no one yet knew whether there might not be a fresh popular insurrection and a new revolution within a month, a week, a day. Lord Gower had been accredited to Louis XVI. as to the person invested by the constitution with the executive power of France, but Louis was now a prisoner in the Temple, and his authority was transferred to a provisional executive council. His lordship's letters of credence were, therefore, no longer valid. For him to remain at Paris it would have been necessary to have sent him new credentials. But to whom could he be accredited?—Not to the executive council, for that was only provisional and temporary, and liable to be changed every hour—not to the National Assembly, for it had pronounced its own dissolution, it had ordered the election of a Convention, and it had decreed that the king was actually dethroned, but that he was only provisionally suspended from his functions until the Convention should meet and decide what was to be done with him. As all authorities, or semblances of authorities (for there was no real one except that of the armed and bloody mob), were at that time merely transitory, as there was nothing that a regular government could recognise, the most prudent and the most moderate step which England could take was to withdraw its ambassador, and wait at least till the new constitution should be determined by the Convention. There was, indeed, an incessant haranguing and writing about the nation, which was said to be distinguishable and recognisable apart from any government it had adopted or might hereafter choose to adopt. But governments can only treat with governments, Lord Gower could not take the sense of the French people by appeal nominal. In the Assembly he saw one party succeeding another, and each pretending that it represented the whole nation. If he had asked the Girondists, they would have told him that *they* were the nation, and their adversaries a mere faction. If he had put the same question to the ultra-Jacobins, he would have been told that *they* were the nation, and the Girondists a faction. Every man in France foresaw that very soon these parties would make a relentless war upon one another, but as yet few persons could be certain which of the two would remain masters of the field. It was even more necessary to be neutral between these two parties than it was to be neutral between France and the Coalition. If the British government had treated with the party now in power, they would have been accused by the succeeding ruling party of having treated with a faction—of having intermeddled unwarrantably in the internal affairs of France. The recall of our ambassador was positively the best and the only means of preserving both neutralities. As Pitt said, in his speech of the 12th of February, the propriety of Lord Gower's recall appeared still more

evident when it was considered that the men who had seized upon the government had been obliged, in the course of a month, to yield to the interests and the views of a different party:—adding, that when any government was overturned, it became a fair question to know how long an interval should intervene till the new powers should be acknowledged; but that, if that change of government was accompanied with the utmost tumult and distraction, with a bloody anarchy, it would be very hard that war should be declared against a nation for not acknowledging the change the very moment the change took place. Before the Convention determined what the new constitution or form of government was to be, they declared war against Great Britain. No complaint was raised by the executive council upon the recall of Lord Gower, or upon any other English topic, until after the Duke of Brunswick had been defeated, and the French troops had commenced their career of conquest. Then murmurs were heard, then decrees intended to produce social insurrection and social war throughout the civilized world were promulgated one after the other, and then, too, more open and flattering countenance was given to those deputations of scoundrels, fools, or madmen that carried over to the foot of the National Convention the congratulations of the English societies and clubs—and then, too, fresh thousands of secret agents and propagandists received their missions to penetrate into every quarter, and to preach the rights of man, and blood, plunder, and anarchy to the poorest classes of society. Gregoire, the priest, called these agents “missionaries,” Camille Jordan called them “apostles of rebellion,” and Chaussard, who declares that London abounded with them at the end of November and beginning of December, 1792, called them “revolution professors.” They were furnished with money for the purpose of bribing and seducing the needy, and paying interpreters and other assistants. According to Brissot himself, the executive council was authorised to take, under the head of army extraordinaries, *unlimited sums for these secret operations*. He also intimates that a great deal of this money was sent over to London, although the greater part of it was embezzled and appropriated by the patriotic executive.* We have seen at the very beginning of the revolution, before either Girondists or Jacobins were heard of, and before any party or any man in France pretended any offence at the hands of the British government, that Lafayette cherished a plan for revolutionizing Ireland. This plan was now taken up with vigour; and, a month or six weeks before the Convention declared war against England, Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, most confidently asserted that the French were sure of Ireland, and that a revolution must take place in England. This conviction was so strong and so universal, that no line of conduct which the British government could have adopted would have pre-

* Brissot & see Commentaries.

vented their declaration of hostilities. In vain did Mr. Miles, as a private friend of Lebrun, assure him that the English people were enthusiastically loyal and attached to their constitution; and that a few political clubs, which were thought so much of in France, were altogether contemptible in England. Certainly there were other subjects of the King of Great Britain and Ireland who laboured with all their might to confirm Lebrun and his colleagues in their mistake. On the 18th of November, the very day before the Convention issued its formal decree that France was ready to assist every nation which was ready to rebel against its own government (a decree which was translated into all the languages and sent to all the countries of Europe), a grand dinner or *fête civique* was celebrated at White's Hotel in Paris. The company was composed of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Frenchmen, with some few republicans from other countries. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other men of some name and consequence in the world, sat down to table, and fraternised with Santerre, Thomas Paine, and other characters of the same notoriety. Among the toasts that were drunk were, “The National Convention of France,” “The Patriotic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, with those men who have contributed to inform and enlighten the people, Priestley, Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, &c.”—“The approaching National Convention of Great Britain and Ireland”—“May Revolutions never be made by halves.” Eight or nine days after the publication of the decree for universal insurrection, deputies from certain British societies appeared at the bar of the National Convention, and signified their intention of adopting the republican form of government now so happily established in France. “We hope,” said the orator of the first of these deputations, “that the troops of liberty will never lay down their arms so long as tyrants and slaves shall continue to exist. Our wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to see the moment of this *grand change*. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments; we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen if the public opinion were consulted there, *as it ought to be*, in a NATIONAL CONVENTION.” In replying to this address, the president of the Convention said, “Citizens of the world, royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudalty; and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which will consume them all. *Worthy republicans*, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival, which you have celebrated in honour of the French revolution, is the prelude to the festival of nations.” The orator of the second of these deputations (it came from the Society for Constitutional Information) used language still more expressive, saying, that, after the example which France had given, revolutions would be rendered easy; and that it would not be extraordinary to see in a short

space of time a National Convention in England. Nearly at the same time deputations or addresses from six or seven other English or Irish societies were presented, and to each of them the French Convention paid the same compliments, and gave the same flattering assurances. It is scarcely surprising that men, so ignorant of all that concerned England, should have been deluded into the belief that these blatant peripatetics spoke the sense, if not of the majority, of a very large portion of the English people.

A moderate member of the Convention moved, on the 24th of December, that the insurrection decree of the 19th of November, which had excited reasonable uneasiness in the British government, should be restricted to those countries with which France was actually at war, but the House rejected the proposal without a debate. Before the end of the year 1792 the executive resolved to send M. Genet as ambassador to the United States of America, in order to engage them to join France in a war against England. His instructions were signed on the 3rd of January, 1793. Nearly at the same moment the garrison of Brest made an attempt to sink a British sloop which was cruising outside the outward harbour. First of all they fired a loaded gun. The sloop hoisted English colours. The batteries hoisted the tricolor flag, and the red flag, over it, as a signal of war, and forthwith they opened a cross-fire from several points upon the sloop which must have been riddled if a fresh breeze had not sprung up. The whole proceeding showed that these republicans, who had changed everything, were determined to pay no respect to the established rules of war. Neither the executive council nor the Convention attempted to offer any excuse or explanation to the British government. They had known all along that they could not possibly attack Holland without provoking the hostility of England, yet as early as the month of November, when Dumouriez was driving the Austrians out of Belgium, he was instructed to follow them into Holland if they attempted to take refuge there. The Austrians did not enter Holland, but the French were determined to enter it all the same. They collected 10 000 Dutch patriots or democrats, men who had either been expelled by the Prussians and the party of the Stadtholder, or who voluntarily stole out of their country to join the French in the hope of being enabled to take their revenge on their own countrymen, and establish a true *sans culotte* republic. The French allowed them pay and provisions, and gave them the name of the Batavian Legion. These precious Dutchmen established a revolutionary committee, which corresponded with their friends of the French or democratic party in the interior of Holland, in order to promote insurrection and facilitate the entrance of the French army. A French agent resided with this Batavian legion, or with its revolutionary committee, and communicated directly with the minister for foreign affairs at Paris. The Belgian patriots had

been converted to the same uses, this was a capital part of the new republican theory of war. After all these preparatory steps had been taken, the executive council, on the 10th of January, sent an order to General Miranda to invade Dutch Flanders and the province of Zealand within twelve days. This secret order was not preceded by any declaration of war, or even by any complaint that the government of the Stadtholder had broken the neutrality which, in common with England, they had engaged to observe. Holland was to be attacked because it was unprepared and almost defenceless—because her *sans-culottes* were ready to give every facility to the enterprise—because the republicans, who had renounced conquest, hungered and thirsted for it beyond all the people of the earth, and because Holland was *rich*. By their operations on the Scheldt they had, indeed, sufficiently discovered their intentions, but the Stadtholder could do nothing by himself, and the British government seemed as yet undetermined as to the course to be pursued. France had guaranteed the treaty which gave the Dutch the sovereignty over the Scheldt, but these modern Frenchmen had declared all old treaties to be waste paper. In declaring, as they did as early as the 16th of November, that the navigation of the Scheldt should be free to all ships of whatsoever size, and whether armed or not, the National Convention had two objects in view, one immediate and the other distant. The immediate object was to send French ships of war up the river to bombard the emperor's citadel of Antwerp, the distant but main object was to convert the mouth of the Scheldt into a station for French ships of war, in order to acquire the naval superiority in the North Sea, which the French flag had never possessed. In fact, all along their north west coast the French had no harbour in which ships of the line could enter, but, if they could obtain this most advantageous post, they could overawe the eastern coast of England, and interrupt a very material part of British commerce. Thus the opening of the Scheldt, instead of being an insufficient cause of war, was cause enough, even if Great Britain had had no other, and there never had been a statesman in this country but would have hazarded a long war rather than submit to see the French hugging our own coasts by the possession not merely of Belgium, but of Holland added to it. As to their more immediate object of sending ships of war to bombard Antwerp, they attained it as early as the 1st of December, when a French frigate, a brig, two gun-boats, and three other armed vessels from Dunkirk entered the Scheldt in defiance of the solemn protest of the States-General and Stadtholder. This was an act of open war; this was not only a declaration, but a commencement of hostilities, which not merely justified, but called for a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain as early as December, 1792.

The diplomatic legation which France sent to London shortly after declaring war against Prussia

and Austria, but a considerable time before the revolution of the 10th of August, was composed of Chauvelin, Talleyrand, Duroverre (the Genevese who had made so many of Mirabeau's discourses), Garat, Gallois (another man of letters), Reinhard (originally a Protestant preacher in Wurtemberg, then teacher and man of letters at Paris), and an ex-priest of the Catholic church, who had been grand vicar to Talleyrand, when Talleyrand was bishop of Autun. Chauvelin was the nominal chief, the letters of credence being made out in his name, but the real chief, for some months, was the high-born, knowing, and witty Talleyrand, who appears to have indulged very frequently in sarcasms and bons-mots against some of his companions.* It was supposed not to have been without design that the revolutionary government had sent over such a literary, writing, printing embassy. It was observed that, as soon as they arrived, they eagerly sought the acquaintance of literary men and opposition journalists. The English public therefore took them for revolution professors or apostles, who came to propagate their system, and make proselytes and disciples. This view of their real functions is borne out by the instructions they received from their government—1. "To embrace every opportunity of assuring the English nation that, notwithstanding the ill humour of its government, the French desired nothing more ardently than to merit the esteem of the English people." 2. To threaten the British government with an appeal to the people. Their reception at court was of course not very cordial. They soon seemed to shun all intercourse with ministers and the friends of ministers, and to seek exclusively the society of Fox, Sheridan, and men of that party. Nothing could well be more indecent, or contrary to the rules which regulate diplomatic intercourse, than this conduct on the part of the Frenchmen. The conduct of the English opposition would merit still harsher language, and, taken in connexion with Fox's behaviour towards the empress of Russia, it looks almost like the adoption of a settled system that the party, besides opposing ministers by national and legal means, should resist and thwart them by foreign means, and by connexions and correspondences with governments that were on the very brink of war with us. Chauvelin, before negotiations really commenced, communicated his secret instructions to an intimate friend of Mr Fox. On one occasion he wrote to his government, "that, though he was not well with the English minister, yet he was perfectly so with Mr Fox, and some other members of opposition, and that it would not be prudent in France to lose the fruit of his labours with these gentlemen, and their subsequent services, for any vague form of diplomatic etiquette." Garat flourished his pen with his

* Garat, one of the vainest and most pragmatical of French litterateurs, projected writing the history of the revolution and seemed to think that it had happened only to give him the opportunity of making a great and useful book. When the bloody affair took place which rendered the theme, Talleyrand said to Dumont, "What do you think Garat saw in the revolution of the 10th of August?—Nothing but a fine page for his history."

usual facility, writing an answer to a manifesto of the government of the Netherlands, in which he justified the French revolution, and set down all the atrocities with which it had been accompanied as nothing but so many unlucky accidents. This view of the case was incessantly presented to Fox and his friends. The public feeling, which would have driven England into a war in spite of any ministry, showed itself in a marked manner, even before the horrors of the 10th of August and the massacres of September. One evening all the members of the embassy, with Dumont, went to Ranelagh, which was then frequented by the most respectable classes of English society. As they entered, there was a murmur of voices, "There is the French embassy!" All eyes were fixed upon them, with a curiosity not mixed with any expression of good will, and presently the crowd fell back on both sides, as if the Frenchmen had the plague upon them, and left them all the promenade to themselves. Soon after, they saw a solitary man traversing that void space—it was the Duke of Orleans, who was shunned by every one with particular care. Dumont separated from the group, and mixed in the crowd, and, as he understood English, he had the opportunity of hearing some not very flattering descriptions of the characters and adventures of his companions. They all of them soon quitted the place—Chauvelin appearing greatly disconcerted, and Talleyrand not seeming affected at all.

When the revolution of the 10th of August happened, Chauvelin's mission was properly at an end, for he had been accredited by Louis XVI., and had been received as the representative of a government which now no longer existed. He was, however, allowed to remain in England in a private capacity. Garat, who had been a conspicuous member of the legation, went back to France to be made minister of justice, and to have the task of announcing sentence of death to the king.* While Chauvelin's powers were thus suspended, both Pitt and Lord Grenville intimated that outward forms should be no hindrance to negotiation, if the French government would only give satisfactory explanations, that it was our desire to avoid a war if possible, and that they, as ministers, would be glad to receive some proof of the same sentiments from the French ministry. These facts were admitted at the time by Brissot himself, who was at the head of the diplomatic committee—the committee which managed all negotiations. At the

* Talleyrand had gone over to Paris a short time before the 10th of August, and was in that capital on that dreadful day. It required all his dexterity and abundant means to obtain a passport from Danton and return to London immediately after the 10th of August. If he had remained in Paris only a few days longer, he would have been enveloped in the destruction of the constitutionalists.—Dumont.

Among the papers produced by Roland, as found in the iron chest were some that were deemed sufficient proof of Talleyrand's having been in correspondence with the unhappy king, so that, if he had escaped death as a constitutionalist in the September massacres, he would have been sent to the guillotine as a traitor by the Extraordinary Tribunal in November or December. Not being able to head the shiftless man the Convention proscribed him and confiscated his property. He sold his library, which he had brought with him to England, and lived very philosophically upon the proceeds. For some time, his residence was a small house on the top of Highgate Hill.

beginning of the month of December, a French agent waited in London upon Mr Miles, who had formed a friendship with Lebrun, and who hoped to turn it to good account in preventing a war between the two countries. This very secret agent assured Mr Miles that he was empowered to demand an audience of Mr Pitt, but that his name must not be mentioned till he had positive assurance that the English minister would receive him. Mr Miles waited upon Pitt, who consented to give an audience to the mysterious stranger, but when the meeting took place he found that he had no authority whatsoever to treat—that he had not even any explanations to offer from the provisory government of France as to the subsisting differences. The secret agent, however, presented another person as having authority to treat, and this other person was the well known Maret, who held some employment about the foreign office at Paris, but who pretended to have come over to England merely on some private business of the Duke of Orleans. Pitt consented to give an audience to Maret, but, to his astonishment, Maret told him that he had no more power to treat, or no more explanations to give than the gentleman he had just seen. The English prime minister was a proud man, little accustomed to tolerate such insulting mockery, yet, according to Mr Miles, and even Maret himself, he kept his temper, and told the Frenchman that, in case he could obtain instructions from Paris, “it would give him great pleasure to treat with him as a confidential person from the French executive council.” Flattered by this reception, Maret immediately dispatched a courier to Paris, in the hope of obtaining instructions to treat with the British government, but the French executive not only refused to send the required instructions, but also ordered Maret to abstain from all further conversation with Mr Pitt, and return immediately to Paris. Maret was at the house of Mr Miles when this dispatch arrived, and he showed it to him. “I read it,” says Miles, “with the more surprise and indignation on finding that Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, had reported to the Convention that Mr Pitt, alarmed (at the prospect of a war with France), had solicited an interview with the *secret agents* of the executive council, but that he (Lebrun) had expressly forbidden them to have any communication with the English minister.” This was too much for the patience of the too sanguine peace-maker, Mr Miles, and he wrote indignantly to Lebrun—“His (Pitt’s) condescension has been attributed, not to frankness, not to the interest which he is believed to feel in the prosperity of his country, not to a principle of sound policy based upon probity and humanity, but to weakness and fear, and a motive still less honourable, which could never have been attributed to him except by men without virtue, who, being destitute of every sentiment of honour, do not believe that those sentiments can exist in others. According to them, it was to cowardice or to per-

fidy that M Maret owed his interview with Mr. Pitt. Great God! what fear could Mr Pitt feel? One sole fear perhaps—that of being *assassinated*? And what had he to gain by perfidy?”* Mr. Miles, however, would not yet give up all hope; and he proposed to Lebrun that M. Noel, who was then in London, and who was thought to be inclined to pacific measures, should be authorised to confer with the English minister, but Lebrun and his executive again refused. As for Chauvelin, Mr Miles, who knew him well, asserts that he was altogether hostilely inclined, that he had made no scruple to declare that, if he was not received again at St James’s, the height of his ambition would be to leave this country with a declaration of war, that, if a pretext for a quarrel between the two countries had been purposely sought, France could not have selected a better man for the purpose than Chauvelin. If we had sent over a minister to Paris, either now or at any other moment between the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick and the declaration of war against us, the measure would have been attributed solely to our weakness and our fear, and nothing could have come of it except some new complication of insolence and intrigue.

On the 27th of December, when the storm was thickening on every side, and when the British parliament had been assembled a fortnight, Chauvelin sent a note to Lord Grenville, still styling himself minister plenipotentiary of France. The sole intention of this note was to declare, in diplomatic form, the solemn lie, or congeries of lies, that France had ever been, and still was, anxious to remain at peace with England, that the French republic and people scorned the idea of exciting disturbances or promoting insurrections in any neutral or friendly country, that France had no intention of attacking Holland, so long as that power remained neutral, and that the question of the opening of the Scheldt—“a question irrevocably decided by reason and by justice, and of small importance in itself”—could only be a pretext, and not a real cause, for going to war. Chauvelin demanded an immediate answer in writing, and terminated his own note by telling Lord Grenville that the generous and free people of England could not long consent to betray their own interests by serving as an auxiliary and a reinforcement to a tyrannical coalition. Lord Grenville, on the 31st of December, replied, that M. Chauvelin could not be ignorant that, since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the king had thought proper to suspend all official communication with France, that he had been no otherwise accredited than in the name of his most Christian majesty, that the proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority in France would be a new question, which, whenever it should occur, the king would have a right to decide according to the interests of his subjects, his own dignity, and

* Miles, *Authentic Correspondence* as cited by Marsh in *History of Politics of Great Britain and France from the time of the Conference at Pilnitz*.

the regard which he owed to his allies and to the general system of Europe; that he must therefore inform him, in express terms, that he acknowledged him in no other public character than that of minister from his most Christian majesty, and that consequently he could not be admitted to treat with the king's ministers in the quality and under the form he had assumed in his note. All this was perfectly regular, and was justified and rendered necessary by precisely the same reasons which necessitated the recall of Lord Gower from Paris. If England had adopted any other course, she would have thrown herself into the wild vortex of revolutionism. To have acknowledged the French republic at this moment, when it had done what it had done, and when it had fully determined to declare war against Great Britain, would have been an act of insanity. But the British Government did not refuse that recognition: it left the question open. Lord Grenville, moreover, though treating Chauvelin only as a private or unaccredited individual, went into a calm discussion of the explanations he had pretended to offer, showing that it was not without reason that the French Convention and people were suspected of promoting insurrection in other countries; that the language used about not attacking Holland was the same which Chauvelin had used in the month of June last, since which time France had openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the Dutch republic in sending ships of war up the Scheldt, &c; and that, at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, Chauvelin was renewing his correspondence, he announced that France fully intended to maintain these open and injurious aggressions. With respect to the opening of the Scheldt, his lordship said, "If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them: and that not only those principles and those consequences will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force. France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate the law to all Europe. England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pre-

tence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." His lordship called all Europe to witness the justice and moderation which the British government had observed. With regard to the insolent threat with which Chauvelin had concluded his last note, his lordship said he had no answer to give. Chauvelin transmitted the letter to Paris. On the 7th of January the "Provisory Executive Council of the French Republic" sent over their answer to it to be presented by Chauvelin, although they had furnished him with no letters of credence, but continued, in defiance of all diplomatic rule or law, to maintain that his former credentials were not invalidated. This executive council of shuffling Girondists denied a great deal, but ceded nothing: they would not give up the navigation of the Scheldt, saying that it was extremely important to the Belgians, of trivial import to Holland, and indifferent to England; that the treaty which closed the Scheldt was concluded *without the participation of the Belgians*; that France was authorised to break those stipulations; that the *Jus Publicum* could be nothing but the application of the principles of the general rights of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations are placed with regard to each other, inasmuch that every particular treaty which offended such principles could only be regarded as the work of violence, &c. They gave no pledge or promise that they would not attack Holland; and by the time their letter reached London they had penned their order to General Miranda to invade Dutch Flanders and Zealand within twelve days. They impudently denied that France was aiming at conquest, or at arming the subjects of states against their governments; and at that moment they had in the slips the Batavian legion of 10,000 rebellious Dutchmen, and they had annexed Savoy, gained possession of Nice, of all the Netherlands, &c. This note, which was in fact their ultimatum, declared that though they were unwilling to engage in a war with England, they knew that such a war would suit their *interests* better than peace; and that, if the British government did not deem these explanations sufficient, they would prepare for war. Before their letter came to hand Chauvelin, still styling himself minister plenipotentiary, wrote to Lord Grenville to complain of

the Alien bill, then under discussion in parliament, as a shameful infringement of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in 1786 between France and England. He cited the fourth article of that treaty, wherein it was agreed that it should be allowable for subjects and inhabitants of the respective states to come and go freely without any permission or passport, general or special, either by land or sea, and to sojourn or move from place to place in either country without hindrance, but with a reciprocity of all sorts of kindness, &c. If it had suited Lord Grenville, he might have told Chauvelin that the French themselves had never observed this part of the treaty, and that for two years and more no Englishman had been free to travel in France without passport, or to reside there without being subjected to continual annoyance by the municipal police, unless, indeed, he came from some corresponding society and enjoyed the protection of the Jacobins. But his lordship contented himself with sending back Chauvelin's letter and telling him that it was totally inadmissible, as he assumed in it a character which did not belong to him. These notes passed on the 7th of January. To the ultimatum of his government, which Chauvelin presented on the 13th, he received an extra-official answer from Lord Grenville on the 18th. His lordship said that under the form of extra-official communication he thought he might yet be permitted to tell him, "not in a tone of haughtiness, but of firmness," that the explanations were not considered as sufficient—that, as France had made such extensive preparations, England must continue her preparations in order to protect "the safety, tranquillity, and rights of this country, as well as to guarantee those of our allies, and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandisement, dangerous at all times to the rest of Europe, but which become still more so, being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order."* It was not until this moment that the British cabinet was desired to accept of letters of credence for M. Chauvelin in the name of the Provisional Executive Council—that is to say, Chauvelin did not ask to be admitted to a condition in which he could treat, until all chance of treaty was over, and then his request was entirely inadmissible, as a compliance with it would have included a recognition of the French republic—a republic which had declared, five weeks before, that it acknowledged no kingly government—a republic which had proclaimed its fixed design of expelling all kings whatever—a wild democracy which had already drawn all the sword out of the scabbard except the point of it, which was to be

directed against the vitals of England. In a *note* to Lord Grenville he now desired a personal interview, and affected to speak as if he himself might be affected by the Alien bill and thrown into a prison. He said he had received fresh orders to insist upon a speedy and definitive answer; but he offered no concession, no explanation; and, for the rest, the definitive answer of the British government was contained in Lord Grenville's extra-official communication of the 18th. His lordship, on the 20th, informed him that his majesty did not think proper, under present circumstances, to receive his letters of credence; that an interview could not be granted; and that he must consider himself not as a public minister properly acknowledged, but as a private individual amongst the general mass of foreigners resident in England. And four days after, on the 24th of January—the news of the execution of Louis XVI. having arrived in the interval—Chauvelin received a passport for himself and his suite, with an order to quit this kingdom within the term of eight days. This intelligence was announced to the Convention on the 30th of January with expressions of joy and exultation, and certainly without any surprise; for every man there was eager for a declaration of hostilities, and, on the 23rd of January, the day before Lord Grenville gave his notice and passport, the executive council had actually recalled Chauvelin.* On the 31st letters were presented from the Jacobins of Liege, demanding that their country might be permanently incorporated with France; similar letters were presented from the Jacobins of Nice (it was easy for the French commissaries to obtain such letters from some portion of the population of every country into which their armies penetrated); and forthwith the cédant county of Nice was formally decreed to be a part of the republic, a department of France, never to be alienated therefrom, as the republic was indivisible. Even in this way did the French corroborate the bold assertions of Fox and his friends, that they were not aiming at conquests or permanent occupations, but were merely keeping the countries they overran as security for indemnities at the time of peace. On the same day (the 31st) Danton demanded that, in compliance with the unanimous wish of the sovereign people of that country, the whole of Belgium should be decreed to be an integral part of the French republic. On the same day, also, letters of marque were granted to privateers to cruise against the English.

Under the influence of Dumouriez it had, however, been secretly determined before this to amuse England a little longer with some feigned attempts at negotiation; and on the 26th of January M. Maret had been again sent across the Channel to ask Mr. Pitt if he would treat with General Dumouriez. On the road between Dover and London, Maret, who evidently was not admitted into the whole secret, met Chauvelin returning to Paris.

* At the same time Mr. Miles, who was in communication with Pitt and other members of the government, wrote to Maret, who was now become chief of the department for foreign affairs, that it was impossible for the British government to remain tranquil, unless the executive council would consent to comply with the conditions respecting the Scheldt, the neutrality of Holland, the appropriation of Avevy, &c.; but that, if the executive council would only comply with these, and cease their endeavours to promote insurrection, there would certainly be no war on the part of Great Britain.

* Letter from Dumouriez to General Miranda, in Correspondence de Miranda.

and, fancying he himself might yet be the means of preventing the war, he wrote to his employers in very pressing terms for fresh instructions, intimating that he would not request an interview with the English minister until he had received some fresh instructions. Maret remained eight days in London, but no instructions came for him. At the end of that time, or on the 4th of February, the declaration of war, which had been made by the Convention on the 1st, was known in London, leaving nothing for Maret to do but to get back to France as quickly as possible. So much truth is there in the harangues of the parliamentary opposition and in the narratives of party writers, who asserted at the time, and continued to assert long after, that Maret had come with full powers to treat and to offer extensive concessions and securities, and so perfectly true was the declaration of Pitt in the House of Commons that M. Maret, during his whole stay in London, had proposed to his majesty's ministers no question of state whatever. The real motive of Dumouriez in sending Maret (and if the executive council had been less proud and confident of success, they would have worked out his scheme, and have endeavoured to enable Maret to engage the English government in some long-winded discussion) arose out of that general's discovery that the conquest of Holland presented more difficulties than he had contemplated, and that Miranda, whom he had ordered to begin the attack before the 22nd of January, was not in a condition to move so soon. Therefore, on the same day that Maret was dispatched for London, de Mauld, who had been French ambassador at the Hague, whence he had only lately returned, was hurried off to the Hague again with a letter from Dumouriez to Lord Auckland, the British ambassador, intimating that he (Dumouriez) would be very happy if an opportunity presented itself of conferring with his lordship on the frontiers of Holland, "because such conference might be beneficial to mankind in general, and to France and England in particular." De Mauld arrived at the Hague without any interruption from the Dutch authorities, as he pretended to have come merely to settle some private affairs. Lord Auckland consulted the Grand Pensionary, Van Spiegel, and, after some deliberation, both these ministers consented to confer with Dumouriez. To make sure of his dispatches being received, Lord Auckland sent off three successive packet-boats to England, and seemed to cling to the hope that hostilities might yet be obviated. Dumouriez, quitting Paris in the last days of January, before the Convention issued the declaration of war, and not being informed by the Girondist ministers, who all feared and suspected him, of their fixed determination to issue that declaration on the 1st of February, went down to Dunkirk, and thence proceeded to Antwerp, examining the country and the French army on his way, and finding everything in confusion, everything in a condition that boded ill for the success of his next campaign, unless he could gain

time to remedy the disorder. It was the 2nd of February when he arrived at Antwerp. It was agreed that, as soon as Lord Auckland could receive his instructions from his court, conferences should be opened at Moerdyk on board a yacht belonging to the Prince of Orange, which was ordered to be fitted up for Dumouriez's reception. Though they could scarcely have been blind to the real motives of Dumouriez, the British government, to avoid the reproach which would have resulted from a refusal, immediately consented to the hollow negotiation, and authorised Lord Auckland to treat with the French general. On the other side, it was on the very day that the overture was made to Lord Auckland at the Hague by de Mauld that the French executive issued the order to lay an embargo on all British vessels in the French ports. On the receipt of his instructions from London, Lord Auckland dispatched a courier to Dumouriez, who was still at Antwerp, and proposed the 10th of February for the day of holding the first conference. But now Dumouriez knew that the Convention had declared war on the 1st, and this rendered further thoughts of negotiation impracticable. Two capital and evident consequences attended this manœuvre of the French Proteus and its failure: the one was, that it showed a wilfulness on the part of the English government to negotiate even down to the last moment, the other, which followed on the failure of the scheme for delay, was a series of failures and defeats on the side of Dumouriez, who, instead of taking Holland in the ensuing campaign, lost nearly the whole of Belgium, and saw the war carried once more to the frontiers of France.

The declaration of war was the unanimous vote of the National Convention. Although the decree was drawn up by the hated Girondists, and presented by Brissot, the personal and deadly enemy of Robespierre and Danton, both those Jacobin chiefs and all the Mountain enthusiastically concurred in it, Ducos seconded it, not a man of any party opposed it, not a single man in the House offered a remonstrance or amendment, or so much as a remark on the decree—all cried impatiently, "Vote! Vote!" and it was put to the vote and carried instantly, with a unanimity which had hardly ever been seen before on any subject, and which was never seen again in that Assembly. When it was carried, they voted an address or appeal to the *people* of Great Britain, and the creation of assignats for 800,000,000 of livres. Several days before they had ordered a levy of 300,000 men, and had boasted (and with no vain or lying boast) that in a few weeks half a million of men would be ready to march.

Such is the brief sketch of the diplomacy which preceded the breaking out of this most memorable of wars, and the reader may judge from it whether it was possible for England to have kept out of the contest, or to have treated with a set of anarchists who were determined upon the war from the beginning. But, without any reference to these

negotiations, which on the side of the French were never for one moment honest and earnest, the whole history of the revolution, from the meeting of the States General in 1789 till the massacres in September, 1792, and the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, is nothing but one continuous proof that there could be no friendship, no peace with such a country—that there was less to lose by the worst of wars than by an intercourse with them—that the virulent nature of their moral disease required a quarantine, not of forty days, but of forty years.

The remaining business of the session in the British parliament was not very interesting, and the attention of the people seemed absorbed by the war, which at the commencement was excessively popular. Mr R. Smith chose this inauspicious moment for presenting a petition from the town of Nottingham praying for parliamentary reform. The House refused to receive it by a majority of nearly five to one. Towards the close of the session a number of petitions, having the same object, were presented from various parts of the country, but, for the most part, bearing few signatures. And Mr Grey moved that they should all be referred to a committee. This motion was rejected by 282 against 41, many members who had formerly been warm parliamentary reformers now voting on the side of ministers, and declaring their dread of any innovation, and their detestation of the language in which some of the petitions were drawn up. Michael Angelo Taylor made a ridiculous motion about the unconstitutional tendency of military barracks, and the great danger to liberty in having a standing army in England at any season or under any circumstances. He proposed a resolution declaring it to be the opinion of the House that the building of barracks was contrary to the true principles of our constitution, and he was supported in his nonsense by Fox, Mr Courtenay, and others of that party. The motion however, was negatived by the order of the day being carried without a division. On the 25th of February Dundas presented an elaborate and able statement of the situation of affairs in British India, showing a great increase of trade and revenue notwithstanding the costly war with Tippoo Sultan. The opposition made but a faint attempt to cloud the brightness of this prospect. A little later in the session (on the 23rd of April), the East India Company having petitioned in the usual form for the renewal of their charter, Dundas gave a spirited sketch of our trade and possessions in the East, and of the system under which they had been governed by the Company, and, of late years, by the Company and the Board of Control. He represented that the administration of Indian affairs, being good and sound, ought to be left as it was, more particularly as the natives of India were by nature averse to any sudden change, and as able men were not at all agreed as to what the change ought to be. Some years ago Mr Hastings, Mr. Barwell, Sir John Clavering, Mr. Francis,

Colonel Monson, Sir William Chambers, and Sir Elijah Impey were consulted, as able men, well acquainted with the country. "If," said Dundas, "I had found that so many able men had agreed in opinion, it would have been an inducement to build up a new system, but from their differences of opinion I can only draw this conclusion, that it is safer to rest on the present system, which experience has rendered practicable, than to entrust myself to theories, about which ingenious and informed men have not agreed." Francis and Fox opposed the bill, but it was carried, without any division, on the 24th of May, and the Company's charter was consequently renewed. Various motions were made for proceeding in the business of abolishing or further regulating the African Slave Trade, but they were all defeated. On the 4th of March Sheridan moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the truth of the reports of sedition in the country, his intention being, of course, to prove that no sedition existed, or had existed, or was to be apprehended. He went off into a florid harangue about parliamentary reform, and declared that government and its agents had propagated a false alarm in order to divert public attention from that important question. He observed, that early in the session the attorney-general had said that he had two hundred sedition cases to bring forward for prosecution, yet very few had been brought forward, and they had consisted simply of the crime of selling Mr Paine's book. Part of his speech was very querulous; he complained again of the Loyal Association of the Crown and Anchor tavern, he complained of a sermon preached by the Bishop of St David's before the House of Lords, and he lamented that so many noblemen and gentlemen should recently have withdrawn their names from the Whig club. Windham asserted his belief, from his own knowledge and observation, that there existed alarming discontents among some portions of the community, and that these discontents were actively propagated by seditious publications. The debate was continued with great heat by Fox and Burke, but the motion was negatived without a division, as every division now exhibited the excessive weakness of the Foxites.

On the 6th of March some lamentable evidence was given of the weak and ineffectual manner in which ministers intended to begin the great struggle on the Continent. Pitt acquainted the House, in the form of a royal message, that his majesty had engaged a body of his Hanoverian troops to assist his allies the States-General, and on the 11th, the House being formed into a committee of supply, the minister made a statement of ways and means, making it appear that a loan of four millions and a half, and an issue of four millions of exchequer bills, would, in addition to the ordinary revenue, carry him through the year. Resolutions were passed for the loan and for the exchequer bills. On the 15th of March the attorney-general introduced a bill for preventing all traitorous

correspondence with the king's enemies during the war. Its provisions went to prohibit, under the penalty of high treason, all persons from supplying the French government or armies with arms, military stores, provisions, bullion, or woollen cloths; also, under minor penalties, from purchasing lands in France, or property in the funds of that country; from going from this country to France without a licence under the great seal, and from insuring vessels either proceeding from or going to France. While the bill was before the House, an amendment was moved and carried by the solicitor-general to confine its operation to persons actually residing in Great Britain. The clause was also struck out which prevented British subjects from purchasing in the funds of France—a speculation not likely to occur very soon, considering the nature of the revolutionary system of finance. Fox opposed the bill in all its stages, declaring it to be more unjust in its principle, more inadequate in its provisions, and more tyrannical in its effect, than any bill that had ever passed through the House of Commons; that it was such an extension of the terrible laws of treason that honest traders and others might find themselves involved in its penalties without ever having had any treasonable intention. Burke, though he did not approve entirely of the construction of the bill, defended it with passionate warmth.* There must, he said, be a peace police and a war police—the necessities of war calling for an increase of the prerogative of the crown in progressive proportion to the difficulties that occurred in it. The general matter of the bill harmonised with the general principles of the constitution, and was justified by the example of our ancestors. The juridical power of punishing as traitors those who aided and comforted the king's enemies could be traced to Edward III., and even farther. King William III., when engaged in the struggle with Louis XIV., had had recourse to a bill of this kind, and so had Queen Anne. Indeed, the statute of Anne was much more severe: it had an energy and harshness in it far greater than the present, although it was made in the very session that the queen received the news of the victory of Blenheim, and although the Houses of Parliament were then full of Whigs. There were surely occasions on which governments must adopt such precautions, or perish? What was the particular occasion that governed the present case? France was endeavouring, under the specious pretext of an enlarged benevolence, to sow the seeds of enmity among the nations, to destroy all local at-

tachments in the people, to disserve the people from their rulers. "Let any one," said he, "read the proceedings of that mother of mischief, the Revolution Society, and be convinced!" He conceived it was the duty of the House to concentrate and fortify the country: he conceived that it was their duty to keep their subjects at home, and prevent an adulterous communication with the French. They ought not to enable France to carry on war out of resources drawn from the bowels of Great Britain, or to allow Englishmen to fight against their own country, and make contracts to its ruin. "Let us not," said he, "sacrifice everything—the love of our country, our honour, our virtue, our religion, our security—to mere trade and traffic: let us not estimate these high things by the scale of pecuniary or commercial reckoning. The nation that goes on that calculation destroys itself!" He concluded by declaring that all he desired was that England would be true to itself, and carry on no intercourse with the outcasts of mankind. As the Foxites pressed their resistance to a division on the third reading, the House divided, when the bill was supported by 154 against 53. It was opposed in the Lords by some of Fox's friends, but was carried through that House also, after a few trifling alterations.

Towards the end of April, when the French army had been foiled in its attack on Holland, and had been repeatedly defeated, with terrible losses, in Belgium, a curious overture was made by Lebrun for opening negotiations with England. On the 26th of April, one Mr. John Salter, a notary-public of Poplar, delivered to Lord Grenville two notes from the French minister for foreign affairs, bearing the date of the 2nd of April. In the first of these notes, Lebrun merely expressed how desirous the French republic was of terminating all its differences with Great Britain; and requested a passport and safe conduct for a person entrusted with full powers to treat. In the second note, which was only to be shown in case Lord Grenville consented to read the first, Lebrun said that M. Maret was the person that would be sent over. Some time after these notes were presented by the notary-public of Poplar, a declaration was made by a Mr. James Mathews, living at Biggin House, Surrey, that the notes to Lord Grenville were perfectly authentic, and had been signed by M. Lebrun in the presence of him, the said James Mathews; that he had brought them over, had delivered them to the said John Salter, &c. Having been so frequently deceived by Lebrun, who was known to be both rash and faithless, it was not surprising that Lord Grenville should pay no attention to notes which had been sent through such a ridiculous channel. Besides, there was no possibility of doubting that the only object of Lebrun's notes was to gain time, in order that France might repair her recent failures. But there was still other ground for treating with contempt any overture from the French executive at this moment. Lebrun, his colleagues in office, and all the Girondist party,

* Burke considered Fox's opposition to the bill as unwarrantable and dangerous in the highest degree. Writing some years after the debate, he says, "In the same manner, and with the same heat, he opposed a bill which though awkward and artificial in its construction, was wise and right in its principle, and was presented in the best time, and absolutely necessary at that juncture. I mean the Traitorous Correspondence Bill. By these means the enemy rendered infinitely dangerous by the links of real faction and pretended commerce, would have been, had Mr. Fox succeeded, enabled to carry on the war against us by our own resources. For this purpose, that enemy would have had his agents and traitors in the midst of us."—*Letter to the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Ministry.*

were falling under the attacks of Robespierre and the Mountain, which commenced on the 10th of April, and ended in a complete victory on the 2nd of June. By the 22nd of June, a decree of accusation and arrest was issued against Lebrun himself; and he became a fugitive and an outcast, whose turnings and windings were all to end under the guillotine.

An awkward crisis in the money-market, and great embarrassments in trade, through a deficiency in the circulating medium, and a difficulty in obtaining discounts for commercial bills, had induced the chancellor of the exchequer to move on the 25th of April for a select committee to take the whole matter into consideration. Upon the report of this committee, who represented that serious evils were likely to happen if some extraordinary means were not speedily adopted to restore credit and circulation, Pitt, on the 30th of April, moved that there should be an issue of exchequer bills to the amount of five millions, to be placed in the hands of commissioners, to be by them advanced, under certain regulations, to those who should apply for such assistance, and should give proper security for the repayment at limited dates. This was agreed to after some discussion; and the commissioners were named who were to carry out the whole plan.* Manufactured goods were to be accepted as proper security, and the places where these goods were to be deposited were London, Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Litch.

Some violent debates took place in both Houses on a memorial presented to the States-General by the British and Imperial ministers at the Hague on the 5th of April. In this memorial Lord Auckland and Count Stahrenberg called upon their high mightinesses to prevent any of the French regicides from finding an asylum in their states in Europe or in any of their colonies. The language used was perhaps too warm and too much like the habitual language of the French Convention; but otherwise there was nothing very censurable or serious; and, when Earl Stanhope moved, not only that Lord Auckland should be recalled, but that he should be impeached for putting his signature to such a paper, he only confirmed the prevalent opinion about the peculiar state of his intellect. With better effect, Sheridan, who led the attack in the Commons, held up to detestation the conduct of the Empress of Russia and of two of our allies, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia, in the new partition of Poland which they had just completed. He declared that no robbery had been committed by the most desperate of the French, that no crimes had been perpetrated in France that exceeded in infamy the injustice and tyranny of those sovereigns: and Sheridan's opinion was assuredly the opinion of

a large part of the world. It struck good men with despair to see a rivalry in guilt between established governments and champions of order, and the mad democrats and anarchists of the day. Sheridan, who was supported by Fox, divided the House, and saw his motion for an address to the throne on Lord Auckland's conduct negatived by 211 against 36. In the Upper House Lord Grenville made a motion for approving the conduct of Lord Auckland, and this was carried without a division. The transient success of the arms of the Coalition in the Netherlands excited and elated the friends of ministers, and drew from them some unwise menaces against all those members of the Convention who had voted the death of Louis XVI.; but no serious effect is to be attributed to these menaces; matters in France would have gone on even as they went if these threats against the regicides had never been used—at most they were but as a flask of oil poured into a raging volcano.

"After it had been generally supposed," says Burke, "that all public business was over for the session, and that Mr. Fox had exhausted all the modes of pressing his French scheme, he thought proper to take a step beyond every expectation, and which demonstrated his wonderful eagerness and perseverance in his cause, as well as the nature and true character of the cause itself. This step was taken by Mr. Fox immediately after his giving his assent to the grant of supply voted to him by Mr. Seijeant Adair and a committee of gentlemen, who assumed to themselves to act in the name of the public. In the instrument of his acceptance of this grant Mr. Fox took occasion to assure them that he would always persevere in the same conduct which had procured to him so honourable a mark of the public approbation. He was as good as his word." An address to the people of Norwich against the war had been drawn up by Mr. Gurney, a banker of that town, and was industriously circulated by him and his friends who put their names to it. In this paper Mr. Fox was applauded for his conduct throughout the present session, and requested, before the prorogation, to make a motion for an immediate peace with France. "Mr. Fox," continues Burke, "did not revoke to this suit: he readily and thankfully undertook the task assigned to him. Not content, however, with merely falling in with their wishes, he proposed a task on his part to the gentlemen of Norwich, which was, *that they should move the people without doors to petition against the war*. He said, that without such assistance little good could be expected from anything he might attempt within the walls of the House of Commons. In the meantime, to animate his Norwich friends in their endeavours to besiege parliament, he snatched the first opportunity to give notice of a motion, which he very soon after made, namely, to address the crown to make peace with France. The address was so worded as to co-operate with the handbill in bringing forward matter calculated to inflame the manufacturers throughout the king-

* The commissioners were Lord Sheffield, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Chawell, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Alderman Anderson, Mr. B. Smith, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. T. Roddington, Mr. Manning, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Baring, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Forster, Mr. Darrel, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. G. Innes, Mr. Harman, and Mr. Brodgen.

dom " On Monday, the 17th of June, only four days before the prorogation, Fox moved an address to the throne, the substance of which was, that, having obtained the only avowed object of the war (the evacuation of Holland by the French), we ought to conclude an instant peace. In support of his motion he declaimed in his most passionate and eloquent manner against the partitioners of Poland and against every power in alliance with us. "In the *moral* forum," says Burke, "some of these powers certainly deserved all the ill he said of them, but the *political* effect aimed at evidently was to turn our indignation from France, with whom we were at war, upon Russia, or Prussia, or Austria, or Sardinia, or all of them together. He knew that we could not effectually do *without* them, and it was his resolution that we *should* not act *with* them."

Mr Fox could not be ignorant of the mistaken basis upon which his motion was grounded. He was not ignorant that, though the attempt of Dumouriez upon Holland (so very near succeeding) and the navigation of the Scheldt (a part of the same piece) were among the immediate causes, they were by no means the only causes alleged for parliament's taking that offence at the proceedings of France, for which the Jacobins were so prompt in declaring war upon this kingdom. Other full as weighty causes had been alleged they were—1 The general overbearing and desperate ambition of the Jacobin faction, 2 Their actual attacks on every nation in Europe, 3 Their usurpation of territories in the Germanic empire, with the governments of which they had no pretence of quarrel, 4 Their perpetual and irrevocable consolidation with their own dominions of every territory of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Italy, of which they got a temporary possession, 5 The mischiefs attending the prevalence of their system, which would make the success of their ambitious designs a new and peculiar species of calamity in the world, 6 Their formal public decrees, particularly those of the 19th of November, and 15th and 25th of December, 7 Their notorious attempts to undermine the constitution of this country, 8 Their public reception of deputations of traitors for that direct purpose, 9 Their murder of their sovereign, declared by most of the members of the Convention who spoke with their vote (without a disavowal from any), to be perpetrated as an example to *all* kings, and a precedent for *all* subjects to follow. All these, and not the Scheldt alone, or the invasion of Holland, were urged by the minister and by Mr Windham, by myself, and by others who spoke in those debates, as causes for bringing France to a sense of her wrong in the war which she declared against us. Mr Fox well knew that not one man argued for the necessity of a vigorous resistance to France, who did not state the war as being for the very existence of the social order here and in every part of Europe—who did not state his opinion that this was not at all a foreign

war of empire, but as much for our liberties, properties, laws, and religion, and even more so, than any we had ever been engaged in.* In the debate on Fox's present motion, Windham acknowledged that, so far as the objects of the war regarded Holland and Flanders, his statement was fair enough, but he added that, with respect to the alleged disavowal of any interference on our part as to the internal government of France, he had not displayed an equal precision. There had, indeed, been a disavowal of any intention on our part to interfere for the purpose of establishing in France any particular form of government, whether monarchical, democratic, or despotic, but it was an avowed purpose of the war to endeavour to bring about the establishment of such a government in that country as we might with safety treat with, we were to prosecute the war till we could make peace with safety. Burke said that Fox's motion involved this serious question—whether we should make war with all the powers of Europe, in order to make peace with France? "And with whom," continued he, "can we now treat in France? M. Lebrun, with whom we were so lately called on to treat, is in a goal. Claviere, another minister, is nowhere to be found. Or shall we treat with M. Egalité, who is now in the dungeon of Marseilles? And what are the principles upon which this negotiation is to be carried on? Brissot himself has told us what the French think on this subject. In the report of a committee, upon the subject of a treaty with Geneva, Brissot has affirmed 'that treaties are useless, and cannot bind the people, who are to be united by principles alone, and that, therefore, to make treaties with any other sovereign power is disgraceful to a free people.'" Burke said it was no new notion to interfere with a country that made itself a dangerous nuisance to all its neighbours. Vattel had laid it down as a part of the law of nations, "that, if one country adopt principles maleficent to all government and order, such a country is to be opposed from principles of common safety." This maleficent spirit existed in France, and what was to keep the effects of it from England? War, and nothing but war. Burke concluded by saying that, until we could find that security in the principles and practices of the French which could alone make peace permanent, he would never agree to prostrate the throne of Great Britain at the foot of any National Convention or Jacobin Club whatever. Pitt's speech on the same occasion was uncommonly powerful and convincing. He asked Fox whether he would enter into negotiations with Marat, for that monster and his party were now the lords of the ascendant—were now the arbiters and rulers of France. "But," continued Pitt, "it is not merely the character of Marat, with whom we would now have to treat, that I object, it is not to the horror of those crimes which have stained their legislators—crimes in every stage rising above another in enormity—but I object to

* Letter to the Duke of Portland

the consequences of that character, and to the effect of those crimes. They are such as render a negotiation useless, and must entirely deprive of stability any peace which could be concluded in such circumstances. Where is our security for the performance of a treaty, where we have neither the good faith of a nation, nor the responsibility of a monarch? The moment that the mob of Paris comes under the influence of a new leader, mature deliberations are reversed, the most solemn engagements are retracted, or free will is altogether controlled by force. In every one of the stages of their repeated revolutions we have said, 'Now we have seen the worst, the measure of iniquity is complete, we shall no longer be shocked by added crimes and increasing enormities.' The next mail gave us reason to reproach ourselves with our credulity, and, by presenting us with fresh crimes and enormities still more dreadful, excited impressions of new astonishment and accumulated horror. All the crimes which disgrace history [at this time the Reign of Terror had begun] have occurred in one country, in a space so short, and with circumstances so aggravated, as out-run thought and exceed imagination." Fox replied, and divided the House, when his motion was negatived by 167 against 47. On the 21st of June the king prorogued parliament.

We pass to the seat of war. On the 17th of February Dumouriez moved from Antwerp, and attacked the Dutch town of Breda, which capitulated immediately. On the 26th Klundert surrendered upon summons, and on the 4th of March Gertruidenburg capitulated, after a short and slight bombardment. The Dutch garrisons behaved in a manner which proved that they were disaffected, or infected by the new doctrines of the Rights of Man, and the proselitism of their countrymen of the Batavian legion. They made little more than a show of resistance, and, after capitulating, a great many of them joined the French or the Batavian legion. Dumouriez's plan was to penetrate rapidly into the heart of the United Provinces, where he expected to be joined by Miranda, his second in command, whom he had sent to the right to reduce the important town of Maastricht, in the Maes or Meuse. Without counting his Dutch partisans, he had between 20,000 and 30,000 men, but his army was badly provided, because all parties in the Convention suspected him, and because the republican commissaries sent to supply clothes, provisions, &c. were the greatest and most barfaced thieves that had been seen in modern days. They had sent the men shoes soled with wood or with pasteboard, having a thin covering of leather, and they kept back not only clothing, but ball-cartridge. The shifty Dumouriez might, however, have made up all these and other deficiencies in the country if he had been allowed to advance, but at the fortress of Williamstadt, which commanded the passage of an arm of the sea called Bies Bosch, he was brought to a pause. Williamstadt was occupied by a brave old

Dutch general, Count Botzlaer, with some Dutch troops that were not jacobinized, and by a strong detachment of the English guards, who had just arrived. Moreover, there was a small squadron of gun-boats on the Bies Bosch, which had been fitted out by Lord Auckland at the expense of Great Britain, and this flotilla, manned by British seamen taken from our merchant-ships in the Dutch ports, and ably commanded by Captain Berkeley, not only presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of that water, but greatly annoyed Dumouriez's troops as they prepared for the siege of Williamstadt. And at the same time a small squadron of ships, which had been sent by England for the defence of the province of Zealand a short time before war was declared, but not before Dumouriez's intention was known, being united with a force equipped by the States-General, kept in check a French flotilla at Dunkirk, and another, composed of gun boats and a corvette, at Antwerp, so that the French general was deprived of the necessary and essential co-operation of these naval forces. While Dumouriez was thus brought to a stand on the wrong side of the Bies Bosch, Miranda, who was at Maastricht, and Miazinski, who was at Aix-la-Chapelle to defend the passage of the river Roer and cover Liege, were both defeated and compelled to give ground. On the last day of February the reinforced Austrian army, commanded by General Clairfait, passed the Roer under cover of night, attacked Miazinski by surprise, and defeated him, taking some hundreds of prisoners, twelve pieces of artillery, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest, and leaving about a thousand French killed on the field of battle. On the following day the Archduke Albert, with a portion of the Austrian army, carried several French batteries, and took nine pieces of artillery. On the 8th of March the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, with the Austrian van, gained a complete victory over Miazinski's main body in front of Aix-la-Chapelle, drove the French entirely out of that town, and followed them almost to Liege, inflicting on them a loss estimated at 4000 killed and wounded, and 1000 prisoners, and taking from them twenty pieces of cannon. And on the same day Prince Frederick of Brunswick, with a detachment of the Prussian army, gained some important advantages near Ruremonde. Miranda had invested Maastricht, and had commenced a pitiless bombardment, for the French, who had made such an outcry against the Austrian bombardment of Lisle, never hesitated at having recourse to that destructive operation of war whenever they thought it suited their purpose. But the repeated defeats of Miazinski now compelled Miranda to retreat precipitately from Maastricht, to abandon a good part of his artillery and baggage, to recross the Meuse, and to seek shelter, and a junction with the scattered troops of Miazinski, in the heart of Belgium. The archduke reinforced Maastricht, crossed the Meuse, and followed Miranda as far as Tongres, where he

obtained another advantage. But the division of the Austrian army which had defeated Miazinski did not follow him with sufficient rapidity (it was difficult to keep up with the French in any of their retreats, for they had little heavy baggage of any kind, and what they had they generally abandoned), and his disorganised forces were allowed to form a junction with Miranda at St. Tron, between Tongres and Brussels. At the very beginning of these disasters the executive council sent orders to Dumouriez to abandon his enterprise in Holland, and return into Belgium to head the army there. Dumouriez, who thought that Miranda and Miazinski were quite strong enough to defend Belgium without him, and whose heart was wholly set upon the conquest of Holland, remained where he was, merely dispatching instructions to Miranda. But soon 10,000 deserters from the army of Belgium spread themselves in the interior of France, reporting everywhere that they had been betrayed by their generals. A universal panic followed; and the Jacobins, who had lately been so confident, who had calculated upon an uninterrupted series of victories which would open their way to half the capitals of Europe, again fancied that the army of the Coalition was almost at the gates of Paris. Letter upon letter was sent to Dumouriez, and on the 9th of March that bold and skilful adventurer was compelled to abandon his Dutch enterprise, and make all speed to join Miranda and Miazinski at St. Tron. He left nearly all his forces behind him under the command of General Deflers, who was enjoined to keep and make sure of all the ground and places which had been gained; but Deflers was soon obliged to abandon everything, and follow his chief into Belgium, and he was seriously molested on his retreat by the flotilla under Captain Berkeley, who afterwards scattered the French gun-boats collected at Antwerp, and sank the corvette. Upon returning into Belgium Dumouriez found that the inhabitants, lately so ardently attached to the republican cause, had been driven into revolt by the commissioners dispatched by the National Convention, who had sequestered the revenues of the clergy, plundered the churches of their plate, and confiscated the property not merely of the nobility, but of rich burghers. He instantly arrested two of the commissioners and sent them under a military guard to Paris; he called the rest of them thieves and robbers; he dismissed General Moreton-Chabrilant, who attempted to defend the commissioners, he restored part of the plate which had been taken from the churches, and he even put under interdict and shut up the Jacobin clubs of the army. All this conciliated the Belgians, who, moreover, dreaded the vengeance of their late sovereign emperor if the Austrians should prove victorious; but, on the other hand, it irritated the Convention and inflamed the Mother Society at Paris, where Dumouriez had already an irreconcilable and most dangerous enemy in Marat, who could never forget the slight the general had put upon him in that

gay saloon, at that "charming festival" at which all the actors of the different theatres of Paris were complimenting the conqueror of the Duke of Brunswick. Camus, the rigorist, who had been sent into Belgium on a very special mission, remonstrated, and accused him of exercising a dictatorship very incompatible with liberty and republicanism; upon which Dumouriez, who was as petulant as any of them, and who fondly believed that his own army would stand by him, treated the dry, starch Jansenist with no more respect than he had treated Marat, telling him to his face that the Convention was falling into contempt and odium through its imbecilities and its crimes, and that the excesses committed by its commissioners were no longer to be borne. Camus, as vindictive as Marat, returned to Paris, and from that moment the Jacobins devoted Dumouriez to the guillotine—provided only they could ever get hold of him. He in the meanwhile concentrated his army at Tirlemont, and drove back the vanguard of the Austrians. To weaken rather than to strengthen him, to demoralize his army rather than to fight the enemy, some 15,000 or 20,000 new levies, volunteers, federates, and other vagabonds, arrived at his camp from France. He instantly dismissed 10,000 of them, and he attributed to the misbehaviour, the indiscipline, the suspicion, and the panic fear of those who remained, the reverses he presently met with. On the 16th of March he was attacked by the Prince of Saxe-Coburg with great spirit; but he kept his ground and obliged the Austrians to fall back upon Neerwinden. On the 18th he moved to attack them there. The battle, including in it the prelude of a long cannonading, lasted from morning till night. Dumouriez had his horse killed under him by a cannon-ball, and rose from his fall covered all over with mud and dirt; the Duke of Chartres, who commanded the centre, behaved with great courage; but the end of all was a most thorough and signal defeat: 4000 killed and wounded remained on the field of battle, and 10,000 deserted the army and scarcely paused in their flight until they had got on the other side of the French frontier, where they spread a fresh panic, which, as usual, led to fresh atrocities at Paris. Dumouriez attributed the origin of all his misfortunes to the Jacobin Club of Paris and to the terrible Mountain, which was now preparing to crush the Gironde; but he could not trust the Girondists, who distrusted him, nor could he hope for a moment that that prating faction would be a proper point around which to rally. He was almost crazed; yet, with the rare military instinct that was in him, he retreated with his regular troops in good order towards Louvain and Brussels, skirmishing on the way, and engaging in one or two affairs that were rather more than skirmishes. On his retreat he was visited by Danton and Lacroix, who came as commissioners from the Convention to draw up a report on his conduct, both civil and military. They had scarcely left

him when he sent an officer of his staff to the head-quarters of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg to make some arrangements relative to the wounded and prisoners. The French officer was referred to Colonel Mack, memorable in history for the surrender of Ulm, but at that time in the highest repute in the Austrian army as a consummate tactician, and as an accomplished and adroit officer in all things. After some conversation it was agreed that Mack and Dumouriez should meet and confer together. They met, and presently entered into a verbal agreement that the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in force, that Dumouriez should be allowed to retire undisturbed to Brussels, and that, after the French should have evacuated Brussels, Mack and Dumouriez should have another interview. There can be no question that something more than this was discussed, but nothing more appears on record, and the mysterious parts of the story which follows have been variously interpreted and are still open to doubt. On the 25th of March Dumouriez reached Brussels, and caused it to be evacuated by all the French—troops, commissaries, commissioners, propagandists, comedians, clubbists, and all. On the 27th he encamped at Vith, and there kept his appointment with Colonel Mack. Having thrown down the gauntlet to the Mother Society and to the Convention, and knowing well that there was nothing for him but a counter-revolution, or death, or flight, he presently agreed with Mack to co-operate with the Imperialists against the republicans, to give up to them the whole of Belgium, to march with his own army to Paris, and to call in the Austrians after him, if he should not prove strong enough to scatter the Convention and the Jacobins, and dictate the law at Paris. It is assumed that he proposed setting the Duke of Chartres on the constitutional throne of France, and re-establishing, with some modifications, the constitution of 1791, and that the Duke of Saxe-Coburg assented to his project, in the hope that, if a counter-revolution could only be effected in time, the young dauphin might be liberated from the Temple, and the regular line of the monarchy restored in his person. The project seemed the more practicable, as the Prussians, though slowly, were preparing to drive Custine from Mayence, and invade France by the valley of the Moselle, the Spaniards, against whom the Convention had declared war on the 4th of March, were descending through the passes of the Pyrenees, a considerable English army was collected in Holland to co-operate with the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and the royalists in the Vendée were not only in universal insurrection, but had gained several victories over the republican or Jacobin troops. Whatever were the conditions and stipulations of the compact (they can never be correctly ascertained, as every party privy to them had afterwards the strongest motives for concealment and contradiction), Dumouriez evacuated successively all the

places he held in the Netherlands, and slowly retired, unmolested by the Austrians, towards the French frontier. He met a number of persons who were flying from Paris to escape the new tribunal and the guillotine, or massacre at the hands of the mob, and who seem generally to have encouraged him to persevere in his enterprise, which, desperate as it was, seemed to be the only hope left to them. Among these fugitives were the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, and Madame Genlis, who had recently been brought over from England to Paris. At the same time Dumouriez received the visit of three individuals who were by no means so friendly to him. These were Dubuisson, a refugee patriot of Brussels, a man of letters, and a leader in the Jacobin Club of Paris, Proly, said to be a natural son of Prince Kaunitz, a native of Brussels, stock-jobber, journalist, and a great Jacobin, and Pereyra (described by some as a Portuguese Jew, and by others as a native of Bayonne, descended from a Jewish family, which had been settled in Belgium), a tobacconist, and also a leading man in the Société Mère. All three were closely connected with Dumouriez's mortal foe, Marat, and it appears that they had received their mission from Marat and his party to act as spies over the general, and to detach his troops from him. They pretended, however, to have been commissioned by Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs. They found the general surrounded by the children of the Duke of Orleans, and by officers who did not belong to the sans-culotte order, and, upon announcing their pretended mission from Lebrun, they met with a very rough reception from Dumouriez. They repeated their visit on the following day, and requested a private interview. Dumouriez assented. It is said that the three Jacobins opened this secret conference by proposing that the general and his army should join their party heart and hand, overthrow the Convention, and establish, as a proper legislative body for France, the Société Mère, or Jacobin Club of Paris, who had already a president, registers and journals, tribunes and orators, and were in the habit of deliberating like statesmen on the most important subjects. If Dumouriez could have relied on the bloody and faithless faction, and if he had foreseen the miserable failure of the Coalition, there is little doubt but that he would have made terms with them, for his morality and conscience were of the loosest kind, and the one great object of his whole life was to be great and to be doing, to have plenty of money to spend on his private pleasures, and to enjoy a military fame. He was not a man of blood himself—far from it; he had no taste for the dirty nudities of sans-culottism, or for the society of cynical Jacobins and levellers, for he had lived in courts and in the most polished society, and his habits were decidedly patrician. He would have been glad to have kept the revolution where it was at the end of 1791, and to have served the constitutional king; he would have preferred serving under the respectability Girondists to serving under these

rivals; but he would have served the Jacobins or the devil if he could have found his account in it. But he knew that the breach between him and the Jacobins was irreparable; he saw that they were determined to destroy all who had ever opposed them, and all whom they had ever suspected or might hereafter suspect, he counted on the strength of the Coalition, on the war in the Vendée, on the devotion of his own army, and on the desperation of the higher and middling classes in France who must, he thought, be ready to rise and unite in one grand effort to liberate themselves from the horrible tyranny of the factions and the populace, and therefore Dumouriez expressed to the three emissaries of the Mother Society his abhorrence of that society, and attributed to it all the dire misfortunes and the indelible infamy of the French nation. At the same time he perfectly agreed with them as to the incapacity and disorderly state of the Convention, and the absolute necessity of annihilating it, and establishing another. Growing warm, he said, "The Convention is composed of two hundred brigands, and five hundred fools. As long as I have three inches of steel at my side, I will never suffer it to reign, or to shed blood by means of the revolutionary tribunal they have just established!" He then flew out against the volunteers who had behaved so badly at Neerwinden, calling them base cowards, and swearing that he would have no troops but troops of the line, with which he would march to Paris, and put things in order. "How!" cried the emissaries, "are you not for a republic?—Would you not have a constitution?" "As for your republic," replied Dumouriez, "I only believed in it for three days. Ever since the battle of Jemappe, I have regretted every advantage I have gained in the field for so bad a cause." As for this new republican constitution imagined by Condorcet, it is much too silly an affair to last. "But what would you substitute for it?" "Why, the monarchic constitution of 1791, bad as it is." "But, General," said Dubuisson, "only reflect how all the French abominate royalty, and how the mere name of Louis . . ." "And what does it signify," rejoined the quick, little man, "what does it signify whether the king's name be Louis, or John or James?" "Or Philippe?" said journalist Prolv, alluding to the belief, long since entertained, that Dumouriez wanted to make the Duke of Chartres king. The emissaries asked how he would replace the Convention? "Oh," said he, "there are local administrations, all chosen by the people, take a president from each of your five hundred districts, and you will have five hundred representatives all ready. Let them be a legislative assembly!" "But what means have you at your disposal?" "The Mamelukes, that is to say, my army: yes, my army will do it all, and from my camp, or from a fortress, my soldiers will declare that they want a king!" "But your project exposes to destruction the prisoners in the Temple, the queen, the dauphin"

"If the last of the Bourbons were killed, including even those who are at Coblenz, still France would have a king, but, if Paris dares to add this atrocious murder of the prisoners of the Temple to its other murders and massacres, I will fly with my army to Paris! Twelve thousand men will be enough to make me master of the capital. It is not I that will imitate the imbecile de Broglie, who, with thirty thousand men under his command, permitted a mob to surprise the Bastille. With two good posts—one at Nogent, and the other at Pont-Saint-Maxence—I could make the Parisians perish of hunger! . . . As for your Jacobins, if they wish to expiate all their crimes, let them save the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, and drive out the seven hundred and forty-nine tyrants of the Convention, and they shall be pardoned." The emissaries spoke of his own personal risk and danger, and of the terrible fate which might befall him in case of any failure. "Oh," said Dumouriez, "I shall always have time enough to gallop over to the Austrians." "But, how! will you fly to be thrown into a dungeon, like Lafayette?" "I shall go over to the enemy in a very different manner from that of Lafayette," quoth Dumouriez, "and, besides, the foreign powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me, as they do him, with having had part in the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles." Dubuisson, Prolv, and Preyera took their leave, saying that they would return instantly to Paris, and sound the Jacobins as to this project. The General then marched to Brulles, and attempted to gain possession of the three important frontier fortresses of Lille, Conde, and Valenciennes. He opened some secret communication with friends in those three fortresses, but the Convention had sent commissioners to each of them, the populace and the troops were decided republicans, and nothing was to be expected from them. The artillery, the troops of the line, the cavalry, and all the organised bodies with him, seemed to be as devoted as ever to his person, but he had not been able to get rid of all the volunteers and federates, and these men penetrated into his design, or were instructed by the three emissaries, or by some other secret agents, for the Jacobins had woven a web of spy work all round Dumouriez. On the 31st of March, six of these volunteers, wearing on their hats the motto, "The republic or death!" rushed upon him in his camp, as if with the intention of making him a prisoner, but an eel in deep water, or a snake in a bush, was not more difficult to seize than the nimble, adroit, and daring Dumouriez, who, with the assistance of his faithful valet, Baptiste, repulsed the six sans-culottes, and delivered them over as prisoners to the hussars. After this adventure, he openly raised the standard of revolt. He sent, on the same day, General Miazinski with a thousand men to try to surprise Lille. Miazinski was duped by a mulatto colonel in the place, who pretended to enter into his views, induced him to come within the walls of

Lille, and then consigned him to a dungeon, from which he was soon carried to Paris and the guillotine. Dumouriez then tried a similar scheme against Valenciennes, but here his own officer, whom he sent to that place, betrayed him, and joined the republican commandant. On the 1st of April Dumouriez removed his head-quarters to the baths of St Amand, where, in the preceding year, he had so often conferred with the ultra-Jacobin Couthon. The object of his removal was to be near Condé, for, though he had failed so sadly at Lille and Valenciennes, he still hoped he might gain possession of this last fortress, and some fortress was indispensable to his scheme. Either at St Amand, or on his road thither, he arrested the son of draper Lecomte, deputy of Versailles, and sent him over to the Austrians at Tournay to be kept as an hostage. In the mean while the Convention, with terrible thunder, had summoned the revolted general to their bar, and, not fancying that he would come without compulsion, they had dispatched four of their members to bring him, and win over his army. On the 2nd of April the Duke of Chartres, aware of the storm that was coming, sent off his sister under the charge of Madame Genlis, and the two ladies, after long and rough travelling and many dangers, reached Switzerland in safety, but all but penniless.* In the evening of the same day the four deputies of the Convention—Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal—arrived, together with Beurnonville, the new minister at war who had formerly been the bosom friend of Dumouriez, to whom, in fact, he had owed his rapid promotion in the revolutionary army and his appointment as minister. Dumouriez used to call him his Ajax. As the deputies and minister arrived, they found their visit had not been unexpected or unprepared for. A foreign regiment (the hussars of Berchigny) were drawn up in battle array before the general's quarters, and all the officers of Dumouriez's staff were collected within the house round his person. As they entered, these staff officers scowled upon them. They refused to confer with the general in the presence of so many persons. Dumouriez coolly led them into an inner room, but his officers insisted that the door should be left open, so that they should not lose sight of their beloved chief. Archivist Camus then began, in his prim, starch manner, to read the decree of the Convention which called him to the bar. At first Dumouriez replied that the state of his army required his presence—that afterwards when his army should be reorganised, he would see what was to be done, but, when Camus canted and protested that no harm was meant to his person, he cried out, in his rapid, passionate manner, that he would not be such a fool as to go to Paris and deliver himself up to the bloody revolutionary tribunal—that the tigers were yelling for his head, but should not have it. The commissioners united in the solemn lie that no harm was meant in calling him to the bar, and in

* Madame Genlis Memoires.

representing to him, by force of old Roman examples, that it was his duty to submit to the republic. "Gentlemen," replied Dumouriez, "we are constantly committing mistakes in our quotations from the classics, we parody and disfigure Roman history in citing their virtues to excuse our crimes. The Romans did not kill Tarquin the Romans had a well-regulated republic and good laws, and they had neither a Jacobin Club nor a revolutionary tribunal. We are plunged in anarchy, we are wading in blood!" "Citizen General," said Camus, "will you obey the decree of the National Convention or not?" "Not exactly at this moment." "*Eh bien!*" rejoined the archivist, "I declare in the name of the Convention that you are no longer general of this army, and I order that your papers be seized and that you be arrested!" "*Ceci est trop fort*—this is rather too strong," cried Dumouriez "*hola, hussars!*" (*hussards à moi!*) The Berchigny men, who were nearly all Germans, trooped in with ringing spurs and rattling sabres. The general said a few words to them in the German language, the French of which would be, "*Arrêtez ces gens-là, mais qu'on ne leur fasse aucun mal*," and the plain English, "Arrest these people, but do not hurt them." The hussars surrounded the deputies. War-minister Beurnonville begged to share their fate. "Be it so," said Dumouriez, "and I believe that, in packing you off with the deputies, I shall render you a great service, and snatch you from the revolutionary tribunal." As they had been travelling all day, and might be hungry, he ordered some supper to be served up for them, and when that was over the four deputies and the war minister were put into two chaises, and whisked away to Tournay as fast as the post horses and the horses of a detachment of the Berchigny hussars could go. On the route Beurnonville made an attempt to escape, for which one of the rude Germans cut him over the pate. The Prince of Saxe Coburg passed them on to Maestricht, and they were kept as hostages in different Austrian fortresses till the end of November, 1795, when they were exchanged for the princess royal, the only survivor of the captives of the Temple. During the night Dumouriez drew up a proclamation to his army and to all France. With some eloquence and effect—for he was a good penman—he recalled his past services,—his exploits at Argonne, which had obtained for him the name of "The Saviour of France," his ever memorable battle of Jemappe, and his rapid conquest of all Belgium. He attributed his reverses to the enmity of Marat and the Jacobins, who had devoted him and all honourable men to destruction. He drew a frightful picture—but not less true than frightful—of the prevailing sanguinary anarchy, and he called upon all Frenchmen to rise and rally round him and the monarchical constitution of 1791. He declared that the English were fomenting these troubles, but that the Austrians were generous and humane, and had engaged to suspend their march, not to

pass the French frontier, and to leave to the brave French army the office of terminating all internal dissensions. On the following morning, the 3rd of April, he was on horseback betimes with all his staff. The troops were informed of all that had happened, they expressed no dissatisfaction, the troops of the line seemed as steady as ever—they enthusiastically approved the measure he had taken, as did also the artillery. He had sent to make another appointment with Colonel Mack, and in the course of the day it was notified to him that not only Mack, but also the emperor's brother the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, would meet him on the morning of the 4th between Brum and Conde in order to regulate future operations. At an early hour on the 4th Dumouriez, with the Duke of Chartres and the staff were mounted, but an escort of fifty horse, which he had ordered, was not ready at the time appointed. Instead of waiting, Dumouriez and his party left orders for the dragoons to follow them, and set off. But they had scarcely got upon the road which led to Conde when they met two battalions of volunteers, who were marching along furiously without order, and apparently without instructions. The party drew rein and Dumouriez dismounted and entered a cottage by the roadside to draw up a written order as commander-in-chief. But in a minute he heard terrible cries of "Treachery, Treachery!" "Arrêt les traîtres!" and anon these cries were mingled with a fire of musketry. Dumouriez vaulted into his saddle, and he and his party, quitting the high road, struck right across the country, and over hedge and ditch as if they had been riding a steep chase. The volunteers had separated, and some of them had stationed themselves near a ditch. Dumouriez's horse refused the ditch, upon which he dismounted, threw himself into the ditch, and crossed it on foot, and under a hail-storm of musket balls. On the other side he mounted a horse belonging to a servant, who had been either killed, or wounded and dismounted, and then the whole party spurred onward—onward for Bury, or some other place within the Austrian line, for it was vain to think of going to the place of rendezvous which had been named. By some means—probably by the tremendous hubbub made all over the country—Mack was warned in good time, and, instead of repairing to a spot where all their adventures might very well have ended, he and the archduke and Saxe-Coburg rode back with a loose bridle for head-quarters. Dumouriez and his party rode nearly the whole day through a rough, swampy country, where their horses frequently sank to the saddle-girths: some of the horses were abandoned, some of the servants were killed, but, some on foot, and some mounted, and all covered with mud from the tip of the spur to the top of the feather, the general, the Duke of Chartres, and all the rest of the officers reached Bury in safety as the sun was setting. They were soon joined by Saxe-Coburg and Mack, and these two and Dumouriez

passed the night in preparing a proclamation to be issued in the name of the Austrians* at the same time as his own proclamation, and in further explaining and settling the treaty between Dumouriez's army and that of the emperor, for, sorely hunted as he had been, Dumouriez did not yet give up all for lost the vagabonds who had fired upon and pursued him were only volunteers—his regular troops would still stand by their general, and in the morning he would return to St Amand and throw himself among them. Mack was astonished at this last resolution, and Coburg spoke feelingly of the terrible risk, but Dumouriez was confident and even gay and, at dawn of day on the 5th, he mounted again, and, with an escort of only fifty Austrian horse, and the Duke of Chartres and the staff officers who had escaped with him from the volunteers, he returned towards his own camp. At the advanced post at Maulde, which he had occupied so long in 1792, and whence he had marched for the Argonne passes, he was received with decided marks of good will, but when he got to St Amand the French soldiers began to murmur at seeing their general followed by Austrians, and an aide-de-camp rode up and informed him that during the night all the artillery, instigated by some emissaries from Valenciennes, who told them that Dumouriez was killed or drowned, had risen up on their officers and had marched off with all their guns, ammunition, and baggage for Valenciennes. While the aide-de-camp was making this report other divisions of the army began to move off by the same road which the artillery had taken, the cry, "Valenciennes! Valenciennes!" became general, and everything showed that the game was up. He turned his horse's head towards the head quarters of the imperialists, and, with the Duke of Chartres and his brother the Duke of Montpensier, Colonel Thouvenot, and the rest of his numerous staff, he rode away from St Amand. The entire regiment of Borchgrevink, 1500 strong, and some fragments of some French regiments, followed him and the sons of Orleans, but these were all, the rest, taking care to secure the military chest (said to contain two millions of livres), joined General Dampierre, who had been appointed by the Convention to the command of the army, and who established his head-quarters in Valenciennes.

At Tournay the fugitives were kindly received by Clairfait, the commander-in-chief of the imperialists; and, as they would not serve with the Austrian troops, they received passports, and were allowed to go wherever they chose. Most of them took the road to Switzerland, where the Duke of Chartres, who performed a good part of the journey

* In this proclamation the Imperial commander in chief declared that he acted only as an auxiliary to General Dumouriez: that the intention of his sovereign the emperor was not to attempt any conquest or aggrandizement whatever but to restore peace and good order in Europe—to restore to France a constitutional king—the whole constitution of the year 1791 which she had herself freely chosen. The Austrian commander-in-chief further declared that he acknowledged and adopted all the principles of Dumouriez's proclamation, which would accompany his.

on foot, found his sister * Dumouriez, the ablest and cleverest man of France, never again appeared on the great stage, but for a long, a very long time he was busy behind the scenes projecting and furnishing plans, political and military, for other men, and for nearly all the nations of the earth, for his was a mind that never could lie idle, a spirit that never could be broken. The Convention put the price of 300,000 livres upon his head, and there were republicans in those days who, without any reward, would have stabbed him to the heart if they had been able to find him anywhere. The royalist emigrants scarcely entertained a more friendly feeling towards him, and he found, wherever he went on the Continent, that he was an object of suspicion. On the 14th of June he contrived to reach London, but on the 19th he received an order from the secretary of state to quit the kingdom in forty-eight hours. He sailed from Dover on the 22nd in the Ostend packet, which was escorted by an armed cutter. He took refuge in the city of Hamburgh, where he remained for several years, one of the busiest men of the place, though only in writing memoirs and political pamphlets. In 1805 he obtained permission to come and reside in England, and soon after, for some services rendered to the British government, he received a comfortable pension. He survived the French republic and its many constitutions, the fall of the empire, and the death of Napoleon Bonaparte. The restored Bourbon government, which recalled so many blockheads, and patronised so many scoundrels far worse than he, never recalled Dumouriez, who died in March 1823, in the 80th year of his age, at Hurville Park, near Henley upon Thames. The last effort of his senility was the writing a plan of military defence for the Neapolitan constitutionalists in 1821.

General Dampierre, who succeeded to the command of the republican forces, immediately threw himself into the fortified camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes. He made some attempts to cover Condé also, but he failed, and that important fortress was invested by a part of the Austrian army early in April. The Duke of York having landed at Ostend with his small English army, it was resolved to make a vigorous attack along all that part of the French frontier, and to reduce Valenciennes and Condé (if not Lille also) at any price, and to this end General Clairfait, who—not without jealousies and dissensions—held the supreme command of the armies of the Coalition, where Austrians and Prussians, English and Dutch, were mixed without being amalgamated, reinforced Saxe-Coburg, who was commanding at Condé, and advanced towards Valenciennes. On the 8th of May Dampierre issued from his camp at Famars, and made an attack on the allies, his volunteers soon got into confusion, his best troops were beaten at all points, he was

driven back to his camp with terrible loss, and a cannon-ball carried off his leg. Dampierre died the next day under the hands of his surgeons, thus escaping the guillotine, which the Parisians kept in permanence for all unsuccessful commanders.



DUKE OF YORK

The total loss of the French in killed and wounded was estimated at 4000 by the allies, who acknowledged only a loss of 800 men. The Duke of York displayed much personal bravery, and the success of the battle was materially promoted by the British troops. The republicans fell into a lamentable state of discouragement and disorganization, and General Lamarche, who had succeeded to the command, was a man of no skill or energy. But the allies, instead of attacking him immediately, allowed him a whole fortnight to collect his troops within the fortified camp of Famars and to receive immense reinforcements from the interior of France. What the arms of the coalition did between the 9th and the 23rd of May appears to have been absolutely nothing. On the 23rd, at daybreak, they commenced an attack, which lasted till night fall, though, if the Duke of York and his column, who gained a great advantage before the hour of noon, had been properly supported, the affair might have been settled, and in a more decisive manner, by one in the afternoon. Except in the artillery, which was numerous and well appointed, the republicans did not display any great military merit, the reinforcements, being chiefly raw troops or volunteers, behaved as such troops always do at the beginning of a war, yet, though thoroughly beaten, Lamarche was allowed to retire and occupy another fortified camp between Valenciennes and Bouchain. The allies with their ordinary slowness, then advanced upon Valenciennes, and began a regular and tedious siege, instead of bombarding it at the beginning, as they were obliged to do at the end. Condé was blockaded. A third division of the army of the Coalition cantoned itself opposite to Lamarche's fortified camp, and remained there, drumming and drilling, and doing little else, all through the months of June and July. The French army of the Moselle, which served to connect (though un-

* According to Madame Genlis Louis Philippe when he arrived in Switzerland was rather poorer than his sister and herself: his worldly possessions not much exceeding the clothes on his back and the good stout stick in his hand.

perfectly) their army of the North, now under Lamarche, with their arm of the Rhine under Custine, was left perfectly unmolested, because the Prince of Hohenlohe had a very insufficient force, and was ordered to disperse it over an immense line to be at hand to cover a great number of towns and fortresses, which might very well have been left to themselves. The King of Prussia, who had undertaken to open in person the campaign on the Rhine, to drive in Custine, and to invade France by the valley of the Moselle, was slow in coming, and, when he came, he did not bring with him anything like the number of troops he had promised, having found it necessary to send a considerable part of his army into Poland to secure the territory which he had so unjustly seized in that country.

And here it will be proper to mention a few facts connected with that dark transaction, which had been denounced in the British parliament, and which, in many ways, acted as a spell and curse upon the Coalition. At the beginning of the year, when all minds were occupied about the French revolution, Frederick William sent some Prussian troops into Great Poland, and seized upon Thorn and Dantzic, justifying his proceedings in a manifesto, which declared that the Poles had behaved very ungratefully to his ally the Empress of Russia, that they had had the temerity in the preceding year to make an obstinate resistance to the Russian troops, that they had disquieted his own dominions by repeated excesses and violations of territory, that they had imbibed the French democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction, who were seeking to make proselytes everywhere, and who had already been so well received in Poland that the enterprises of the Jacobin emissaries were not only most powerfully seconded, but even revolution societies were established, that made an open profession of Jacobin principles. He further declared that it was chiefly Great Poland, which touched his own frontiers, that was infected with this dangerous poison, and that, therefore, a just distrust, on account of the tranquillity and safety of his own kingdom, put him under the necessity of adopting strong measures. He had consulted both his imperial allies, the Emperor of Germany as well as the Empress of Russia. "His majesty," continued the memorable manifesto, "being necessitated, in common with the allied courts, to continue the war (against France), and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and their imperial majesties could not forbear owning that, from sound policy, it could not be allowed that the factions should be suffered to have their way in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprises might become a source of fresh troubles." The miserable Polish Diet, or Confederation, assembled at Grodno, issued, on the 3rd of February, a long and

solemn protest against the Prussian invasion, but this was nearly all they could do. On the 14th of February the Emperor Francis put forth a declaration that, inspired by the love of peace and good neighbourhood, he would not interfere with the plans of the King of Prussia and the Empress of Russia, or permit any of his subjects to counteract them. The Poles at Grodno appealed to the generosity and magnanimity of Catherine, whose army occupied all the country that was not in the hands of the Prussians or overawed by Austrian troops in Galicia, and Catherine answered their appeal in the month of March by a ukase, in which she declared that thirty years' experience had proved that all her generous efforts to put an end to the innumerable quarrels and the eternal disputes which tore the Polish republic had all been thrown away, that her heart had bled for the sufferings of the people, who were of the same race, and professed the same holy Christian religion, as her own subjects, that, latterly, some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, had not been ashamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to request their assistance to involve their country also in bloody civil wars, that these enemies of peace and quiet had been propagating their doctrines to the utmost of their power, which must destroy for ever their own and their neighbours' happiness, and, finally, that for these and other weighty considerations—"as well to indemnify herself for her many expenses, as for the future safety of her empire and of the Polish dominions, and for the cutting off at once, and for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government"—she had been pleased now to take under her sway, and unite for ever to her empire, certain specified parts of Poland, with all their inhabitants, who, from the highest to the lowest, within one month were to take the oath of allegiance to her before witnesses whom she would appoint. This manifesto was ordered to be read in all the churches on the 27th of the present month of March, and the Polish clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, were expected to set the example in taking the oath of allegiance, and were commanded, in the daily service in their churches, to pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor (the Grand-Duke Paul), and for all the imperial family. On the 25th of March his Prussian majesty put forth another manifesto, in which, speaking more plainly than he had done before, he told the Poles that, in conjunction with her majesty the Empress of Russia, and with the assent of his majesty the Emperor of Germany, he had resolved to take possession of certain districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, for the purpose of incorporating them with his own states. Frederick William also called upon the Poles dwelling in the said cities, and within the line of demarcation he had drawn, to take the oath of allegiance to him, or abide the consequences; but (in this more delicate than Catherine) he did not command them or

their priests to pray to God for him and his line. This was followed, on the 29th of March, old style, or the 9th of April, new style, by a Russian declaration from de Sievers, Catherine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, who was residing at Grodno. In this public document fresh vials of wrath were poured upon the constitution of May, 1791, and upon the secret machinations which had followed the victories of the Russians and the overthrow of that constitution. After stating that the factions had made unsuccessful attempts at foreign courts to render the liberal conduct of Russia odious, and her views suspicious, it went on to aggravate the offences of the Poles (the lambs in this quarrel with wolves), and said, "Without speaking about several facts of public notoriety, which prove the mischievous disposition of the greatest number of the Poles, let it suffice to mention that they have been known to abuse even the principles of humanity and moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empress's army, pursuant to the express orders they had received, conformed their conduct and actions, and to burst out against them in all manner of insults and bad behaviour, insomuch that the most audacious of them have dared to talk about Sicilian vespers, and to threaten to make the Russians undergo the same sort of massacre." It spoke somewhat prematurely of the fate which had befallen France in consequence of the revolution and the Jacobins saying, "The unnatural delirium of a people of late so flourishing, now degraded *dismembered*, and on the brink of an abyss ready to swallow them, instead of being an object of horror for these factious Poles appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the bosom of Poland the infernal doctrines which a sect altogether impious, sacrilegious, and absurd has engendered, to the misfortune and dissolution of all religious, civil, and political societies. Clubs, which are connected with the Jacobin clubs of Paris, are already established in the capital, as well as in several provinces, of Poland, and these clubs distil their poison in a secret manner, fill the minds of the people with it, and cause them to ferment." All this nearly concerned the sovereign powers whose states bordered upon the dominions of Poland, and therefore, "they have in conjunction taken the most proper measures for stifling the evil before it comes to maturity, and preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers, and her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the King of Prussia, with the assent of his majesty the Emperor of the Romans, have found no other measures effectual for their respective safety than to confine the republic of Poland within narrower bounds, by awarding to her an existence and proportions which suit an intermediary power best, and which facilitate to her the means of securing and preserving herself without prejudicing her former liberty, and by awarding to her a government that is wisely regulated, and at the same time active enough to prevent and repress

all disorders and disturbances, that have so often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpose, their majesties the Empress of all the Russias and the King of Prussia, being united with a perfect concert of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire subversion of the Polish republic is threatened with, after the discord that has divided it, and especially in consequence of the monstrous opinions that begin to manifest themselves, than by uniting to their respective states those of the provinces of Poland which actually border upon their territories, and by taking an immediate and effective possession of them, in order to shatter themselves in time from the fatal effects of these opinions." De Sievers finished his declaration by inviting the Poles to assemble, as soon as possible, in a special Diet, to agree to an amicable arrangement, and to concur with the salutary intentions of Russia and Prussia. The General Confederation, including and mainly consisting of the same Polish magistrates who had invited the Russians into Poland to overthrow the constitution of 1791, expressed, in a note to de Sievers, their astonishment and dismay at these propositions for a fresh partition of their country. They said that the taking of the wealthiest provinces of Poland, whose extent exceeded that of the provinces which would be left to her, could not be an object of negotiation susceptible of an amicable arrangement, but rather a declaration of what those two powers (Russia and Prussia) had chosen to appropriate. They protested timidly, and made faint appeals to the treaties entered into at the former partition, when Russia, Prussia, and Austria solemnly guaranteed the integrity of Poland as it was then left, and they mentioned their own duties as Polish confederates, and their own solemn oath, taken in the face of the church, to maintain the integrity of their country. Poor King Poniatowski, after in vain petitioning Catherine, and offering to abdicate the throne, was compelled to assemble a sort of Diet, and this Diet, though not without coercion and violence, the threat of exile in Siberia, and the actual arrest of some of its members by Russian soldiery, was compelled to ratify a fresh partition which made over to Russia a territory containing a population of more than three millions and a half, and to Prussia a territory containing nearly one million and a half of inhabitants, together with the navigation of the Vistula and the port of Dantzic on the Baltic, which she had so long coveted. The leavings were secured to Poniatowski, but he was bound to govern according to the old crazy constitution, and, to keep him in the right path, a strong Russian garrison was fixed permanently at Warsaw, and the Russian ambassador gave the law in all things. Prussia was obliged to employ a large part of her army in garrisoning Dantzic and Thorn, and in keeping down insurrection in Great Poland, and Austria was obliged to keep one large force in Galicia, and another on the

Turkish frontier, as, in case of any renewed attempts on the part of the Poles to recover their independence, they would be able to attempt an insurrection in Galicia, which was their country until the time of the first dismemberment, and to try to bring their old allies the Turks into the war. The arguments used by the despoilers threw ridicule and discredit upon the manifestos and declarations of other countries who had better reasons for dreading the spread of the Gallic disease, and their conduct had the effect of confirming the French republicans in their belief that the Coalition proposed to dismember and partition France.

In consequence of these transactions, which were not terminated when he took the field, but which continued to distract his attention all through the campaign, it was the month of April before the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine and invested Mayence, and then he only brought with him some 50,000 men, including Saxons, Hessians, and Bavarians, who served under their own princes. Even when joined by 15,000 or 20,000 Austrians under Wurmser, and by 5000 or 6000 French emigrants under the Prince of Condé, his force was insufficient for the work he had undertaken to do, for in their fortresses alone the French had between 40,000 and 50,000 men, while their army on the Rhine was at least 50,000 strong, and their army on the Moselle more than 30,000, and garrisons and armies had it in their power to draw continual reinforcements from the interior of France, that vast fermenting camp. Moreover, the French had 20,000 men within the walls of Mayence when his majesty of Prussia and Wurmser began to invest it in the old formal and slow manner. In the month of May, Custine, who had put himself at the head of the troops in the field, made an attempt to raise the siege, and was routed with great loss, but still the immense garrison held out, and it was not until the 22nd of July that Mayence surrendered to the King of Prussia, who, though the French were actually starving, and must soon have surrendered at discretion, allowed them to march out with the honours of war, and these 20,000 men, marching away into the Vendée, contributed very materially to the internal success of the republicans. If, instead of wasting their time, and exhausting the strength and spirit of their troops, in long blockades and sieges, all the allies—Austrians, Prussians, English, Spaniards, and Sardinians—had advanced boldly and simultaneously from the Belgian frontier, from the Rhine, from the Pyrenees, from Savoy, and from Nice, right into the heart of France, while the insurrection in the Vendée in the west, insurrections in Languedoc and Provence, and all through the south, and other troubles, were at their height, they might possibly have all met at Paris, but this bold way of making war had not yet been invented: it was still considered necessary that an army should leave no great fortresses in its rear in the hands of the enemy; and thus, before they had finished their sieges, the Vendéens were checked, the other in-

surrgents were scattered, and an improved organization was introduced into the armies of the republic. Most of the allied powers, too, had their separate views, and were seeking how they could best turn the war to their own immediate advantage, and, even without this conflict of selfishness, there must have been a divergency of opinion, and a want of proper concert, among so many princes, chiefs, and generals, some of whom were separated from each other by the whole length or breadth of France, and with none but tedious or uncertain communications with one another. In this way the Spaniards spent weeks and months in besieging forts and fortresses in Roussillon, and the troops of the King of Sardinia did the same thing in Savoy and Nice; the Prussians spent three months before Mayence, and the Austrians and the English nearly two months before Condé and Valenciennes. At last, the conduct of that siege having been intrusted to the Duke of York, a terrific bombardment was begun at Valenciennes, and on the 28th of July, when more than half of the town was reduced to ashes or battered to pieces, it surrendered to the duke, who took possession in the name of the emperor, and planted the imperial flag in the fortress. Condé, which had been invested before the siege of Valenciennes was begun, surrendered to the Prince of Saxe-Coburg or to famine some days earlier. In the month of August the Duke of York had to march back to Mennin, to the relief of the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who was enveloped by a superior French force, and whose Dutch troops showed little stomach for fighting. Three battalions, headed by General Lake, liberated the prince, and afterwards drove the French from a strong redoubt they had thrown up at the village of Lincolles. The Duke of York then moved towards Dunkirk, and began, at the end of August, to lay regular siege to that place. Badly seconded, or not seconded at all, by the Dutch under the Prince of Orange, who remained posted at Mennin, at the distance of three days' march, badly aided by Marshal Freytag, who ought to have been close at hand at Furnes, but who preferred keeping at a distance, disappointed in the arrival of an English squadron, harassed by a French flotilla of gunboats and small vessels that came out from Dunkirk, and vigorously opposed by a strong garrison under Souham and young Hoche, and threatened by a force more numerous than his own, which was manœuvring round him under Houchard—the Duke of York, after some sharp skirmishing, found himself compelled to raise the siege on the 7th of September. In the mean time the Prince of Coburg defeated a strong body of republicans near Landrecies, and, in consequence of this victory, Quenoy surrendered to him on the 11th of September. On the same day Houchard fell upon the Dutch at Mennin, and, after two days' skirmishing, drove them from those positions, but on the 15th the Austrian general Beaulieu fell upon Houchard between Mennin and Courtray and defeated him.

with the greatest ease; for at the unexpected apparition of a small corps of cavalry on one of their wings the *sans-culottes* set up the cry of "*Sauve qui peut*," ran from the field like packs of yelping jackals, and never stopped until they got under the walls and guns of Lille. Houchard was presently recalled to Paris to be guillotined.

By this time the French, who had put in requisition every species of vehicle in order to forward with more speed the regular troops they collected from various quarters and from their garrisons which seemed safe from attack, had formed an immense, overwhelming force on the Belgian frontier. If they had made a series of single concentrated attacks on the divided forces of the allies, they could hardly have failed of destroying those scattered corps one by one; but the republicans had not yet attained to that system; their generals scarcely displayed more intelligence, originality, or invention than the old commanders of the royalist armies, who were wedded to routine; and hence a scattered enemy was attacked by scattered corps, and fighting or skirmishing, without any decisive result, went on here and there and everywhere, from Dunkirk to Maubeuge, and from Maubeuge to Luxembourg. Shortly after the retreat of the Duke of York from Dunkirk, the French attacked every post on that long frontier-line, but, in spite of their numbers, they were everywhere repulsed. On the 15th and 16th of October the republicans were more successful. General Jourdan, who had gradually collected an immense force in a fortified camp close to Maubeuge, sallied out against Coburg, who had been watching the camp, attacked him with great spirit, and after two days' manoeuvring and fighting compelled him to recross the river Sambre. The Duke of York, who had come up by forced marches to assist Coburg, was indignant at this retreat, and declared it to be unnecessary; but for a long time there had been no good understanding between the young English prince and his German ally; and it seems to be admitted that there was nothing to gain, but a great deal to lose or risk, by Coburg's remaining on the right bank of the Sambre. The arrival at Ostend of a considerable English armament, under the command of Sir Charles Grey, enabled the allies to stop and head back the republican torrent, and to preserve the Low Countries during the rest of the year.

Having taken Mayence, and permitted the 20,000 republicans to march off for La Vendée, and having gained some trifling advantages in skirmishes on the Rhine, the King of Prussia quitted his army, and travelled with all speed into Poland, to look after his iniquitous acquisitions in that country, and to patch up some differences and jealousies which had broken out between him and the Emperor of Germany. He left the command of his army on the Rhine to the Duke of Brunswick, who was to act in concert with the small Austrian army under Wurmser. These two generals, with some slow, cautious, but well-combined movements, drove the republicans from several

strong posts, and, about the middle of October, expelled them from their fortified lines at Weisssemburg, their great bulwark in that direction, and also from the fortified camp and triple lines at Lauter. The Prussians then laid siege to Landau; and the Austrians, invited by the nobles, and no inconsiderable part of the people of Alsace, which had once belonged to the imperial house, and which still was more like a part of Germany than a part of France, invested Strasburg, the capital of that province. The Convention, who always sent a pair of their most daring and desperate members to every point where the danger seemed to be great, dispatched St. Just and Lebas to Strasburg, and these two worthies introduced the reign of terror into the town, and into the whole of Alsace, except only the narrow slips of it that were covered by Wurmser's arms. They united themselves with the *sans-culottes*; they called up troops from the army of the Ardennes, which had nothing to do; they made a *levée-en-masse* in all the surrounding departments; they placed the volunteers and raw levies in the neighbouring fortresses, and brought into the field, or into Strasburg, all the old garrisons, which were composed of regular troops; they arrested every man that was suspected of a correspondence or intelligence with Wurmser, or that had money or property to confiscate; and they set at work a guillotine which they had brought with them. It was a facetious saying of Lebas, that, with a little guillotine and a great deal of terror, the republicans might do everything. Custine was wanted at Paris to be beheaded. St. Just called young Hoche from Dunkirk, and gave him the command of that army, which was now reinforced by nearly the whole of the army of the Moselle, which had done little, and hitherto suffered nothing, in this campaign. Wurmser was obliged to retreat before these overwhelming numbers, and Strasburg was left to the *sans-culottes*, the two commissioners of the Convention, and the guillotine. Hoche made a bold attempt to get between Wurmser and Brunswick, but the commander of the Prussian army was on the alert; the ground was difficult and unfavourable to the French; and Hoche, after skirmishing and fighting all the three last days of November, was repulsed, beaten, put to flight, with the loss of three or four thousand men, and with scarcely any loss to the Duke of Brunswick, who had made an admirable use of his local advantages. The republican general then effected a junction with all that was left of the French army of the Rhine, and with all the troops that Lebas and St. Just had collected in Alsace; and, crossing the heights of the Vosges, and taking Wurmser by surprise, and then outflanking him with his vast superiority of numbers, he defeated the Austrians, made many prisoners, and took a considerable portion of Wurmser's artillery. Besides their numerical superiority, the French had the incalculable advantage of being animated by one spirit and guided by one will; but many recent circumstances had revived the in-

veterate national animosities between the Austrians and the Prussians, who now rarely met except to quarrel, and who, when separate, seemed to care little about acting in concert or aiding one another. Those who suffered most by Wurmser's retreat were his unfortunate Alsatian partisans. On the 26th of December Hoche, aided by Desaix, Pichegru, and Michaud, made a tremendous attack upon the lines of Weissemburg, and was on the point of driving the Austrians from those lines when the Duke of Brunswick, whose besieging force at Landau and whose whole army would be committed by such a defeat, or by any sudden and disorderly retreat of the Austrians, arrived in force, beat back the French, and kept them at bay for the remainder of that day. On the morrow Wurmser withdrew his army in good order, and the French obtained re-possession of their old bulwark. The Prussians, who had now raised their siege of Landau, wished the Austrians to remain on the left bank of the Rhine until all the Duke of Brunswick's artillery and stores should be well advanced on the road towards Mayence, but the Austrians would not consent to stay a single day, and they crossed the Rhine on the 28th, leaving the Duke of Brunswick to shift for himself. The duke got his army safely into Mayence, but soon afterwards resigned the command of it, with many bitter accusations against the Austrians, to which Wurmser and some of his friends replied with counter accusations and reproaches just as bitter. Even thus early did these evil prognostics cloud the hopes entertained of the success of royal coalitions over the

French anarchists. By the end of the year the French had not only recovered their old frontiers in this direction, but they had also the whole of the Palatinate at their mercy. It was in the Palatinate that Hoche chose his short winter-quarters.

Spain was not in a condition to employ a very large land army, but the troops she brought into the field acted for some time with considerable spirit and intelligence. Servan, formerly the Girondist minister at war, was now commander-in-chief of the republican army of the Pyrenees, and at the opening of the campaign he complained, like Dumouriez, of having his army badly supplied and equipped by the central government, and disorganised and demoralised by the Jacobins and their club laws. The central government, considering the military command of the whole line of the Pyrenees, from Bayonne on the west on the Bay of Biscay, to Perpignan on the east on the Gulf of Lyons, too extensive for one command, divided it into two, placing Servan under the Western Pyrenees, and Deflers, who had served under Dumouriez in Holland, at the east of the chain. Deflers took up an excellent position, and made a sort of fortified camp at Mas d'Eu, in front of Perpignan. He was attacked there about the middle of May by the Spanish general Ricardos, who advanced from Figueras, in Catalonia, with about 15,000, or according to the French accounts, 18,000 men, whereof a good part were militia or raw levies. After a long and obstinate engagement Deflers was completely beaten, and



GATE OF PERPIGNAN

the French never stopped running until they came to the walls of Perpignan. As it was dark or dusk, the garrison of that town took the fugitives for Spaniards, closed their gates upon them, and fired at them both with artillery and musketry before they found out their mistake. Altogether the garrison inside and the fugitives outside were in a terrible state of panic and helplessness. If the Spaniards had followed up their success, and had pursued Deflers, they might have taken Perpignan that very night, but Ricardos had left two insignificant French forts only masked in his rear, and he considered, according to the old rules of war, that he ought to return and take those two places before he advanced against Perpignan, though Perpignan was the capital city of the country, (Rousillon, which had once belonged to Spain,) and its capture would have secured the fall of the other places. The Spaniards besieged and battered Bellegarde and Les Bains, and reduced both forts, but it was the end of June before they got possession of them, and Deflers had employed the interval in improving and greatly increasing his army, and in taking up again and more strongly fortifying his old camp in advance of Perpignan. Ricardos marched boldly to drive them again out of their camp, but its strength and the number of troops within it made him pause. He encamped or bivouacked round the spot for several days, but, seeing that reinforcements came to the French and none to him, he gallantly attacked them on all sides of their camp on the 17th of July. Some of the French again behaved in a cowardly manner and fled, crying "Sauve qui peut," but Deflers, aided by two or three other generals, who had to run among the ranks, and harangue, conjure, and swear, and now and then use the flats of their swords, kept the rest steady, and, making a concentrated attack on one part of the too much extended Spanish lines, broke it and beat them, and gained a victory, which elated all the republicans of the South in an extraordinary manner. Ricardos was thus obliged to abandon his conquests and retire towards the frontiers of Catalonia, just as the great royalist insurrection of the South of France broke out and extended nearly all along the coast of the Gulf of Lyons, or from Beziers to the mouths of the Rhone and to Marseilles and just as the British and Spanish fleets got possession of Toulon on the opposite side of the Gulf. The Spanish general who commanded at the other extremity of the Pyrenees was Don Ventura Caro, who descended from the Biscayan provinces early in April, drove in Servan's advanced guard, attacked the fortress of Andaya, drove the French from it on the 23rd of April, destroyed their fortified encampment a few days later, and then retired without loss to his own territory. If, instead of skirmishing and manoeuvring at the foot of the Western Pyrenees, Caro and his army had been wafted in good shipping across the Bay of Biscay, and had been landed on the coast of the Vendée early in the summer, when 40,000

Vendéan loyalists were up in arms and flushed by victory, they might have rendered very important services at a critical moment. Remaining where they did, they were of little use except in giving employment to one of the numerous French corps d'armées. Servan displayed no great talent and obtained no success on the fall of his party, the Girondists, he resigned the command of this army of the Western Pyrenees he was thrown into prison during the Reign of Terror, but miraculously escaped the guillotine. His successor could scarcely keep the country between Bayonne and Fuenterrabia from Caro, who repeatedly harrowed it. In the autumn the brave Ricardos once more advanced from the confines of Catalonia, and once more attacked the French in their fortified camp of Mas d'Eu, near Perpignan, but Davoust, marching out of Perpignan with 6000 or 7000 men, fell upon one of his flanks, while Perignon, coming out of Salces with another strong column of French troops, fell upon his other flank, and, overwhelmed by numbers, the Spaniards were driven off the field, upon which they left twenty or twenty-five pieces of their artillery. They did not, however, fly far, they rallied in the camp from which they had marched that morning to make the attack. The French resolved to attack them there through the nicely combined movements of three several columns, who were to pursue different routes, and fall on, at the same instant, in front, flank, and rear. But one of these columns, led by Davoust, set up a "Sauve qui peut" as soon as it came near the Spaniards, and broke and fled in the most disorderly fashion. Ricardos then attacked in full force the second column without heeding the third, and beat it and put it also to flight. General Dagobert, who commanded the third French column, and who was now commander-in-chief of the whole of this army, did what man could do to keep it steady and together, but when the victorious Ricardos fell upon it a whole battalion threw down their arms and cried "Vive le Roi!" At this un-republican, un-Roman conduct, Dagobert turned his artillery upon the battalion, peppered the cowards as long as he could, and then retreated with only a few hundred men, being all that was viable of the three columns. Had but the resources of Spain been adequate to the support of a great army, had but the Spaniards been kept in heart by a succession of these victories at the beginning of the war, and had but the rest of the Coalition acted with more spirit and wisdom, the old fame of the Spanish infantry might have been revived, and a Spanish army, peradventure, might have seen Paris before a French army had seen Madrid. As things were, all that Ricardos could do was to maintain himself in that strip of the coast of Rousillon which lies between the borders of Catalonia and Perpignan, and to send two or three thousand of his men to assist the allies in keeping possession of Toulon. Another miracle was seen in the fate of old Dagobert, for, though

so unsuccessful, he was not guillotined any more than Servan.

On the side of the Alps, the King of Sardinia, "specially comforted by some money he had received from Great Britain," began the campaign with some vigour, being, moreover, further reinforced by fresh Austrian regiments under the command of General Devins, whose merits, even in that army, had raised him from the ranks. Devins, counting upon the intelligence which subsisted between the French malecontents of Lyons and Provence and nearly all the South, and upon the assurances of a most animated co-operation given personally to the court of Turin by M. Prevot, the secret agent of the Lyonnese, was of opinion that a part of the army should be left on the maritime Alps to keep in check the French forces which occupied the country of Nice, and that the greater part of the army, composed of Austrians and of the best Piedmontese and Sardinian troops, should march through Savoy, drive the French out of that country, chastise the Savoyard Jacobins, who had been the principal cause of all that had happened there in the preceding year, and thence march straight on to the populous city of Lyons. But the king, Vittorio Amedeo, who was not without warm and generous feelings, was greatly grieved at the sufferings of the faithful people of Nice, and could not tolerate the idea of leaving them for a whole campaign at the mercy of the republicans. The Savoyards, he said, had betrayed him, and they might be left to eat the fruits of their treachery and folly (what with overbearing republican generals, and the Jacobin clubs, and the plundering commissioners from the Convention, the Savoyards were tolerably well punished), but the poor Nissards, who had been so true to their king and their church, who had shown their abhorrence of Jacobin principles, and who had bravely fought their invaders in their native mountains, ought to be succoured and rescued before anything else was done or attempted. Devins, and others who thought his plan by far the more preferable, and who believed that, if properly executed, it would have an immense effect in the south of France, were obliged to yield to the decided feeling and will of the king, and to this cause they afterwards attributed every reverse and misfortune. The mass of the army was collected on the maritime Alps, and, before any descent was to be attempted into the country of Nice, fortified camps were to be made, and sundry fortresses improved or re-constructed, to render it impossible, even in case of a reverse, that the republicans should force the passes of the mountains, and get into Piedmont on that side. The command in chief of the French army of the Alps was now intrusted to Kellermann, who had fought so bravely at Valmy. To be in a situation to support both the troops in Savoy and the troops in Nice, Kellermann, with the centre and main body of the army, established himself in a fortified camp at Tournus in the alpine valley

of Queiras, about equidistant from Chambery and from Nice. A strong division of his army, assisted by Savoyard militia and volunteers, occupied the long valley of St. Jean de Maurienne, and watched the pass of Mont Cenis, over which lay the most direct road from Turin; another corps occupied the Tarantaise, and another was posted at Conflans, where the two valleys of the Isere and the Arc join. The republicans, like the royalists, made fortified camps, redoubts, and forts, to prevent access to the country they held. These works were chiefly erected on the tops of mountains, or at the heads of the mountain-passes, between the two all the spurs and offshoots of the Alps were bristled with places of arms, and the most solemn and awful solitudes, where the silence of nature had never been broken save by the torrents which rushed through the valleys and the pine forests that moaned on the heights, were now disturbed by drums and trumpets, and all the discordant sounds of war. The French, who had not expected so much energy on the part of Vittorio Amedeo's government, and who were sorely disappointed at finding that the Nissards and Piedmontese would not take their gospel of the Rights of Man, or fraternise with them as the Savoyards had done made sundry attempts to secure peace on this side, and to detach his Sardinian majesty from the Coalition by advantageous and tempting offers. Robespierre found means to send a secret agent to Turin, and this agent got access to a certain Count Viretti, a busy, intriguing man, without political judgment, and probably without much patriotism or moral principle. This Viretti appears to have been charmed with the offers of the republicans, who only wanted neutrality and a free passage at some future day into Lombardy when they would cede to Vittorio Amedeo whatever they might conquer from the Emperor in Italy. If his majesty should be inclined to cede up to France the island of Sardinia (the French had been trying to take that island by force, and had met with a dreadful discomfiture), why, then, the French republicans would put his majesty in possession of all the territories of the republic of Genoa which bordered on his own continental dominions, and which he and his ancestors had so earnestly desired to possess. The republic of Genoa was at this time the only Italian power that was friendly to the republic of France, but this was a circumstance not likely to disturb the conscience of the sans culottes. When Count Viretti conveyed the propositions to his king, he found that Vittorio would not entertain them for a moment, declaring, as a conclusive argument, that, if even he could break his faith with his allies, the Jacobins were not to be trusted.*

Towards the end of May Kellermann ordered Brunet, who commanded in Nice, to push forward to the crests of the maritime Alps, and dislodge the Piedmontese and Austrians before they should have time to complete the works they were throwing up

As these posts were various and separate, Brunet divided his army into four columns, with instructions to attack three of the more important points at once, and, having carried them, to unite and fall upon Fort Raus, the strongest and most important of them all, and the key to all the country behind. On the 8th of June the French columns ascended the steep heights, dragging their artillery after them by strength of arm, and, beginning a simultaneous attack with great fury, they drove the Piedmontese from every position, and from all the works except Fort Raus. But, when they ascended that loftier mountain and attacked that strongest of all the works, they were repulsed by the well served Italian artillery, were driven back, repulsed again, and finally driven down the mountain, with the loss of some of their guns, and a frightful loss in killed and wounded. They renewed their attempts on the 12th of June, when they brought 12,000 of their best men against that single fort, but they were again repulsed and driven down the mountain, with a loss more dreadful than their first. The Piedmontese generals, Colli and Dellerà, who commanded at Fort Raus, then recovered all the positions which had been lost, and strengthened them with better redoubts, and with more artillery and troops. The republicans were confined to the low country of Nice, and, being greatly disheartened by their reverses, they set up the ordinary cry that they were betrayed by their generals and superior officers. Kellermann, with some re-inforcements, hastened from his fortified camp at Tornos, and, seeing that the occupation of Fort Raus might allow the allies to go through the pass of Vilette, and so get between his main army at Tornos and the troops in Nice, he placed a strong division to watch that passage, and threw up some more works to protect them. In the same manner, the re-inforcements he sent into Nice were stationed in the gorges through which the Piedmontese must descend, and were employed in digging trenches and in raising redoubts. They were not always left undisturbed in these occupations: at times moveable columns from Colli's division interrupted them, and frequently their stragglers, and convoys, and weak detachments were annihilated or scattered by the revengeful peasantry upon whom the French had committed some atrocious cruelties.

But Vittorio Amedeo did not adhere to the plan of campaign he had laid down. After collecting the greater part of his own army and of his Austrian allies on the summits and sides of the maritime Alps for the recovery of Nice, he hesitated, lost much invaluable time in doubt and indecision, and at last resolved to unite Devins's plan with his own, and pursue them both at one and the same moment. He was, however, enticed by many important circumstances, and by many urgent prayers and representations. Precy and the counter-revolutionists at Lyons had raised the banner of revolt, had entered into a confederacy with Marseilles, Toulon, and other cities of the South, and were threatened with a siege and extermination by the republicans.

If the armies of the Convention should succeed against Lyons, the soul of the confederacy would be gone, and the men of the South, who had certainly been encouraged to take up arms by the court of Turin, would be exposed to a most remorseless and bloody vengeance; but if, on the other side, Lyons could be defended, and the republican besieging army beaten and scattered, the whole of France between the Rhone and the Alps—a country abounding with enthusiastic royalists—might be turned against the Convention. On the other side the allies, with the assistance of the people, had taken possession of Toulon, and were casting about on every side for arms and men to defend that place against the republicans. From Nice to Toulon was but a short and easy voyage, and even by land the House of Vittorio Amedeo had sent before now an army beyond Toulon. If the county of Nice could be cleared of the French, the army of the maritime Alps, driving the enemy before them, might march through Provence to Toulon, while the rest of his troops, if they could only clear Savoy, might advance to Lyons. Vittorio Amedeo therefore sent his son, the Duke of Montferrat, and one part of the army, across Mont Cenis and the Lesser St. Bernard, to drive the republicans out of Savoy and the Tarantaise, and he went himself to Fort Raus to direct the campaign in Nice. Although he took the field several weeks too late, the Duke of Montferrat drove the republicans before him, took possession of the Tarantaise, and of all the Valais from the foot of Mont Cenis to St. Jean de Maurienne, and from that town to Aigue-Belle, situated at the mouth of that long narrow valley, or where it begins to open on the comparatively champagne country about Montmélian and Chambéry. He became, in fact, master of the whole of Upper Savoy, and of a good part of the lower country, but, instead of advancing boldly and rapidly upon Chambéry, which little capital must have surrendered, the duke halted near Aigue-Belle. If the whole of the army, excepting merely a force sufficient to defend the passes at Raus, had been employed upon this sole expedition, as originally recommended by Devins, there was nothing hopeless in the project of its advancing from Chambéry to Lyons, and giving its hand to that formidable anti-Jacobin confederacy, but, divided as it now was, perhaps the most that could have been accomplished was to beat the French out of their camp at Conflans and to recover Chambéry. But, through the hesitation and delays of the Duke of Montferrat, even these two objects became unattainable. Kellermann, who was as quick as the duke was slow, rushed from his central position at Tornos with re-inforcements for Chambéry and the camp at Conflans, other republicans poured in from Annecy and the country round Geneva, the Savoyards, armed as a militia, and full of hatred and fury against their former fellow-subjects the Piedmontese, marched with the French, and gave them all the advantage of their local knowledge and influence. With the population against them,

the republicans could scarcely have ventured into the narrow defiles, and among the rocks and cliffs and stupendous mountains of that country, but with the people on their side all the natural disadvantages of that seat of war were turned upon the troops of the King of Sardinia. Early in October, a little more than a month after their descent from those mountains, the Duke of Montferrat and his troops, retreating before superior numbers, were obliged to recross Mont Cenis and the Lesser St Bernard, and to abandon everything they had gained on the eastern side of the Alps. They retired, however, like brave men and in good order, the division in the Tarantaise fighting a desperate battle for the preservation of their artillery, which was slowly ascending the rugged pass of St Bernard while they kept the republicans at bay in the country below. Upon news of this retreat all hope abandoned the Lioness, who, after bravely standing a siege of nearly two months, surrendered to the republicans and thus the main link was broken that held together the confederacy of the South of France, and without which there was but slight hope of the allies keeping the ground they had gained at Toulon. In the mean time Vittorio Amedeo had not been without his successes like his son, he began by driving the republicans before him. Descending from the crests of the maritime Alps, he made himself master of all the advanced posts and works of the French, but on the 18th of October he was repulsed with great loss at the bridge of Giletta, and then, disheartened by the intelligence of his son's retreat, of the re-conquest of Savoy, and of the fall of Lyons, he retreated by the roads through which he had come, leaving Nice to the French, and depriving the English and the Spaniards and his other allies at Toulon of any hope they might have entertained of further assistance and co-operation from him. To retreat was, however, under circumstances, the wisest measure he could adopt, for Kellermann, with no enemy left in Savoy, might have brought the mass of his army, and a host of elated Savoyard militia, down from Iornus to the river Var and the Nissard country.

The events of the war at sea remain to be narrated. Before war was declared against Great Britain, the French, determined to make use of their sovereignty over the Mediterranean Sea while it lasted, dispatched Admiral Truguet with nineteen ships of the line and some frigates, having on board six thousand land troops, to make the conquest of Sardinia, the island which gave the house of Savoy their royal title, and which, though rude and but little cultivated, was exuberantly fertile, producing in abundance wheat and other grains, of which there was now a dearth in a great part of France. The more immediate motives and necessities that had produced the expedition were shown in a numerous fleet of merchant-vessels that were collected to follow the men-of-war, and to return to France immediately with cargoes of Sardinian corn, not

the slightest apprehension being entertained that so grand an expedition could miscarry. But, besides this urgent necessity for bread, there were certain other reasons which pointed out the island as a proper conquest to be made at this moment. The neighbouring island of Corsica was beginning to rebel against the Convention, and, unless the French should obtain possession of Sardinia, with the command of the narrow Strait of St Bonifacio, which separates the two islands, they were almost sure to lose a possession which had cost them an immense deal of money and no small quantity of blood. Moreover, in the approaching maritime war with England, the more friendly ports they could have to shelter their Mediterranean fleet the better, and, besides Cagliari—a most commodious harbour—there were several ports in Sardinia which would all be closed against the tricolor flag unless the House of Savoy were dispossessed of the sovereignty. Truguet, and those who sent him, committed sundry little mistakes. They found that, because the Sardinians were rather turbulent subjects to King Vittorio Amedeo, who never resided among them, and who only drew taxes and produce from them (such slight and uncertain taxes as could be raised), they must be ripe for revolt, and prepared to receive with enthusiasm a king hating people, who would promise them (as they did promise, by decree and manifesto to all subjects who would take up arms against their governments) the elysium of no taxes, and bring them caps of liberty, and trees of liberty, and equality, and the rights of man. They positively calculated that the Sards would welcome them and join them, and they knew that the king had only two or three small garrisons in the whole island. But the Sards, though turbulent, and even lawless, were not disaffected, the rudest and roughest people in Europe, they had a mortal aversion for all changes, for all foreigners, for all projectors and interlopers. As for liberty, they had enough of it, and their mountain liberty, though resting upon every man's rifle or musket, and dagger, and not upon theory or declaration of rights, was as perfect as the republican liberty of France, and not very dissimilar to it as for any theories or abstract ideas, they were far too unenlightened to entertain them or care about them. The French might just as well have attempted to proselytize at Timbuctoo as at Cagliari, they might as well have sent their Rights of Man to the Algerines as to the Sardinians. It is certain that few of these islanders knew anything of what had been passing in France, for communications were rare as were the arts of reading and writing among them, but, if they had known how the republicans had treated the Roman church, to which they were blindly but most passionately attached, they would have had one motive more for receiving them as they did. There was not a sheepskin-clad Sardinian but had a crucifix round his neck, and a murderous long gun in his hand, or ready for it. There was nowhere a more resolute people, or one

more expert in the use of fire-arms. On the 24th of January Truguet sailed into the Bay of Cagliari, and anchored his great ships in front of the town, with their broadsides turned towards it. As soon as this was done, he sent an officer and twenty soldiers to summon the place, and represent the amazing advantages which the islanders would derive from a union with the French republic. But no sooner had the boat got well within the range of their guns than the Sards opened a fire upon it, and killed the officer and fourteen of his people, besides wounding nearly all the rest. Disappointed and furious at such a reception, Truguet forthwith began a bombardment like that which had been so effectual at Oneglia last autumn, but Cagliari was not Oneglia. The greater part of the town stood on a commanding height above the bay, just where the Carthaginians had founded it twenty-four centuries ago, and it had batteries and great guns, and furnaces for making red-hot shot, and men who knew how to use these things. The sight of the fleet on the coast had drawn a great many of the half wild country-people towards the city and port of Cagliari, and, as soon as the firing began, the mountaineers, and shepherds, and goatherds, in their sheepskin coats, and with their long muskets slung across their shoulders, descended like torrents from their mountains, some marching into the town to assist the garrison, and others taking post by the different landing-places round the bay, sheltering themselves behind rocks and sand-heaps, behind trees and bushes, and low stone walls. While his ships were bombarding and thundering at the town without any visible effect, Truguet landed a strong detachment of his land troops near the village of Quartu, famed for producing the best bread in Sardinia (and Sardinian bread, generally, is the best in the world), to see what could be done on land. These soldiers were soon brought to a stand by an enemy that was scarcely visible, except by the smoke of his guns, six hundred of them were killed, or (which amounted to the same thing for the Sards gave no quarter) were left wounded on the shore, the rest fled back to their boats and got on board their ships, most heartily sick of Sardinian warfare. So adroit were the islanders, and so well chosen their covering and places of ambush, that their whole loss in this conflict did not exceed five killed and a few wounded. When he had bombarded Cagliari for three days, burning as much powder as would have sufficed for a grand campaign, when one of his vessels had been burned by the red-hot shot of the garrison, when two more had been sunk, and when nearly all the rest had been so battered and damaged in their rigging that they were scarcely manageable, Truguet hauled off, and came to anchor at the mouth of the gulf, well out of the way of the Sardinian batteries. The only mischief he had inflicted was upon the lower suburb of the town, and upon a few fishermen's huts. He tarried for some time, repairing his rigging and talking of repeating his

attack ; but the republicans, both sailors and soldiers, became mutinous, he could no longer think that the French had a party in the island—he could no longer expect a friendly reception from those devils of Sardinia—a storm came to quicken his resolution, and so, in a gale of wind, and with a crippled fleet, he departed from those inhospitable shores, and bore away for Toulon.

On the 22nd of January, the day after the king's execution at Paris, and two days before Truguet entered the Bay of Cagliari, an attack was made on La Madalena, a small island belonging to the Sards in the Straits of Bonifacio, by a small republican force from Corsica under the command of General Cesare. This expedition was repulsed, and is only noticeable from the fact of Napoleon Bonaparte having served in it *

So little were we prepared for the war with France, that there was no English fleet in the Mediterranean until months after Truguet's Sardinian adventure, and even near home, when Lord Howe took the command of the Channel fleet, and put to sea (on the 14th of July, and not before), his force was inferior to that of the British. He sailed from Spithead with fifteen ships of the line, three of which were first-rates, but boisterous and foggy weather obliged him to seek shelter in Torbay. Here he received intelligence that a French fleet of seventeen sail of the line had been seen a little to the westward of Belleisle. His lordship put to sea on the following morning, the 25th, and, meeting an English frigate, he sent it into Plymouth to request the reinforcement of two third rates which lay ready in that port. These two ships joined immediately, and the whole fleet then bore away for Belleisle. On the morning of the 31st of July, when nearly in the latitude of Belleisle, they caught a faint glimpse of the French, and, standing in shore, towards the evening they could discover from their masts-heads the top-sails of the enemy appearing just above the horizon. At sunset fifteen sail of the

[illegible]

On the eve of the day that La Madalade said Bonaparte
 ran a merry chase of belated rain to show the French all
 who were all demagogues and who had just committed some bloody
 crimes at Ajaccio the little city of Corsica and the native place
 of these Jacobin sailors got into a quarrel with some Corsican nobles
 or volunteers (so goes the local story). Bonaparte as an officer
 in the army had to restore order the seamen called him an aristocrat and
 ran to him threatened to harm him and kill him and I was
 also proceeding to arrest him when the mayor municipal and
 inhabitants of the town of Bonifacio ran to his rescue and saved
 him.

Nothing is more probable than this little story for nothing could surpass the discipline and anarchy and savage tary that reigned at this time in the French navy.

line and two frigates were counted from the English mast-heads. On the following morning seventeen sail of the line were counted, and, later, there appeared a greater number. Lord Howe bore all sail to come up with them, but the winds were light, and the French ships sailed better than his own, our government having been somewhat negligent in its attention to naval architecture, although all our honour and all our safety depended upon our shipping. On the morning of the 2nd of August not a sail of the enemy was in sight. On the 3rd two French ships were chased by Howe's advanced frigates, but they were too close to the shore to be intercepted in their retreat. On the 10th the whole British fleet approached the coast near Brest with the intention of looking into Brest, but now the weather was so tempestuous that several of his ships sprung their masts, and others had their sails torn to ribands. This obliged Lord Howe to return to Torbay, where he arrived on the 4th of September. The services rendered by this Channel fleet did not much exceed their securing the safe arrival of our vast West Indian convoys, which must otherwise have been intercepted by the Brest fleet. At the end of October Howe, who had been still further re-inforced, put to sea with twenty-four sail of the line and several frigates. He kept cruising in the midst of almost perpetual storms, till the 10th of December. Several times he was tantalised by the sight of the French fleet, but, owing to the inferior sailing of his ships, he could never come up with them, and not a shot or gun was fired, except by the 'Latona,' Captain Thornborough, who on one occasion gained fast ahead of the French, passed under a fire from three or four of their first-rates, and made a spirited but ineffectual attempt to cut the rigging of their foremost ships, and stop them till his lordship could come up and engage. The English public, who only knew that Howe had seen the Brest fleet and had not destroyed it, were grievously disappointed at the result of his operations, but he had preserved property of an immense value, and he had notably improved the seamanship and the discipline of the fleet by his long continued cruising and manœuvring, so that a good foundation was laid for future success. A detached frigate, the 'Crescent,' commanded by Captain Saumarez, engaged and captured a French frigate of superior force off Barfleur.*

In the West Indies an attack was made upon the French islands by a small squadron and some land-troops, and Tobago, St Pierre, and Miquelon were successively reduced. At the invitation of the French planters, who stood in about equal dread of the Jacobins and the Convention and the revolted blacks, we took possession of all the western or French portion of the island of St Domingo. But at Martinique we met with a re-

pulse. The French royalists of the island, who had invited Major-General Bruce, deceived the expectations of co-operation to which they had given rise, and the English force employed was found insufficient to do the work by itself. An engagement of the fiercest kind, which served as an intimation of the spirit that animated our sailors, and of the way in which they intended to fight out this war, took place between the 'Port of Boston' and the islands. The 'Ambuscade,' a French frigate, mounting thirty-six guns, and manned with four hundred picked seamen, who had almost all served in the American war, fell in with the English frigate the 'Boston,' commanded by Captain Courteney, whose force amounted to thirty-two guns, and only two hundred and four men. The 'Boston' unfortunately received several shots between wind and water, suffered much in her rigging, and lost her brave captain early in the action, but, though almost sinking, she maintained the contest until the greatly superior French frigate, with her deck covered with killed and wounded, hauled off.

In the East Indies all the small French factories were seized. Pondicherry, which had been restored at the last peace, surrendered to General Brithwaite, and the French flag again entirely disappeared from that part of the world.

In the month of July Vice-Admiral Lord Hood entered the Mediterranean, and presented himself before Toulon with a force very inferior to that which Truguet had brought back with him from Sardinia, for Hood had only seven ships of the line four frigates, and some small craft. But the confederacy of the cities of the south was then in full vigour, the counter-revolutionists seemed determined to resort to every extremity rather than submit to the merciless Convention and the Jacobins, and not merely from Toulon, but from Marseilles, Aix, Lyons, and many intermediate towns, the British commander received royalist deputations or letters, imploring his assistance and friendly co-operation. At Toulon, nearly all the old officers of the French navy, who had been deprived of their commands, who had been insulted, degraded, and at times even beaten, and who had seen their relatives or friends in the service butchered by the jacobinised sailors, joined in the correspondence with Lord Hood, and suggested or recommended the desperate measures of surrendering their fleet to him, and putting him in possession of the ports and forts. The admiral, as a preliminary to the negotiation, and as an unequivocal proof of their loyalty and sincerity, called upon them for the immediate acknowledgment of Louis the *Seventeenth*, and upon that condition he promised not only to the people of Toulon, but also to those of Marseilles, and of the other confederating towns, all the support in his power. The sections of Toulon were assembled to deliberate, the Jacobins, together with some who were not Jacobins, but only furious at the notion of placing their great fleet in the hands of the Eng-

* Sir John Barrow, *Life of Earl Howe*—William Stewart R. in *Naval History of the late War* compiled from authentic documents 1802

lish, resisted, and made a tremendous outcry, but they were outvoted in the sections, and, when they attempted to try the strength of their party, or their parties, in the town, they found that they were miserably weak, and their adversaries very strong, for ten thousand and more Provençals had gathered in Toulon and in its immediate neighbourhood, having either fled before the republican armies, or having assembled at the call of some devoted royalists. This majority did not proceed with more moderation than was usual to all French majorities, of whatsoever principles or politics. They seized, tried, and put to death the president of the Jacobin Club, they persecuted and imprisoned many of their late persecutors, killing not a few of those sans culottes in riots and broils, they dug up the bones of some royalists who had been murdered when the Jacobins had the upper hand, and carried them in procession through the streets, they replaced all the unsworn priests, and re-

revolutionised everything. In all things, they committed themselves so deeply, that they had nothing to expect from the republicans but destruction, and the republican troops in the South were becoming victorious. General Cartaux defeated the Marseillaise royalists in a hollow on the road between Aix and Marseilles, the sans culottes of Marseilles fell upon their flying townsmen, and opened the gates of their town to the republicans and the commissioners of the Convention, who came to make the guillotine permanent. From Marseilles to Toulon was no very long march, and the Toulonaise were warned by the fugitives from the former city of the terrible fate which must befall them if Cartaux should pay them a visit and find them undecided and unprepared. Other fugitives, with their wives and their children, came to seek refuge in Toulon, and to recommend every resolution and measure that seemed likely to make that place a safe asylum. It was clear



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there was no time to be lost and on the 29th of August the counter-revolutionists concluded their treaty with Lord Hood, who, on his part, agreed that the town should be held by the English for Louis XVII, and that the ships and forts should be restored at the conclusion of peace. Having some doubts as to the sincerity of the mixed body of men with whom he had negotiated, Hood at first only landed fifteen hundred men, under the command of Captain Elphinstone, of the 'Robust,' seventy-four, but, upon seeing that the forts which commanded the outer road were quietly given up to

this detachment, he disembarked more men, who made themselves masters of Fort La Malgue, and of other forts and batteries which commanded the French ships of war, the inner harbour, and the town. Truguet had resigned, or had been deprived of his command, some time before this. Admiral Trogoff, a foreigner, who had succeeded him, had been a party in the negotiation with the English, and he now hoisted the white flag of the Bourbons. St Julien, the second in command, an entire Jacobin, who had been elected to the rank of vice-admiral by the sailors of the

fleet, hoisted the tri-color flag, and called upon the fleet to stand by him and their country; but all the French ships except seven followed Trogo's example; Lord Hood's ships began to come in to the outer harbour; the land batteries and the forts, well manned with English sailors and marines, or with shouting royalists, threatened to sink every vessel that offered any resistance; and presently St. Julien and the crews of the seven ships landed and fled. The sections of the town then made a convention with the republican seamen, who obtained four ships of the line (disarmed) to transport them to ports on the Atlantic, Lord Hood ratifying the agreement, and giving them passes to protect them from being made prisoners by any other part of our fleets. In this easy and most unexpected manner the best French port in the Mediterranean, together with the arsenal, stores, and an immense fleet, was put in possession of the English. But Lord Hood had scarcely put the port in order and taken possession of the town, ere General Cartaux arrived with his victorious army from Marseilles, and cautioned in the villages and bastides round about, calling upon all the four corners of France for re-inforcements, and upon every patriot in it for aid and assistance. He was cautious not to make too close an approach; the nearest of his posts was on a steep hill four or five miles from the walls of Toulon, and his head-quarters were still farther off on the high road which, running over a mountainous country, leads to Marseilles. Kellermann detached Lapoye to his assistance with 4000 or 5000 men; and volunteers and other corps gradually collected. On the other side, Lord Hood, sensible that the most desperate efforts would be made to recover the place, and that his sailors and the French royalists would be unequal to its defence, applied in all directions for troops and other re-inforcements; and, with rather unusual activity, our allies in the Mediterranean sent ships and troops to Toulon. The Spanish admiral Langara, who was nearest at hand, took on board the 3000 men of the army of Roussillon, came up with his fleet, and joined Hood. The Bourbon King of Naples, whose wife, Caroline of Austria, was sister to Marie Antoinette (now no more), had declared war against the French republicans, and at the first summons he sent down his small fleet and some land troops to co-operate. The King of Sardinia sent another detachment; and 5000 men were promised from the Austrian army in Lombardy—only these last never arrived. Lord Hood's fleet was greatly strengthened by fresh arrivals of ships of the line and frigates from England; and he expected some troops from Gibraltar. Lord Mulgrave, who had served with reputation in the English army, arrived from Italy, where he had been travelling for his pleasure, and, at the request of Lord Hood, took the temporary command of the troops. Before Lord Mulgrave's arrival, Captain Elphinstone, with 300 English sailors and marines, and about an equal number

of Spaniards, made a sortie, and paid a visit to Cartaux's advanced post at the village of Ollioules, on the side of a steep hill, rendered difficult of access by a ravine which had a stone bridge over it defended by two pieces of cannon. The windows of the village, and the stone walls of the vineyards round it, were lined with musketry, and two other pieces of cannon were mounted in an old fort. The republicans were between 700 and 800 strong. Some French royalists, who had engaged to come round from Toulon by a different way, and to bring some field-pieces with them, did not keep their appointment. Elphinstone had no cannon of any kind—he had nothing but cutlasses, and muskets and bayonets; but he resolved not to return without trying what sort of steel his bayonets were made of. He posted a part of his small force on a hillock near the bridge, with orders to fire incessantly at the cannon; and he commanded the main column to advance under cover of a wall to within two hundred yards of the enemy; and, when exposed to their fire, to rush forward with bayonets fixed. The success was complete, the republicans were beaten out of the vineyards and right out of the village, their cannon were taken, their ammunition, and even their standards; and with these trophies, and hardly any loss, the brave sailor returned to Toulon. Two days after Lord Mulgrave's arrival, Cartaux, whose re-inforcements came in much faster than those of the allies, drew somewhat nearer to the town, and drove some French royalists and a party of Spaniards from an outpost on a hill. But, as the English general perceived that this post was out of the line of defence, no attempt was made to recover it. For some days the republicans pushed their patrols nearer and nearer to the outposts, and the allies remained on the defensive, not choosing to exhaust their garrison, which was still far too small for the defence of such a place as Toulon, which lies in a hollow in the midst of an amphitheatre of hills, so that the crests of all these hills, or all of them which commanded the town, had to be covered and defended. M. Thiers taxes the allies with a want of spirit or of military intelligence in not going out and destroying the armies of Cartaux and Lapoye one after the other, instead of staying to fortify the place; but the French generals are rather open to accusation for not going in, instead of leaving so weak a force time to strengthen their positions and receive re-inforcements. Now, when they drove a body of Spaniards from a height which was really within the line of defence, Lord Mulgrave moved out with a small column, and drove them from it with a very severe loss. In this affair a corps of Neapolitans behaved with admirable gallantry. The expected succours arrived from Gibraltar, but they consisted merely of two foot regiments and a few artillery-men, under the command of General O'Hara, a brave officer, but said to have been not a very cool or a skilful one. O'Hara took the command of the place and

of all the land troops of the allies, which did not even now exceed 11,000 men, counting all nations, and including some corps that had nothing of the soldier but the name. To keep all that wide range of hills (some of which commanded the two harbours, and the fleets in them as well as the town) would have required, at the very least, 30,000 troops of the best quality. It was not an over-extended fortress, but a great patch of country that they had to defend—the fortifications of Toulon, on the land side, were absolutely nothing without the hills; and the greater part of these operations are not to be considered as belonging to siege and defence, but as open field-fighting. When Lyons surrendered to the republicans, and when the two armies of the King of Sardinia retreated into Piedmont, General D'armée, and General Dugommier from the Var with another. Dugommier, a much abler man than Cartaux, took the command of the whole force, which, including national guards and volunteers, probably did not fall short of 40,000 men. But Dugommier had brought with him from Nice, where he had been serving during the summer, a little Corsican, a young officer of artillery, who was worth more than many thousand men. This was Napoleon Bonaparte, who was observed to sleep at nights by the side of a cannon as though it were his bride, who displayed an activity, and, above all, an intelligence and a quickness which commanded attention. At first he had been received almost with insolence by Cartaux and D'armée; but Dugommier, a veteran soldier, had a better sense of his merits, and he was strongly supported by the Jacobin commissioners of the Convention, one of whom was the brother of the then all-powerful Robespierre, with whose party the young officer had recently identified himself, by writing and publishing a political pamphlet entitled 'The Supper of Beaucaire,' in which he went the whole lengths of Jacobinism and sans-culottism. Under such patronage he got the command of the whole besieging artillery, amounting to 200 or more pieces; and he was pretty certain that in the councils of war, which were now frequently called, any opinion he might emit would be listened to, at least with respect. It did not require his extraordinary quickness to discover that Cartaux, who had been a common dragoon before the revolution, and D'armée, who had been a doctor in medicine in Savoy, had mismanaged operations lamentably. The executive at Paris sent a plan of attack to Dugommier—a plan probably drawn up by Carnot—and the commander-in-chief assembled a council upon it. Dugommier thought, they all thought, that the plan was a good one; but young Bonaparte suggested a better. "All that you want," said he, "is to force the English to evacuate Toulon. Instead of attacking them in the town, which must involve a long series of operations, try and establish batteries which shall sweep the harbour and the roadstead. If you can only drive away the ships, the

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troops will not remain." He pointed out the rocky promontory of La Grasse, which stands nearly opposite to the town, and commands both the inner and the outer harbour, and said, "Take



YOUNG NAPOLEON.

La Grasse, and in two days Toulon will be yours." If Cartaux had made the attempt two months earlier, nothing could have been so easy of execution; but in that interval the English had thrown up three redoubts on that promontory, and had strengthened Fort L'Aiguillette and Fort Balaguier, which stood on the two seaward points of the promontory of La Grasse; and since the arrival of the troops from Gibraltar these works, though with little to justify the comparison, had gone by the name of "Little Gibraltar." These two forts, which had been originally constructed, like all the important works at Toulon, merely as sea defences, were weak on the land side, and, however much they had been improved, they were still commanded by the higher ground at the back of them, so that their security depended entirely upon the three redoubts and the abatis which the English had erected across the promontory. Fort L'Aiguillette was the better one of the two; but both were absolutely under the guns of whatever party should secure the higher ground of the little promontory, which presented no precipices or obstructions to the French on the land-side, being joined on to the continent by an easy slope. Under the direction of Bonaparte batteries were erected opposite the English redoubts, and other batteries were thrown up near Fort Malbousquet, on the opposite side of the inner harbour. None of these advances had been allowed without a sharp contest, and in several instances the republicans had been obliged to relinquish, with great loss, the ground they had gained. On the 15th of November they had lost in one affair some six hundred men. On the 30th General O'Hara, perceiving that their works near Malbousquet might annoy the town and the arsenal, and Fort L'Aiguillette, made a sally in great force, drove them from the hill and from their redoubt, and was in the act of spiking their guns, when Bonaparte in person, observing that the greater part of the English troops were descending the opposite side of the

hill and pursuing the French impetuously and without order, threw himself with an entire battalion into a hollow which was screened by willow-trees and bushes, and which led round to the gorge of the redoubt. O'Hara, who did not discover this force until it was close upon him, and who then mistook it for a detachment of his allies, advanced to the hedge to give orders. He was saluted with a volley, and wounded in the arm. He attempted to return to the redoubt, supported by two soldiers; but the anguish of the wound made him grow faint: he ordered the men to seek their own safety in flight, and immediately after he was made prisoner by the enemy. Before the rash men who had been pursuing the French could get back to their comrades at the redoubt, Dugommier beat to arms all through his encampments, and, while some of the republicans marched rapidly towards the hill, others threw themselves between the hill and the English lines to cut off their retreat to their works. A desperate struggle ensued, in the course of which Bonaparte received a bayonet wound, and was carried off the field fainting in the arms of Muiron, a young officer of artillery. Fighting their way through, O'Hara's people reached their lines, but not without serious loss—a loss the besiegers could ill bear, as by this time they had two or three thousand men in hospital from the effects of wounds, disease, or excessive fatigue. The loss of their general discouraged the English troops, and all manner of dissensions and differences broke out among their heterogeneous allies, all of whom, except the desperate French royalists, were sick of the business, and anxious to be gone long before the last misadventure. Even these French royalists, though fighting briskly and gallantly whenever the occasion offered, yielded to absurd impressions and antipathies, some of them, and some of our other allies, spreading the monstrous report that O'Hara had permitted himself to be made prisoner in order to have the opportunity of selling Toulon to the republicans. The Neapolitans, who had behaved so well at the beginning, were now almost mutinous; the Piedmontese were somewhat more steady; but the Spaniards, whose general had been lukewarm from the first because Lord Hood had refused him the chief command and custody of the town, were scarcely to be relied upon for a single hour. In all affairs, great or small, feelings like these prevailed, demonstrating the vast difference between the effective value of an army composed of one nation and fighting for one object, and an army composed of four or five nations, with contrary views, interests, prejudices, and passions. The difference of languages alone spoken in the ill-assorted garrison was a cause of endless confusion. As no more sorties were made, the French were enabled to advance their batteries against the redoubts and abatis of La Grasse. On the 17th of December, after some cannonading, the republicans made a night attack on one of the redoubts which was occupied by Spaniards, and were

allowed to carry it without much opposition. This, in fact, was decisive of the whole affair, for the two other redoubts became untenable, and without these redoubts the forts beneath were worth nothing. The British sailors and troops stood manfully in the quarters where they were stationed; but, battered by innumerable cannon-balls and bombs, charged successively by three columns of 4000 or 5000 men each, and assailed on the flank by the redoubt which the Spaniards had abandoned, they were at last compelled to take refuge in Fort L'Aiguillette. Notwithstanding all that had been done to improve it, this fort was so badly constructed for the purposes of any defence on the land side, that the English found themselves under the necessity of cutting down the embrasures in order to bring their guns to bear upon the republicans. Yet, deterred by the loss they had sustained at the redoubts, the besiegers halted there, and did not press on to Fort L'Aiguillette. From the ground they had gained they could, however, sweep the inner road and the town. Lord Hood called a council of war. It was readily agreed that Toulon and both its ports should be evacuated as quickly as possible; that such of the French ships as were rigged and fit for sea should be carried off, and that all the rest, on the stocks or in dock, should be destroyed; that all possible exertions should be made for carrying off the anti-republican inhabitants of the town and the other French royalists; that transports and merchantmen should be provisioned for these unhappy and numerous classes, who must be butchered if they remained behind; and, finally, that all the allies should unite their efforts for all these objects, and maintain the several forts and batteries they still held round the town and the harbours in order to facilitate the retreat of all, and prevent that confusion which must inevitably be fatal to some of them, and which might prove fatal to all. But, when these resolutions were made known to the allied forces, they nearly all declared that they would not wait, that they were in no condition to maintain their posts, and that they should get on board their ships and provide for their own safety. The Neapolitans held two very important posts on the outer harbour—one at Cape Lebrun, and the other at Cape Sepet; their commanding officers intimated in the most express terms that they would abandon them at the approach of the enemy. If the republicans had pushed boldly forward upon these and other points, they might assuredly have saved their own great fleet, for Hood must have sailed away immediately, and in the rush and confusion of such a retreat the allies must have suffered some enormous loss. On the morning of the 18th the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery, were sent off. As soon as these preparations were seen by the Jacobins of the town, who had not been sufficiently disarmed, they rose in a mass, and, taking possession of some of the houses, they barricaded them, and fired from the windows upon the allied troops and upon

their own countrymen of the royalist faction. The Neapolitans embarked in the utmost disorder, caring for none but themselves, and getting their ships out to sea at once. The Spaniards and Piedmontese showed more coolness, and more consideration for others, and they were employed in preparing for the general retreat, and in providing for the safety of the hapless French royalists, who, with their wives and children, and whatever moveable property they possessed, were to embark at the quays and arsenal. All the troops in the town were to march out at night, and take to their boats under the guns of Fort La Malgue, on the southern side of the outer harbour, which still remained in their possession. The day passed with little or no interruption from the republicans, although it was not possible that they should be ignorant of the intended retreat, of the confusion which attended it, and of the advantages to be derived from it by a bold attack and in-burst. At the appointed time the troops began to file through a narrow, inconvenient sail-port, the proper route through the gate of Italy being rendered impassable in consequence of the Spaniards having abandoned, without orders, a fort which swept that road, and which had been immediately taken possession of by the enemy. The troops reached La Malgue without accident, the sailors had the boats of the fleet in readiness, the sea in the outer harbour or road, where the ships were now stationed, was perfectly calm, and the embarkation was begun with rapidity, but also with good order. Then, at a given signal, commenced one of the most terrible scenes that even war has ever presented: then Sir Sidney Smith—who had recently arrived at Toulon, and who had volunteered to conduct the perilous operation of blowing up and destroying all the French ships of war which could not be removed, the powder-magazines, the stores and arsenal—set to work, having previously made some hurried preparations. Admiral Langara had undertaken the destruction of all the ships in one of the basins, and had promised to send three Spanish gun-boats to co-operate with Sir Sidney. There were reasons for believing that the Spaniards would not be very earnest in the dangerous work, for, although Langara had not, in the council of war, offered any opposition to the project of destroying that immense Toulon fleet, which must otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy, he had declared in a conversation, which was reported to Lord Hood, that he knew it to be the interest of England to strike this blow against the maritime power of France, but that he also knew it to be equally the interest of Spain to prevent it.* Lord Hood therefore could not place much reliance on the exertions of the Spaniards, but it would have been unwise to irritate them by showing a want of confidence, and the work, to be done effectually, required many hands, as also the service of some craft which did not exist in Lord Hood's fleet. The arsenal, an immense range of build-

* William Stewart Ross.

ings, part of which stood on the shore between the town and the inner port, and was composed of magazines and storehouses, and part of which was built on piers standing out in the water, surrounded or inclosed two wet docks (each with its separate mouth or entrance from the inner road or harbour), at that time full of ships, a dock-yard, a timber-yard, rope-walks, workshops, &c. There were powder magazines still pretty full, notwithstanding the consumption of the allies during the siege, and one of the ships in the greater basin was loaded with powder. The English flotilla appointed to send these things into the air consisted of the 'Vulcan' fireship, the 'Alert' sloop, the 'Swallow' tender, three gun-boats, and a Spanish mortar boat. The crew of this mortar-boat shared fairly in the dangers and labours of the night, but this was the only assistance derived from the Spaniards. On entering the larger basin with his flotilla, Sir Sidney Smith found that all the workmen had thrown away their white cockades and mounted tricoloured ones, and that six hundred *galèrenes*, or condemned felons, confined on board a great galley, were freeing themselves from their irons, and threatening resistance. Unwilling to deprive these poor wretches of their only chance of escaping the destruction which seemed to threaten them, he offered them no interrupt on, merely pointing the guns of the 'Swallow' tender so as to enfilade the quay on which they must have landed in order to attack him. While he was entering the basin and making his preparations in it, the besiegers kept up a close cross-fire of shot and shells from Malbouquet and the neighbouring hills which almost overhung the arsenal, but this only kept the galley slaves in awe, and confirmed the Jacobin party in the town within their houses, without producing any dismay or disorder among the British sailors, who went on distributing their combustibles among the shipping. A little later a great multitude of the besiegers descended the hills and approached the walls of the dockyard, animating each other by shouts and republican songs. Some of them came so near as to pour a quick irregular fire of musketry upon Sir Sidney Smith's seamen, who were running all about, but a few discharges of grape shot scattered them, and sent them back before they could discover the smallness of the English force, and its utter incapability of resisting a close attack. The fireship—the terrible 'Vulcan'—was now all ready, and placed across the tier of men-of-war. Sir Sidney only expected a second signal to set fire to the trains. The great galley was not in the tier with the men-of-war: no sound was now heard from it except the noise of the hammer clanking against their chains and irons, from which the *galèrenes* were desperately striving to release themselves. And now the signal was given, and the matches were applied to the trains, and flames and columns of fire like those of a volcano in eruption rose from that part of the arsenal. By the horrible glare of this light the besiegers, who had again clustered on the nearest hills, could distinctly see and take aim

at the English : they redoubled their discharges of artillery, and were approaching still nearer to the walls of the arsenal, when the 'Vulcan' began to roar : the guns of that fireship, doubly-shot, went off as the flames reached them—went off larboard and starboard, checking the advances of the troops without, and of the Jacobins within. The shouts of the republicans on the hills were answered by the cheers of the English sailors ; but anon there was an explosion so tremendous, and proceeding from a point so wholly unexpected by the British, that for some minutes all shouting and cheering ceased, all hostilities were suspended, and the bravest stood aghast. The roar proceeded from a great powder-ship, which was not in the bason, but in the inner harbour outside of the bason, and thus between the English flotilla and the allied fleet. Lord Hood had committed the charge of this and another ship to the Spaniards with proper instructions ; and the Spaniards employed, instead of scuttling and sinking them, set fire to them both. The flaming timber, and all that the two ships had contained, mounted high in the mid-night air, and then descending, threatened to overwhelm the whole of the small flotilla. One of the gun-boats and one of the ship's boats were struck and blown to pieces, but, with the exception of one officer and three men, the crews were picked up alive out of the water. After setting fire to some more trains, Sir Sidney Smith and his people,



SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

with the 'Alert' sloop bringing up the rear, glided away from the quay of the arsenal, and across the inner harbour. But now the Spanish officer, who had been detached to burn the ships in the other bason, came and reported to Sir Sidney that he had not been able to enter that bason, as a boom had been thrown across the narrow mouth, and as the firing was too hot. Sir Sidney instantly sent back his English boats, and the Spanish mortar-boat ; but it was now too late ; the Spanish officer had thrown away his time and opportunity ; the Jacobins of the town, who had waited until the last of the allied troops had retired, had now seized a battery which commanded that part of the quay, and, though the cannon were spiked, the place was near enough for their

musketry to tell ; and other volleys of musketry proceeded from the great guard-ship which lay within the boom. After an ineffectual attempt to cut or break the boom, the English sailors pulled off. But still the flotilla lingered in the inner harbour, for a considerable number of fugitives appeared at the water's edge putting up prayers for protection. The known royalists had been embarked, but the republicans were now rushing into the town on the land side, and were massacring all they met except the Jacobins, who were in arms, and who joined them in the work of extermination. These fugitives rushed into whatever boats they could find on the beach ; some of them pushed off without oars ; some so overloaded the boats that they sank in smooth water—many were drowned—all that were alive looked to Sir Sidney Smith's flotilla as their last only chance of salvation in this world. As there was not a braver, so was there not a more humane and generous-minded man than Sir Sidney : though now assailed from every side, and liable to be sunk in the narrow passage from the inner to the outer port, by the cross fires of the battery of Cape Brun, Fort L'Aiguillette, and Fort Balaguier, he hove-to, drove back the Jacobins with a well-directed fire, and received the fugitives on board his flotilla. Nor did he get him gone yet. The Spaniards had left him something more to do in that inner harbour. There lay there two French 74-gun ships, one of which was a prison ship in possession of the Jacobins, who had been confined in her, and who had been threatening the most desperate resistance. But the suffounding conflagration, the explosion of the powder-ship, which had been fired by the Spaniards at no great distance, and the scene of horror as of hell that environed them, completely intimidated these desperate prisoners ; they gratefully embraced the offer of being landed in a place of safety, and as soon as they were removed fire was set to those two line-of-battle ships. Sir Sidney's operations were now completed, in as far as mortal man could complete them ; but, before he could get out of that infernal crater, the powder-ship in the bason went off with an explosion more awful than the first, threatening destruction to the flotilla and to all who were near. But this time the flotilla escaped without the slightest injury. It had destroyed nine ships of the line, besides other craft, magazines, &c. And now it glided through the passage, running the gantelope of the batteries of Balaguier and L'Aiguillette, occupied by the enemy, who had not, however, taken possession of the battery opposite at Cape Brun. Unhurt, Sir Sidney and his exhausted men joined in the outer road Admiral Lord Hood, who embarked all the English forces without the loss of a man. The fleet remained for some time in the roadstead, all eyes on board fixed on the mighty conflagration ; and then they steered for the Hesperides of France, the beautiful islands of Hieres, which, lying close under the coast of Provence, and covered with

groves of orange, and citron, and myrtle, look like a piece of Italy dropped there by mistake.*

The English had destroyed one ship of 84 guns, one of 76 guns, seven of 74 guns, and two of 24 guns, and they brought away with them more vessels than they burned—one immense ship of 120 guns, two of 74 guns, one of 40 guns, four frigates, and seven corvettes, brigs, &c, following Lord Hood to Hieres. The Spaniards brought away one vessel of 18 guns, the Sardinians one of 32 guns, and the Neapolitans one of 20 guns. Yet the whole blow at the French navy was not so decisive as had been expected fourteen sail of the line and five frigates escaped destruction, or were only so partially destroyed that it was found possible to repair them afterwards. The Spaniards, as we have seen, did little or nothing, and in the basin, where the British sailors had operated, the released galley-slaves extinguished the fire in several of the vessels. Nearly 15,000 men, women, and children, inhabitants of the town, or royalists from other parts of the south who had taken refuge in it as the last asylum they had in France, were carried safely away by the allied fleets: it appears that hardly any were left behind who had committed themselves by counter-revolutionary deeds, or by correspondence and connexion with Lord Hood and his allies; but what M. Thiers styles "the revolutionary vengeance" would not submit to be disappointed of its prey and its victims. Upon the first entrance of the republicans in to the half ruined town they massacred every one they met, not excepting even some two or three hundred Jacobins who went to meet and welcome them. The released *galériens*, whose exertions in saving the shipping had converted them from felons into patriots, joined in the excesses of the soldiery: and for twenty-four hours there was a sabbath of crime and horror in which every possible monstrosity was committed. And after these abominations the slaughter was continued for a long time in a regular, organised manner. Several hundreds of poor workmen and labourers, who had been employed by the English and their allies in improving the fortifications of Toulon, were condemned in a mass, and were executed in the same manner, the executioners being cannoniers who fired upon them with grape-shot. The guillotine, which always followed in the wake of the victorious republican armies, was then set up and made permanent: the possession of money or lands, or of a respectable station in society, was guilt and proof enough to the improvised revolutionary tribunal, and to the military commissions, which were presided over or directed by the younger Robespierre, Barras, and Freron, the three commissioners from the Convention. That legislature, carrying out to its utmost limits Danton's governing axiom, *Faire Peur*, decreed that the name of Toulon should be changed to that of Port de la Montagne, that the town should be destroyed, and that not a stone

should be left on the top of another, except in the forts, barracks, and arsenal.

While Lord Hood was in possession of Toulon he had detached a squadron to Corsica to carry assistance to the anti-republican and anti-French party in that island, and another, commanded by Admiral Gell, to call to account the republic of Genoa, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or his authorities at Leghorn, who, under the mask of neutrality, had for some time pursued a system almost openly hostile to the allies. The French army in Nice had been supplied from Leghorn with provisions and stores, although the Grand Duke's government had refused a small supply of bullocks to the English fleet. Nor was this all. Two inhabitants of Toulon, under the immediate protection of Lord Hood, had proceeded to Leghorn and had there purchased a quantity of corn for the use of Toulon, and the Tuscan government, at the instance of La Flotte, the minister or resident of the French republic at Florence, had not only sequestered the corn, but had also thrown the two Toulon merchants into prison. Lord Hervey had remonstrated repeatedly, but all in vain: the Tuscan government would not so much as release the two Toulon merchants. At times the timid court his lordship addressed maintained an obstinate silence, and at other times they baffled him by delays and evasions. They could not be suspected of any affection for the French—the Grand Duke was a prince of the House of Austria, the near relation of the reigning emperor, who was at the head of the coalition, as also of Marie Antoinette, who had been so barbarously used—but they dreaded the might and fury of the republicans, and knowing their own weakness, and shutting their eyes to the fact that this was a war which would admit of no neutralities (or at least of none to a country situated as Tuscany is), they wished to remain on good terms with the French. While the English minister was carrying on his correspondence with the Grand Duke's government, he received intelligence that Tilly, the French *Chargé d'Affaires* at Genoa, had hired a brace of ruffians, who were to seize the principal agent for the purchase of the corn, and carry him on board a republican frigate. As soon as Admiral Gell arrived off the coast, Lord Hervey, no longer satisfied with demanding the liberation of the two Toulon merchants, and the liberty to export the corn they had purchased, insisted that the republican minister La Flotte should be immediately expelled from the Tuscan territory. The timid government, now placed between two dangers, promised that they would dismiss the Frenchman, but new delays were interposed, the corn, much wanted at Toulon, was not released. La Flotte remained where he was, nor did there appear any inclination to enforce his departure. Hereupon Lord Hervey presented himself suddenly at the palace, and having, not without difficulty, obtained admittance to the presence of the Grand Duke, he expressed to him in strong terms the danger of any further procrastination,

* W. A. Rose Naval Hist. of late War.—S. Hornberg Naval Chronology.—Lord Hood's Despatches.—Private information.

telling him that Admiral Gell would, in twelve hours, blockade the port of Leghorn, if La Flotte and his companions (one of these was Chauvelin, late minister at London) were not immediately dismissed. The Grand Duke retired in confusion without giving any explicit answer. But intelligence presently reached Florence that a detachment from Admiral Gell's squadron was cruising off Leghorn, and that some other English ships had seized a French frigate in the Gulf of Spezia, and under the guns of Fort Santa Maria, a Genoese fort—an act which was certainly nothing less than an infringement of the law of nations. To escape from the more immediate danger, Territori, the duke's chief minister, gave the French legation their passports, with orders to quit Tuscany within twelve hours. La Flotte and Chauvelin went into the Venetian states by way of Ferrara, and Fougères, with one or two other Frenchmen, hastened to Genoa. Other satisfaction was given, the corn was delivered to its purchasers, and after a little delay, the Grand Duke, beset not merely by the minister of Great Britain, but also by the ministers of all the allied powers, and by the messengers and agents of the King of Sardinia, the King of Naples, and of nearly every prince in Italy, not only agreed to break off all intercourse with the French republic, but further engaged to unite with the grand European coalition.*

The government and the people of Genoa had been, from a variety of causes, entirely under the influence of France ever since the beginning of the war, and that city of palaces swarmed with men who were or who fancied themselves Jacobins. The government was strictly an oligarchy, and an oligarchy of the most aristocratic kind, yet not a few of the members composing it, or of the members of the noble families who might aspire to form a part of it, had taken the new French doctrine to their hearts or to their heads, and, being nominally republicans themselves, these individuals seem to have fancied that it was their bounden duty to assist in spreading the new republicanism all over Europe, although it no more resembled their own than the government of Constantinople resembled that of ancient Rome. All classes of Genoese hated most vehemently their next neighbours, the Piedmontese, whose king had become a principal in the war, and they hailed with joy the news of every reverse or defeat of his Sardinian majesty.

* Carlo Botta, *Storia d'Italia*—Vol. 4. Rom.—The chief occupation of La Flotte (Chauvelin) and the rest of the republican diplomatists while all were to remain at Florence had been to prevail on Jacobinism and disseminate Jacobinism and Atlantic in books as a means of preparing a revolution and anarchy in France, which was at the time beyond dispute one of the happiest and one of the best governed countries in Europe. On the Frenchmen followed up the same system in all the rest of Italy: the diplomatists among their own time, in the most barbed manner against the governments to which they were accredited. It is therefore all because these men and their countrymen to rail and exclaim a any violation of the law of nations. In Tuscany a republican admiral had received on board his ships in the Bay of Naples and had entertained on shore a great number of Neapolitan reformers had instructed them how to organize secret societies, and had distributed the *bonaparte* among them, and all this he had done not only before the sovereign of the country, but in the ally, but at the very moment when he had engaged to remain neutral, to receive a republican ambassador, and to send an ambassador of his own to Paris.—Pietro Colletta, *Storia di Napoli*

Many of them had large capitals locked up in France. Some of the senators aided with the friends of the French, out of fear of an invasion, or of a bombardment like that which Louis XIV. had inflicted on their fair city, and others of the same patrician class were notoriously bribed by the Convention, which, circulating nothing but assignats in France, found means of sending specie and other substantial means of corruption into foreign countries. The amount of gold and silver thus exported by the French republicans, even in the early stages of the war, was prodigious, and may account for many incidents and occurrences which otherwise seem inexplicable. The greediness for gold was at least as great among these Genoese republicans at the end of the eighteenth century as it was in the days of Dante. They had allowed Tilly to purchase and transmit contraband stores in Genoese vessels to Kellermann's army, and their neutral port had been a constant station for the French ships of war. In the month of July, Captain Inglefield, who had put into the port in an English frigate on a diplomatic mission from Lord Hood, was pursued by two French frigates which had been lying there. An English cutter had been pursued by gun-boats, and had been, like the English frigate, compelled to return into the harbour a tartane from Marseilles, at the time when that unfortunate city was in arms against the Convention and under the protection of Lord Hood, was seized in the harbour, and under the forts of the Genoese republic, by the French republicans then there, who carried the ship's papers, and whatever letters and papers she had on board, to Tilly, the charge d'affaires, and put the captain of the vessel in irons. Of several circumstances the Genoese government had taken no heed. Admiral Gell now sent the 'Scipio,' a 74-gun ship, right into the harbour of Genoa, and the 'Scipio' seized the 'Modeste' frigate, the only French vessel then in that port, and brought her under the English admiral's lee. Backed by Mr Drake, the English resident, Gell then demanded satisfaction for the injuries and insults which had been received, and an immediate cessation of the contraband trade which had been allowed with the French republicans, enforcing the demands with strong menaces of the hostility of Great Britain. The younger Robespierre, who was at this moment in commission at Nice, issued a terrible protest against the irregularities of the English admiral, and more especially against the capture of the French frigate in a neutral port, which he characterised as a detestable deed, an outrage not merely upon international law, but upon the rights of the whole human species,—a high crime against all civilised society. In this paper he called upon the Genoese (as if they had had the power to do it) to take an immediate and terrible vengeance on the English, he told them that they must forthwith resolve to be either friends to the friends, or enemies to the enemies of society, that if their senate should delay in making up their mind, and in punishing

with a just and exemplary punishment the authors of the crime, which had been committed in their port, and under the mouths of their guns, they would be considered in a state of hostility against the French republic, which, on her part, would resort to whatever means she might think proper in order to secure vengeance for so horrible an act of violence as the seizure of the frigate. The trembling senate tried the hopeless experiment of reconciling both parties: they sent explanations and messages to Paris; they instructed their minister at London to enter into, and lengthen explanations and negotiations. Admiral Gell, however, was instructed to demand the expulsion of Tilly, the chargé d'affaires, who had been the fomentor of all the disturbances which had previously taken place, and who still persisted in supplying the French army with contraband stores. The English ships blockaded the port of Genoa for some time, and then withdrew upon the not very trustworthy promise of the senate to observe a strict neutrality, and rigorously enforce that essential part of it which forbade their supplying the contraband stores, and without obtaining the expulsion of Tilly. It was considered unwise at the present moment to proceed to any decidedly hostile measures as the senate must then have thrown themselves into the arms of the Convention, and as Genoa would have afforded the French an easy access, by Garvi and the Bochetta pass, into the heart of Piedmont. On the other side the Convention and their commissioners had good reasons for not driving the senate into the arms of the English. Thus each party tolerated for a time the neutrality of that little Italian republic, the French, to whom the neutrality, in the way in which it was observed by the Genoese, was exceedingly serviceable looking confidently forward to some near day when they should be able to annex Genoa, together with Piedmont and Lombardy, and the whole of Upper Italy, to their dominions, or at least to establish in those regions a series of democracies and mock republics which should be entirely dependent on France. The traffickers and speculators of Genoa continued the contraband trade with Kellermann's army, and the southern provinces of France, and the profit they derived from it blinded their eyes to the prospect of future misery and would by itself have been sufficient to have prevented the senate from entering into the coalition. The pope closed his ports to all French shipping, and the Grand-Master of the Knights of Malta expelled from that island all French agents, and prohibited the entrance into his ports of any vessel whatsoever bearing the tri-coloured flag. The republic of Venice followed the same line of conduct as Genoa, but derived less pecuniary advantage from her neutrality. Efforts were made by the English resident minister, and by the representatives of other powers, to draw the Venetian senate into the league against France, but they failed for the present, and Venice became on the Adriatic what Genoa was on the Mediterranean side of the

peninsula, a centre of intrigue and a sort of headquarters for revolution professors and proselytising Jacobins. Chauvelin and his comrades, flourishing under the protection of the Lion of Saint Mark, which had become as timid and crouching as a cur—which was trying to fawn on all parties, with the certainty of being kicked by all—preached the sacred duty of insurrection in all the Venetian states and dependencies, and excited the Grisons on one side and the Dalmatians on the other to take up arms against the poor old and decrepit republic, while other agents from the Convention were labouring hard at Constantinople to entice the Turks into the war as allies of the French, by showing how easy it would be to profit by the present weakness of the Venetians, and by the over-occupation which the Austrians had given themselves on the Rhine.

The narrative of the civil war or wars which desolated the interior of France, while foreign war raged on all her frontiers, may now be best given in connexion with the proceedings at Paris and the transactions of the National Convention. The death of Louis XVI., which was to reconcile all differences of opinions, of views, and of interests, which was to destroy the distinctions of parties and of factions, and to unite all France as one great loving republican family, was followed by totally different results. The head of that unfortunate prince had scarcely been struck off ere the Gironde and the Mountain renewed their death-struggle with an increase of fury, each party striving to send their adversaries to the guillotine, and each feeling convinced that their only hope of life lay in the wholesale destruction of the other faction. Having remained in office just long enough to witness the trial and execution of the king, the virtuous Roland, harassed to death by the Jacobins, and evidently alarmed at their increasing power as well as rage, retired from the ministry with certain moral reflections which he might have made several months before and with certain protestations which were quite as much called for when he accepted office as they could be now. A few days after the Girondists drove Pache, who had become a determined Montagnard, from his office as minister of war, and brought in Beurnonville, whom we have seen Dumouriez pack off to Coburg and an Austrian prison, but, while Roland, out of place, remained a nullity, his former protégé, but now his mortal enemy, Pache, became more considerable and more powerful than ever by being elected mayor of Paris in lieu of Doctor Chambon, who had been terrified and beaten out of that place by the Jacobins. Claviere, the finance minister, and Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, who remained in office, were completely directed or led by Brissot, who indeed meddled in all things to such an extent that, though not holding any office, he must be considered as the real head of this crazy Girondist cabinet, and thus be held answerable for most of the follies and blunders and the worse things they committed. The whole party

were called, at the time, *Brissotins* much more commonly than *Girondins*. If even there could have been a reconciliation or a brief truce between Robespierre and the rest of the Girondists, the thing was impossible between Robespierre and Brissot. For a short time the war between the two factions was carried on by means of pen and ink and the printing-press, the Girondist journalists, Condorcet, Goussier, and Brissot himself (the busiest and quickest of them all) accusing the men of the Mountain of all manner of un-republican intentions, and loading them with the entire guilt of crimes in which the Girondists themselves had either had a principal share, or by which they had manifestly and manifoldly profited in rigging out their republic, and in getting at the helm of it, and the ultra-Jacobin journalists accusing the Girondists of views inimical to the sovereignty of the common people, of a new sort of aristocracy worse than the old, and (what was worst of all, because most vague and least comprehended by the Paris mob) of federalism. Specific charges were also brought against the chiefs of the Gironde, thus the Jacobins, undeterred by the abundant evidence which proved that Roland, for his own part, had been indifferent to money, and had quitted office a poor man, accused him of the grossest corruption and most ravenous speculation, asserting and repeating day after day that, during the short time he had been in office, he had contrived to lodge twelve millions of livres and more in London. They attributed the scarcity of provisions and the dearth of money to Roland, to those who remained in office after him, and to Brissot. These Jacobin papers were all read and greedily devoured by the common people, to whom they were addressed, but the Girondist journals rarely got beyond the respectabilities, whose numbers were lessened, and in a regular but rapid process of still further diminution, and who had already established the fact that in such a revolution they had, and could have, no manner of weight. Many of these journalists were deputies or members of the Convention. A decree was passed ordering these députés-journalistes to choose between their two functions, and either cease to be deputies or give up their newspapers, but, like a thousand and one other decrees, this was found inexecutable. In consequence of the assassination of Lepelletier St-Fargeau, the Convention thought it expedient to renew or remodel their own committee of surveillance, which was separate and distinct from the committee of surveillance of the commune, declaring that no doubt could be entertained that there was a royalist conspiracy on foot to cut off all the patriotic members. The Jacobins outnumbered the Girondists in this committee; and almost the first thing they did was to order the arrest of Goussier, the Girondist journalist. On the 25th of February there were frightful disorders in the city of Paris, the people breaking open and plundering a great many of the shops where sugar and coffee, soap, and other articles were sold—sold, as they said, at an enormous

price, simply in consequence of an iniquitous system of monopoly which was but part of a royalist and aristocratic system invented for the purpose of distressing poor and virtuous patriots. In the insurrection shopkeepers' heads were broken as well as shop-doors. During the commotion some people were heard to exclaim that when they had a king they got their coffee and their sugar cheap, but now that they had gotten a republic all things were becoming dear. The Girondists taxed the Jacobins with having promoted these disorders, and provoked these dangerous un-republican remarks, and the Jacobins swore that, if this sugar and coffee business were only well sifted, the Girondists would be found at the bottom of it. That very night Robespierre harangued upon the subject in the Mother Society, he was sure that the people were good, that the people were *innocent*, and incapable of doing wrong unless they were artfully misled. He had heard the men and women that were plundering the shops lamenting the fate of the dead king, and applauding the members of the *côté droit* of the Convention, and thus left no doubt in his mind that the real instigators were the Girondists. Marat was equally sure that the disorders and excesses were all to be imputed to that wicked faction and to the royalists. On the following day the Girondists accused Marat in the Convention of being the original instigator of the riots and the pillage, and they read from his newspaper, the '*Republican*,' a passage which certainly told the people that the proper way to get sugar and coffee at a cheap price would be to help themselves, and hang a few of the monopolizers at the doors of their own shops. There also seemed the closest connexion of cause and effect, for Marat had published this article in the morning of the 25th, and the plundering had commenced in the afternoon. It was monstrously absurd and disgustingly mean to press this charge about a sugar and coffee emeut against a man who had been so repeatedly the instigator of tremendous massacres, but the Girondists and their friends had allowed a vote to be carried which stopped all inquiry into the butcheries of September and into other atrocities, and so they determined to dwell upon this present charge. Salles moved for an act of accusation against Marat. Nothing disconcerted, Marat told the Convention from the tribune that it was natural and just for the people to take vengeance on the monopolists, whom the laws left unpunished, and that the members who should propose calling the people to account for what they had done yesterday were only fit to be sent to a madhouse. Buzot called for the order of the day, intimating that, if the Convention sent Marat to be tried before an ordinary tribunal, they would only prepare a fresh triumph for him, as the jury would be pretty sure to acquit him. After a riot in the House, almost as loud as the riot in the streets and at the grocers' shops the day before, it was agreed by the majority that all persons, without distinction, who had been

instigators or actors in the sugar and coffee émeute should be sent for trial before the ordinary courts. They then called Santerre and Mayor Pache to their bar, and these two worthies hinted that there could be no doubt that the agents of foreign powers and of the aristocrats and emigrants (all in an understanding with Pitt) had been the chief actors in the late émeute, even as they had been the principal actors in the September butcheries. All this led to fresh domiciliary visits, and to fresh orders for seizing every man in France that had not his passport or his civic certificates *en règle*. The very next morning Marat declared in his journal that the sugar and coffee riot had been concerted in a nocturnal conciliabulum held in the house of that "pimp, scoundrel, and counter-revolutionist, Valaze," and that he and the other Girondists who had accused him, Marat, had employed emissaries to pillage the shops of poor and patriotic grocers, while the people were only making a little noise before the shops of the real monopolists. As for the ordinary tribunals, they never took any notice of the People's Friend.

When Condorcet in the name of the Constitution Committee, read his report on the new republican constitution proper to be given to France, the Jacobins raised a new storm, and all France complained except the semi-republican respectabilities, who were nothing, but whom the philosophic legislator would have made everything in this new régime, overlooking the trifling fact that the real sans-culottes were, and must long remain arbiters and masters of everything in France. Without any other effort on their part, or any other blunder to accelerate their ruin, this Condorcet constitution alone was sufficient to overthrow the Gironde. The names of Sieyès and Pétion were united with that of Condorcet in the execrations which were heaped upon this projected constitution, but it appears that Sieyès had little to do with the composition, and that Condorcet was almost the sole author. The Girondists now held several secret meetings, in which they certainly discussed the question whether, with the powers of government in their hands, and with some of the troops and some of the departments apparently devoted to them, they might not be able to strike a grand coup d'état by forcibly dissolving the Convention, or by expelling the Jacobins, but they had not the courage to come to any decision, and, secret as were their deliberations, they all came to the knowledge of their adversaries, who were thus put upon their guard. But it was a mutual fear and suspicion if the Girondists were afraid of their adversaries, so were the Jacobins afraid of theirs, if we can believe Garat, even Robespierre doubted at this moment of the success of his party, complaining of fatigue and sickness, and saying that he believed that there was a plot on foot to destroy him and his friends.

When the troubles began to break out in the southern provinces, it was not difficult for the

Jacobins to connect them with the Gironde party, who had been in the constant practice of appealing from the capital to those departments, and of boasting of their personal influence in all the south. But what most contributed to hasten their fall was the defection of Dumouriez. This general had never, indeed, been a Girondist, the Girondists had once driven him from power and place, and had for a long time affected to consider him as a Jacobin, united with Robespierre and his party in the grand object of placing the Duke of Orleans or his son on the vacant throne (an object which assuredly was not entertained by Robespierre), but the Jacobins had all along represented Dumouriez as a decided Girondist, as one whose tastes, habits, and connexions must bind him to that party and their respectabilities, rather than to the Mountain and their true sans-culottes; and, as the Girondists had the executive council of government in their hands, it seemed quite natural to the people to hold them responsible for the deeds of all the generals and other functionaries they appointed or continued in their employments. Even before Dumouriez lost the battle of Neerwinden, the Jacobins had begun to accuse him of treachery, and correspondence with the enemy, for he had failed to conquer Holland, and Camus had made a terrible report of the mode in which he had received him, a commissioner of the Convention, and of the terms in which he had dared to speak of the Convention itself. The first move made by the Mountain was to demand that all the federates should march immediately from Paris into Belgium. The Girondists, who looked upon these provincials as their best, if not their only defence, strenuously opposed the motion, and thus incurred new odium and suspicion for they could not deny that reinforcements were wanted in the Low Countries. After a stormy debate it was determined by the majority that the federates from Brest and the other maritime departments should march to the coasts of the north, and that the rest of the federates should for the present remain in the capital. On the next day, the 8th of March, Danton proposed that 30,000 new recruits should be demanded from Paris alone, that commissioners should be sent into all the departments of France and all the sections of Paris, to hasten the levying and marching of troops by all possible means. These propositions were immediately adopted, and the commune of Paris was called upon to co-operate. The black flag was again raised over the Hôtel-de-Ville, again the country was declared to be in danger, the theatres were all closed, and in the evening the forty-eight sections of Paris assembled. Two commissioners from the Convention repaired to each of the sections, and urged the necessity of the immediate marching of troops. The people of the sections recognised the necessity, and expressed their readiness to march, or to furnish men that would, but, as in the days of September, there rose in nearly every section the alarming cry that patriots could not be expected

to march to the frontiers, and leave traitors and conspirators behind them in the capital, ready to slaughter their families and friends, and slay liberty and equality—that before they could march against the Austrians and Prussians they must have, if not another massacre like that of September, some new and more terrible tribunal which should remove all apprehensions by the promptness of its sentences and the rapidity of its executions. The patriots of the sections also demanded that provisions should be made cheaper, and that all the monied classes who remained at home should pay enormous taxes for the proper support of those who were to march. On the following day the Montagnards met in full force in the Convention to carry decrees conformable to the demands of the sections. The members of the Jacobin Club crowded the galleries, many of them being armed with pikes. The president (Gensonné) declared that *la chose publique* had never been in greater jeopardy. Many of Gensonné's party believed that their own persons were in the greatest danger; and therefore they had stayed away from the House. Mayor Pache and his municipals came to the bar to express the patriotism and entire devotion of the sections, but also to assure the Convention that their desires must be complied with. Then deputations presented themselves from the Section of Pikes, from the Section of the Marais, and from many others, all making the same professions, coupled with the same demands. Volunteers in arms also defiled through the Convention hall, stating in energetic language that the wishes of the people must be gratified. The Plain, following the example of its leader, Barrère, had been for some time sliding towards the Mountain; the Gironde could no longer count upon it in any emergency: after very little opposition from Guadet, Valazé, and Lanjumeau, the Mountain carried a decree for establishing a new Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal, which was to pronounce sentence, without any appeal, upon conspirators and counter-revolutionists. With the same ease they carried another decree imposing an extraordinary and excessive war-tax on the rich; and then another decree, which authorised the commissioners sent into the departments to arrest all suspected persons, to seize all pleasure-horses, to levy extraordinary contributions where they might see proper, and, in short, to exercise the most absolute power. These commissioners, who afterwards obtained the name of pro-consuls, and some of whom exceeded the tyranny of the worst of the pro-consuls of ancient Rome, might truly declare, as they did, that the Convention had set no limits to their powers, and had explicitly ordered or completely sanctioned the worst deeds they committed. In the course of the same day the Mountain carried various other votes calculated to gratify the departing volunteers and the sans-culottes who remained at home. The next day, the 10th, was a Sunday; the Girondists expected that it would be a sabbath like that of the 2nd of September, for, notwithstanding the votes

and compliances of the Convention, some dark threats had been heard, or were said to have been heard, in the Mother Society, and some street orators had declared that there would be no health for the people until the Convention were well purged. It was even rumoured that it had been determined the preceding evening in the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs that the barriers should be shut, that the tocsin should be rung, and that the people, in two divisions, should march upon the Convention, and to the houses of the ministers; but fear is inventive, and it does not appear that there was any design of this settled and extensive kind. Possibly, however, the Montagnards may have expected some spontaneous movement of the people, for the excitement was universal, and a dinner was got up in the corn-market for the volunteers who had enrolled, and a little wine and speech-making might transport this great meeting into some terrible fury. The Convention met at the usual hour on the Sunday morning, the Mountain being again in full force, and the ranks of the *côté droit* being again rather thin. The chief business was to constitute the new tribunal which had been voted yesterday. Cambacérès insisted that this terrible court ought to be appointed, and put into activity immediately. Buzot attempted to recommend moderation, circumspection, delay; and for this he was hissed and hooted. A committee had been at work during the night, and their report was presented. Their project was simply this:—That the new tribunal should be composed of nine judges named by the Convention; That these judges should be independent of all formalities; That they should obtain convictions by all possible means; That the tribunal should be divided into two sections, always permanent. That there should continually be in the hall destined to this tribunal a member of the court to receive denunciations; That this tribunal should judge those against whom the Convention should issue decrees of accusation; and that it might prosecute directly and of its own accord all such persons as should, through incivism, abandon or neglect the exercise of their functions—all such as, by their conduct or the manifestation of their opinions, should attempt to mislead the people—all such as by their behaviour or by their writings, or by the places they had occupied under the ancient régime, should recal the prerogatives usurped by the despots. The Mountain hailed the report with joyous acclamations. Vergniaud, who could not but see that this tribunal was intended for his party, and that no man could consider his life secure if it were established, exclaimed that he and his friends would all die then and there, rather than consent to the establishment of a state inquisition a thousand times more horrible than that of Venice. Amar told him that the people must have this tribunal, or an insurrection with massacres like those of last September. Billaud-Varennes and others of that party cried out that they must have it, and that they would have it that the

House had nothing to do but to vote the project into a decree by appel nominal. Duhem explained that such a tribunal would be a great deal too good for scoundrels and counter-revolutionists. Some one hinted that there ought, at least, to be a jury in this new court. Barrère took up this opinion, and supported it with great spirit. Philipaux said that a jury would spoil this beautiful institution (*cette belle institution*). "But," said Boyer-Fonfrède, "we made our revolution to obtain trial by jury, and it will be counter-revolutionary to destroy that right." Thureau said that, if there was to be a jury, the Convention itself ought to have the choosing of it, and it ought at present to be chosen in Paris alone. Boyer-Fonfrède reminded the House that the offences of which the tribunal was to take cognizance might be committed in the army, in all parts of France; and that, therefore, it was but fair that the jury should be chosen in the departments as well as in the capital, and that the citizens in the departments should at least concur in the choice. The Mountain kept calling for a division on the whole report, without any amendment or addition; and their adversaries seemed on the point of yielding, when Ferroux re-animated them by a bold and unexpected burst of eloquence and indignation, which also produced some show of heart and courage on the part of the sliding, mean-spirited, despicable Plain or middle party. In the end, it was carried by a great majority that there should be a jury, and that the jury should be chosen in the departments as well as in Paris; but, after all, as the jury was to be named by the Convention alone, little was gained for the cause of justice, impartiality, and mercy by this victory over the ultra-Jacobins. By this time it was growing dark, and, their dinner-hour being long past, the deputies were growing hungry. President Gensonné proposed an adjournment for one hour. "No!" exclaimed Danton, rushing to the tribune, "this is no time for adjourning even for a minute! I summon all good citizens to remain at their posts!" The members who had risen, and who were retiring, hastened back to their seats, and listened to the loud and always terrible voice of Danton. His speech was little else than a variation played upon the old theme, *faire peur*—strike all your enemies with terror, freeze them with fear! To this end they must settle at once all questions concerning the new tribunal; they must give it a power without rules or limits; they must set it going instantly, so that it might strike down in time the audacious heads of all the enemies of liberty and the people. For his part he cared not how men might calumniate him for recommending this revolutionary tribunal. "Let my memory perish," cried he, "let my name be blasted, provided only the republic be saved!" It was now seven o'clock in the evening; the rest for one hour was agreed to; the exhausted members went away to their dinner, the greater part of them being fully determined not to return again that night, for alarming

reports had reached them from the banquet in the Corn-market.*

The Jacobins had assembled in their great hall in the Rue St. Honoré, and had left the doors wide open as if to invite visitors to enter. About eight in the evening a party of the volunteers, who had been feasting and drinking in the Corn-market, and who were armed with swords and pistols, arrived at the door and requested to be permitted to defile through the hall. The orator of the party said that they were the conquerors of the Tuilleries, the men of the 10th of August, who were risen to exterminate their enemies at home, as well as their enemies abroad. The club applauded, and Collot d'Herbois, who was president that night, exclaimed, "Yes, in spite of all intriguers, we will join you in saving liberty!" Desfieux spoke more explicitly than Collot, telling the volunteers and the club, and the people in the galleries, that there was only one means left to save France, which was to get rid of the traitors in the Convention, to put the *côté droit* and all who had voted for the appeal to the people, on the king's trial, under arrest, and to elect new deputies to supply their places. One of the volunteers said that the arrest would not be enough, that there must be vengeance and death; that, as for the inviolability of the traitors, as representatives of the people, he would trample it under his foot. Some of the Jacobins, who had not been dining and drinking in the Corn-market, were terrified at these bold propositions, and opposed a project, which was now certainly mooted, for marching to the Convention and for seizing the ministers in their houses. A wild scene followed: the mob in the galleries rushed down and joined the volunteers; swords were drawn and pistols flourished in the air—there was sad scrambling, rushing, and scuffling—the president lost his hand-bell, and the lights were nearly all put out. Faublas-Louvet had a lodging in the Rue St. Honoré, a very little above the Jacobins, and he had besides a wife or a mistress who lived with him in this lodging, a smart, quick little woman, who kept her eye on all that passed in that dangerous neighbourhood. Hearing a terrible noise about nine in the evening, Madame Lodoiska stepped down to the club and saw the drawn sabres, and heard dreadful menaces uttered against the Girondists. She hurried back to her apartment, and told Louvet, who had returned home during her absence, that the volunteers and the mob were going to the Cordelier Club for reinforcements. Louvet ran instantly to the house of Pétion, where a number of his friends were assembled: he says he found them quietly discussing some decrees which were to be proposed several weeks hence. He advised them on no account to think of returning to the Convention that night, and named a certain house in Paris where they might all meet in an hour. At the appointed time and place there was a pretty full meeting—all the men of the party that had been most threatened were there, excepting only Pétion.

* Debates in Hist. Parliament.

Louvet ran back to the ex-mayor, and found him fiddling. He represented the danger he was in, and begged him to go along with him to the place of secret rendezvous. Péton went to his window, opened it, and looked out at the weather. "It rains hard," said he, "there will be nothing done to-night," and so saying he returned to his violin, and let Louvet go away without him. Of the whole *côte d'rot* not more than forty had returned to the Convention. Warned by Louvet or by their own apprehensions, some of the ministers and their friends assembled in the house of Lebrun. The residence of the war-minister, Beurnonville, was surrounded by a mob, but he nimbly climbed over his garden wall, put himself at the head of some Brest federates who were out and under arms, collected other friends, and imposed respect on the rioters, who neither marched to the Convention nor did any other mischief that night. It is said that this timidity or inaction was the consequence of the refusal of Commandant-general Santerre and the council of the commune to take any part in the insurrection, but it is at least very probable that Louvet and his friends had been more alarmed than was necessary, that there was no fixed plan of any sort for this night, and that the "frightful complot," as the novelist terms it, was nearly all in his and his Lodoiska's imagination. For many nights before this Louvet had not ventured to sleep in his own known lodging, but had gone about Paris taking a bed with one friend and then with another, and it appears that this had been and continued to be for some time longer the uncomfortable practice of the Girondist chiefs. Brissot, or some one writing in his journal *Le Patriote Français*, announced that the chief object of the Mountain in attempting this insurrection of the 10th of March was to get all the powers of the state into their hand, that Danton was to have been made minister for foreign affairs, Dubois Crance, minister-at-war, Jean-Bon-St-André, minister of marine, Thuriot or Cambi-eres, minister of justice, Fabre d'Églantine, of the interior, and Collet d'Herbois, of finances. Vergniaud denounced the whole business to the Convention, but, though his speech was very grand, he seems really to have failed in proving that there had been any plot at all. The Extraordinary Tribunal, which soon obtained the more fitting name of Revolutionary Tribunal, being instituted and organised, the Girondists essayed to direct its first severities against their adversaries, or rather against the subaltern agents of the Mountain, the street orators, and coffee house orators, and the fellows that were emute-makers by profession. But on Tuesday, the 12th of March, they were all flustered by a demand made by one of the Paris sections, that Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonne, Louvet, Brissot, and others of them, to the number of twenty-two, should be put under arrest. The proposition was received with expressions of horror, some of them sincere and real enough, and some only feigned; but this producing of it in the Convention, and the constant re-producing of it in the

clubs and in the newspapers, served to familiarise the idea to the minds of the people.

Early in April the final defection and flight of Dumouriez precipitated the crisis. The Mountain now accused their opponents, in the face of the Convention, of being parties to Dumouriez's treason. Marat continued the denunciations in the popular societies, and, in his quality of temporary president of the Jacobins, he wrote an address to the departments, calling upon them all to hurl the thunder of petitions and accusations against the traitors, who were, he said, *all those unfaithful representatives who, on the king's trial, had voted for the appeal*. While these things were producing a vast impression everywhere, and when the people were in a state of frenzy at Dumouriez's flight, and the repeated defeats of the republican army on the Belgian frontier, Robespierre (on the 10th of April) in an artful speech connected all those disasters with the political movements of the Girondists. "A powerful faction," said he, "is conspiring with the tyrants of Europe to give us a king with a sort of aristocratic constitution. These men hope to bring about that scandalous plan by force of foreign arms and intestine troubles. The system suits the English government, it suits Pitt, the soul of all this league, it suits all ambitious men, it pleases all the bourgeois aristocrats, who have a horror of equality, and who have been made to tremble for their property, it even pleases the noblesse, who will be but too happy to find in this aristocratic constitution, and in the court of some new king, the distinctions and privileges they have lost. Our republic only suits the common people, the men of pure and elevated souls, the philosophers and friends of humanity, the true sans-culottes. The aristocratic system I speak of is nothing else than the system of Lafayette and his similars, whether known under the name of Lullians or of Moderates, it has been continued by those who succeeded to Lafayette's power: the actors have been changed, but the piece is still the same, the means too are the same, with this difference, that the present men have augmented their resources and increased the number of their partizans." He accused them of drawing to their party all the enemies of true equality, of setting the respectabilities against the sans-culottes, of stopping the progress of public spirit, of re-awakening the pride and the hopes of the aristocracy, of oppressing the energetic patriots, of protecting the hypocritical Moderates, of corrupting the defenders of the people, and of persecuting such of them as they could not corrupt. To these ends they had employed all the powers of government, and of the tribunals, which they had seized, or over which they domineered, and all the resources of the public treasure, which likewise they had got into their hands as ministers. He said that, instead of contributing to the revolution of the 10th of August, which had turned the monarchy into a republic, they had done all that they could to prevent it, although they had afterwards gathered

the fruits of the victory of the people over the Tuileries. Knowing where his own strength lay, Robespierre eulogised the commune of Paris, and taxed the Girondists with a state crime for having so repeatedly attempted to oppose that municipal body. He showed when and how the Girondist ministers had employed Dumouriez, and how Dumouriez had promoted and employed officers of the most aristocratic description, men devoted to the family of Orleans and to the Girondists. He quoted a terrible letter which Dumouriez had written, and in which he had declared his intention of coming to Paris to rescue the *sound part of the Convention* (meaning thereby the Girondists) from the tyranny of their adversaries and the dictation of the galleries, and this, he said, was quite enough to prove that the Girondists and that traitor had been acting in concert. But there were other proofs in abundance. In the committee of general defence, where all questions relating to the war were discussed, the leading Girondists had constantly screened Dumouriez, Vergniaud pretending that, though he had no political opinions or principles, he must be strongly attached to the cause of the revolution, and Gensonne falling into a rage against those who bestowed on Dumouriez the epithets he merited, and boasting the civism, the services, and the genius of that wonderful general. And was not Gensonne at that time in close and constant correspondence with Dumouriez? And had not Petion and Brissot defended the traitor as warmly as Gensonne and Vergniaud?

Vergniaud ascended the tribune to reply to Robespierre, and to hurl the accusations back upon him and his party. He boasted that he had been the first man to propose from that tribune the dethronement of Louis Capet, that in the convention of twenty-one he and his friends wanted neither a new king nor a regent, but were determined to have a republic. He boasted that he had occupied the president's chair all the terrible night of the 9th and 10th of August, when the tocsin was resounding throughout Paris, and that, on the morning of the 10th, when his friend Guadet was in the chair, and when the victory of the people over the Swiss and the Tuileries was as yet uncertain, it was he, Vergniaud, that presented, to the sound of artillery, the report of the committee demanding the déchéance. He taxed his adversaries with cowardice, and said it ill became M. Robespierre, who had prudently concealed himself in a cellar during the moment of danger, to be critical upon the conduct or momentary weakness of other men. He declared that he had never had any intimacy with Dumouriez, but that Robespierre had crowned that general with laurels and embraced him in the Jacobin Club. He recalled to memory the many occasions on which the Girondists had denounced the faction of Orleans, the efforts which the Jacobins had made to defend Egalité, and he laboured to show that the Jacobins and the Mountain, and not the Girondists, had been engaged in a conspiracy with some members

of the Orleans family, and had been the accomplices of Dumouriez. Guadet demanded to be heard after Vergniaud, but the Mountain set up a tremendous roar, the president closed the debate, and he could not obtain a hearing before the 12th of April. On the following morning Marat very adroitly took the lead in invoking fresh vengeance on the Orleans family. "I only aim," said he, "at plotters and conspirators." The complicity of a certain party is no longer a problem. Dumouriez has solved it in declaring for them against the Mountain. I will not decide whether Egalité the father, whom I have pursued in my writings, whom I have described as a man without manners and without morals, be guilty of high treason against the nation or not. I leave that question to your consideration, but the son is certainly a traitor, and I demand that a price be put upon the head of Egalité junior. I propose the same thing with respect to the heads of all the fugitive Capets, and then we will see whether certain men really wish to proscribe the family they are pretending to pursue. As for Vergniaud and his friends, who kept up a criminal correspondence with Dumouriez, let them relieve themselves, if they can, from the opprobrium with which they are covered in the opinion of the people!" A Jacobin said that Marat was premature, that, if they now set a price upon the heads of all the chief conspirators, they would lose the thread of the conspiracy. Another said that the proposition ought not to be admitted, lest the commissioners of the Convention, whom Dumouriez had delivered to the Austrians, should lose their heads. Barbaroux swore that he knew Marat had received 15,000 livres at one time from the Duke of Orleans. Leconte, of Versailles, expressed his horror at seeing the House listening quietly to the denunciations of Marat against the best citizens of France. "Marat," said he, "is vomiting calumnies. . . ." He could say no more, his voice was drowned by the hootings and execrations of the *côte gauche* and the galleries, and he descended from the speaking place. Then the *côte droit* began to shout, and a good many of its members quitted their seats, and ran towards the *côte gauche* "with threatening gestures and animated cries." The president (Thuriot) rang his hand-bell, and then put on his hat. The *côte droit* deputies returned to their seats, and something like order was nearly re-established, when a member of the *côte gauche* set up a shout that a sword had been drawn in the Assembly, and David the painter, Marat, Bantabolle, and others shouted or shrieked that the villain who had drawn the sword ought to be sent to the Abbey. A scene of indescribable violence and confusion ensued. At last Duperret, the deputy of the *côte droit* who had drawn his sword, was enabled to make himself heard. He declared that he had seen a member of the *côte gauche* with a pistol in his hand, and that, provoked at the shameful sight, he had drawn his sword. "But," added he, "at that moment I was not myself, I was animated

with a holy fury (*une sainte fureur*), if I may so express myself; and I swear to you that if, in my excess of fury, I had permitted myself to fall upon a representative of the people, I would have blown out my brains with another weapon I have in my pocket!" As soon as he had finished, the *côté droit* called for the order of the day, and, being seconded by the Plain, they were strong enough to carry it in the teeth of the Mountain, who kept screaming that Duperret was an assassin, and ought to be sent to the Abbaye. After another *vacarme*, in the course of which Thuriot quitted the president's chair, and one of the Mountain took possession of it, Marat's motion was negatived. "Well!" said he, as he quitted the hall, "the people may now know who are the accomplices of the Capets!"*

On the 12th Robespierre renewed the attack, and demanded the censure of the House upon all such as dared to protect traitors. Pétion ran to the tribune and began to speak, although the mobs that filled the galleries insulted him, and made so loud a noise that he could scarcely be heard. "I demand," said he, "that the traitors and conspirators be punished." "And their accomplices," said Robespierre. "Yes! and their accomplices, and you yourself, Robespierre. It is time that these infamies should end; it is time that the traitors and calumniators should be sent to the scaffold; and I here take a solemn engagement to pursue them even unto death!" "Reply to facts," cried Robespierre. "I tell you," responded Pétion, "that it is you I will pursue to the guillotine! Yes, I here take an oath to pursue the traitors! Yes, Robespierre, you must be marked and branded as false witnesses and calumniators were in former times. The people will soon know you and your party, who, under the mask of a false patriotism, mislead them, betray them, and drive them to the abyss; and I will never rest until I have seen the men who would sacrifice liberty and the republic lose their heads on the scaffold. For too long a time have they been exciting the people to rise against the Convention and massacre us!" "No," cried Robespierre, "it is you who have been trying to get us massacred!" "Silence, dictator of the 10th of August," shouted a voice from the *côté droit*. Pétion continued in the same violent strain in which he had begun. At one part of his speech he called Marat "a vile scoundrel that had been perpetually preaching despotism—despotism under a dictator or under a triumvirate." "You are a scoundrel yourself," quoth Marat, who was as loudly applauded by the Mountain and the galleries as Pétion was applauded by the *côté droit*. Painter David particularly distinguished himself by his enthusiasm for the Friend of the People; and he rushed into the middle of the hall begging that they would assassinate him as well as Marat, for that he, too, was a virtuous man and true republican. The effect of Pétion's harangue and

* *Hist. Parlement.*

repeated vows was to convince Marat, Robespierre, and the whole Mountain, that, if they would preserve their own heads on their shoulders, they must make haste to take off the heads of the Girondists. When Guadet rose to speak, he was much calmer and more circumspect. He said that possibly there had been no conspiracy or complicity at all with Dumouriez; but that, if there had been anything of the sort, it was much more probable that the Mountain and the Jacobins, who had shown so much friendship to Dumouriez and Philippe Egalité, should be implicated in it, than the Girondists, who had quarrelled with both those individuals, and who had never had any close or friendly connexion with them. "Who was it," asked Guadet, "who paid such assiduous court to Dumouriez when he was last at Paris? Who was it that was constantly by his side at the Jacobins, at the fêtes that were given to the general, at all the theatres of Paris? Your Danton!" "Ah! Guadet," cried Danton, "you accuse me! You do not know my power!" Guadet said, sneeringly, that he knew him to be next after Robespierre and Marat. The great Girondist orator finished his speech by producing and reading an address from the Jacobin Club to their brothers in the departments. In this address, which was signed by Marat as president of the club for the night, there were several strong passages; but the following was the strongest of all:—"Citizens, your greatest enemies are in the midst of you, are directing your operations, are entrusted with the management of your means of defence. Yes, friends and brothers, it is in the senate that perfidious hands are tearing your entrails! Yes, the counter-revolution is in the government, is in the National Convention; it is there—it is in that centre of your security and hopes that criminal delegates hold the threads of the plot which has been woven with the horde of despots that are coming to butcher us all! It is there that a cabal directed by the court of England and others But already indignation inflames your courageous civism. To arms, then, O republicans! To arms, and let us march!" "Those are my words," said Marat, "and I say again, Let us march (*marchons!*)" But the members of the Plain joined the *côté droit* in crying that the march he had proposed to the people was a march upon the Convention; and two-thirds and more of the House rose simultaneously to their feet, and demanded that Marat should be committed to the Abbaye to take his trial before the new Revolutionary Tribunal. Marat rushed to the tribune, and, addressing the galleries rather than the House, told them that this was a mere trick to save those who had been conspiring with Dumouriez and the family of Orleans, and to call away attention from the decrees which he had proposed against Egalité the younger, against the brother of Louis XVI., who was now styling himself Regent of France, and against the whole race of the Capets. The galleries responded with tremendous applause; but

for once the Plain was steady and determined, and the decree of accusation against Marat continued to be demanded by an increasing majority. Even the voice of Danton, who attempted to plead for Marat, was drowned and lost on the present occasion, and the decree of accusation and arrest was carried by 220 votes against 92.* Robespierre run over to the Jacobins to make his own report of what had passed in the Convention, and to attribute it all to the criminal despair of the Girondists. He implored the members of the society and the good people in their galleries to remain quiet, as all that their enemies wanted was a pretext for employing force, and he recommended them to repair to their several sections and enlighten their fellow-citizens as to the manoeuvres of the traitors †

Only three days after these events—on Monday, the 15th of April—deputations from thirty-five of the sections, with Mayor Pache at their head, presented themselves in the Convention and demanded the immediate expulsion of the twenty-two leading Girondists. As their names were pronounced one after the other—Brissot, Guadet, Vergnion, Gensonne, Grangeneuve, Burlet, Buharux, Salles, Birotteau, Pontécoulant, Peiron, Languinai, Vilizé, Hardy, Louvet, Lehardy, Gorsas, Luchet, Luthéas, La source, Valady, Chanbri— the galleries shouted and cheered. The paper, which was entitled an “Address from the Commune of Paris to the Convention,” was only signed by “Phulpin, president of the committee of the majority of the sections,” and by “Boncourt, secretary.” The president of the Convention (Delmas) told the deputations that, conformably to a decree of the Convention, they must all sign the petition. They all signed readily enough except Mayor Pache, who, half afraid of what was doing, skulked behind. But a quick Jacobin, observing his backwardness, begged to remind the president that the mayor had not put his signature to the paper. Then Pache said that he had not signed because he was not a petitioner, but had only been appointed by the council general of the commune to accompany the deputation. They have refused his signature when thus openly called upon for it would, however, have ruined him with the Jacobins, who might prove the stronger, and therefore he stepped briskly forward, and saying, “But to prevent any doubt about this matter, I will sign,” he wrote “Jean-Nicolas Pache, Mayor of Paris,” at the foot of the other signatures, and thereby obtained cheers and acclamations from the mob in the galleries. Boyer-Fonfrede, the youngest of the Girondists, who was not comprised among the twenty-two, rushed to the tribune and said that, if modesty was not rather a duty than a virtue in a public man, he should take offence at his name not having been inscribed in the honourable list which had just been presented. Three-fourths of

the members present rose in a state of great excitement. “I see, citizens,” continued Fonfrede, “that you share in my sentiments and my regrets; that you are, like me, jealous of the honour of being signalled as having well served the republic!” This carried the enthusiasm of the moment to its height, the whole of the côté droit and the greater part of the Plain shouted, “Put all our names down on the list! Include us all! all!” and they gathered round the honoured twenty-two, hugging them and kissing them in the national manner, and vowing that they would all perish rather than suffer a hair of their heads to be injured. Within a very few weeks we shall find this same majority bowing to the will of the commune and the sections, and consenting to the imprisonment, the proscription, the death of the Girondist leaders. Continuing his speech, which their enthusiasm had interrupted, Boyer-Fonfrede demanded that the petition or address should be laid before the people, and that an appeal should be made to the nation at large. This was an imprudence, for, strange as it may at first sight appear, the words ‘appel au peuple’ had become ominous and horrible to the people’s ears, and, as one of the terms now most commonly used to designate counter-revolutionists and anti-sans culottists was that of appellants or appealers, Thirion, rhetoric professor at Metz, and a dabbler in poetry before the revolution but now ultra-revolution professor in the Jacobin Hall, and one of Marat’s warmest friends, availed himself of the slip which the young Girondist had made. “These men,” said he, “who now call for the appeal to the people, are the same men who voted for the appeal at the trial of the tyrant. They are the same individuals whose mode of voting on that trial has been disapproved by the whole nation. The addresses of felicitation which have been brought from all parts of the republic have ratified the conduct of the majority of the Convention who had the courage to vote the death of the tyrant. And now will not the French people approve the conduct of the four hundred members of the Convention who had the courage to found the republic on the ruins of the throne? Or will they wish to preserve amongst the number of their delegates, who are to make a republican constitution, these cowards who have betrayed equality, these men who have trembled before a dethroned king, these men who embarrass and delay all our salutary deliberations? Not twenty-two, but good three hundred ought to be expelled. . . . I say they are all royalists! I say that, after the addresses we have received from all the departments, these men, if they had any sense of shame, would of themselves retire from an assembly which they dishonour by their presence!” Some of the deputies of the Plain stopped the discussion by calling the attention of the House to some letters from the generals and from the commissioners they had sent to the armies, but the address was not rejected, and those who had brought it received the honours of the séance. A few days after the commune of Paris sent another

* Seven members voted for an adjournment and forty eight refused to vote at all. Only 367 members were present. Nearly half the House was absent on business.

† Journal of the Club in Hist. Parlement.

address with the same demand for the expulsion of the twenty-two, and declared themselves to be in a state of revolution (*en état de révolution*). Moreover they printed 12,000 copies of their petition or address against the Girondists; they established a committee of correspondence, consisting of nine select Cordelier-Jacobins, to correspond incessantly with the forty-four thousand municipalities; and in order to throw their buckler over Marat, they declared that they would consider themselves assaulted by any attack that might be made upon any member of their own body, or upon any president or secretary of a section or club, on account of opinions or of words spoken or written. The Girondists made some efforts to strengthen themselves in the Convention, so as to meet this open declaration of war from the commune and the clubs; but it was little they could do with their timid uncertain majority, and then came the trial and acquittal of Marat, which, with the demonstrations which followed it, made the Plain veer rapidly round again towards the Mountain. The cause of the People's Friend was pleaded beforehand by all the sans-culottic journalists, and by those prevailing advocates the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and the other clubs who joined in calling him "that austere philosopher, formed by misfortune and meditation," "that quick-sighted patriot who could detect traitors at a glance, that great man whose reputation would commence when the traitors would all be forgotten." To avoid the inconvenience of even a short imprisonment in the Abbaye, Marat, who had been allowed to quit the Convention when they launched their decree of accusation and imprisonment, determined to hide himself until the day of trial. There was no difficulty in this—he had been so long accustomed to play at hide and seek, and now there were so many thousands of patriots in Paris ready to dispute with one another the honour of giving him an asylum or of having him for their guest! On the 24th of April he presented himself before the Revolutionary Tribunal: his trial lasted only a few minutes, and he was unanimously acquitted by judges and jury, who were overawed by an immense and tumultuous mob that crowded the court and all the avenues leading to it. He was immediately surrounded by a numerous escort composed of women and men, of sans-culottes armed with pikes, and of detachments from the section battalions armed with muskets and bayonets; they cheered him, they embraced him, they hugged the dirty monster in their hands, they clapped a crown of oak-leaves upon his hideous head to make him look like a Roman. Two municipal officers from the commune opened the march, two tall pioneers of the national guard hoisted him on their shoulders, other tall sappers or pioneers lent the support of their arms and hands to make his seat a comfortable and dignified one; and in this guise, singing '*Ca Ira*,' and '*Allons, enfans de la patrie*,' and followed by a shouting multitude, they carried him back in triumph to the Convention. When they

were arrived in the midst of the hall, one of the sappers or pioneers, with his apron on, and with his heavy axe in his hand, advanced to the bar and said, "Citizen president, we bring you back the excellent Marat. Marat has always been the friend of the people, and the people will always be the friends of Marat! If the head of Marat must fall, the head of the pioneer shall fall first!" And in saying these words he brandished his heavy, bright axe in the blinking eyes of the president and of the *côté droit*, and was tremendously applauded by the galleries. Next he asked permission for the escort to defile through the hall. The president—the Girondist Lasource—hesitated, and said he would consult the Assembly. But the patriot escort would not be kept waiting, and in they rushed, men and women, pikemen and all, while many of the terrified deputies of the Plain and the *droit* ran out by opposite doors. Some of the intruders sat down among the members, upon the seats which had thus been left empty; others, passing him on from shoulder to shoulder, hoisted the liberated Marat to his usual seat on the Mountain; and then followed the hugging and embracing of colleagues, with renewed acclamations from the galleries and from the mob in the body of the house. When this was over, the 'Friend of the People' ran to the tribune, and told the august Areopagus that he came to offer a pure heart and a purified name, &c. "This," said Danton, "ought to be a beautiful sight (*un beau spectacle*) for every good Frenchman!" From the Convention Marat was carried to the Jacobin Club, where more honours awaited him. The Jacobinesses had prepared for him a great many crowns and wreaths: one was presented to him by the president of the society, and another was put upon his brow by a child of four years, who was mounted upon the table for the purpose. The cynical man soon grew weary of this foolery, and disdainfully throwing aside the crowns, he ran to the speaking-place and said, "Citizens, enraged at seeing a villainous faction betraying the republic, I tried to unmask them, and to put the rope round their necks. They resisted by striking me with a decree of accusation. I am come off victorious. They are humiliated, but they are not yet crushed. Citizens, do not lose your time in awarding triumphs, but think of business!" And to business they presently went, one of their first occupations being to make sure of several battalions of troops that had been collected in Paris in order to be marched into the Vendée. For several days the Girondists seemed palsied or stupified; but at last, on the 10th of May, Guadet made a daring and desperate plunge. From the tribune of the Convention (which had on this day transferred its sittings from the Salle de Manège to the Tuileries, now styled Palais National) he exclaimed, "Citizens, while virtuous men are doing nothing but groaning over the miseries of the country, the conspirators are in motion to destroy it. Like Cæsar they say, 'Let them talk, and let us be doing!' But let us be doing also. The evil lies

in the impunity of the conspirators of the 10th of March, the evil is in the reigning anarchy, the evil is in the misuse of the authorities of Paris, who are equally covetous of money and of dominion. Citizens, you have yet time to save your country and your own glory. I propose to annul instantly the authorities of Paris, to replace within four and twenty hours the municipality by the presidents of the sections, to unite the supplementary members of the Convention at Bourges in the shortest time possible, and to send a decree to this effect to all the departments by extraordinary couriers." It has been conjectured that, if this bold scheme had been instantly adopted by the majority, the Girondists might yet have saved themselves, but we doubt the plausibility of the speculation, first, because the commune and the clubs of Paris had the entire control of the national guards and of all the armed bodies in and near the capital, and secondly (which includes everything), there were all over France fifty sans-culottes for one respectability. Many members of the drot were scared by the scheme, which, if adopted, must, they thought, inevitably lead not to the beginning of a civil war—for that calamity had been begun long before—but to a great extension of it, and that too at a most critical moment, when the armies of the republic were disheartened and disorganised by defeat, and when France was threatened on all her frontiers. The men of the centre or Plain appeared to feel the weight of these reasonings still more, for it was not with them, as with the Girondists and their declared partisans, a question of life and death (personally), they might remain and flourish in Paris though the commune and the Mountain should drive the Girondists to the four corners of the earth or to the block, and therefore Barrere, their glib leader, dwelt upon the risks and horrors of civil war, upon the frightful probability that, if Frenchmen were long divided, the republic might be conquered and partitioned by the coalition. "It is by union and firmness," said he, "that you must dissipate the tempest which assails you here. Division will hasten your ruin. If conspirators can dissolve the Convention in this great city, in the centre of its power, they will have no difficulty in disposing of a fragment of it in the little town of Bourges. I propose that we nominate a Committee of Twelve to watch over the designs of the commune, to examine into the late disorders, and whatever plots may have been formed against the national representation, and to arrest the persons concerned in them." The proposal was adopted by the House, and the fatal Committee of Twelve was forthwith formed. The deputies appointed to this committee were nearly all of the *côté drot*, and four of them, Boyer-Fonfrède, Rabaud-St-Etienne, Keruegan, and Henri-Larivière, were decided Girondists. The twelve commenced operations with some vigour, and not without some irregularity, which might be called illegality, if there had been any law in France. They received secret denunciations, and they insti-

tuted secret researches. The clubs and their journals instantly represented the committee as an accused inquisition. The commune took the alarm, and concerted measures for anticipating the committee, and for getting rid of the terrible twelve, and of all the leading Girondists, at one blow. As their deliberations were secret, as they resolved in this business to commit nothing to writing, some doubt may be entertained as to the correctness of the accounts usually given of their debates and resolutions in the Hôtel de-Ville, but it appears that Mayor Pache kept away from them as much and committed himself as little as was possible, and that several propositions were entertained (but not one was decided upon) for assassinating or carrying off the Girondists. The Mother-society, cautiously guided by Robespierre, did little or nothing for the moment, but the Cordelier Club despised all caution or reserve whatsoever. There, on the 22nd of May, an immediate insurrection was recommended, which was to have for its object not merely the expulsion and death of the twenty-two Girondists, but the massacre of three hundred members of the Convention. If this was a conspiracy, it was one without any of the mystery which is usually considered necessary to give the character of a conspiracy to concerted measures. Men and women too—for the Parisian patrioteses frequently occupied the tribunes of the clubs—recommended the massacre in the least disguised and most furious terms. One woman proposed assembling all the citizens and citizenesses that very day in the Place de la Revolution, whence they should precipitate themselves upon the Convention. Jean Varlet, an ambulatory orator, who generally addressed the people in the streets from a portable stool, who was at this stage of the revolution what Camille Desmoulins had been in 1789, and who styled himself the Missionary or the Apostle of Liberty, suggested that the Cordeliers and the patriots en masse ought to repair to the Convention, with the Declaration of the Rights of Man veiled under a black crape, to seize and carry off all the deputies who had belonged either to the Constituent or to the Legislative Assembly, then discharge all the ministers, and destroy all that remained of the family of the Bourbons. For the present, however, nothing came of this loud talk, except a terrible alarm among the respectabilities, who believed that the proposed massacre would take place, and would not be confined to the three hundred obnoxious deputies. Three out of the forty-eight sections denounced to the Convention the frightful projects which had been discussed at the Hôtel de-Ville and at the Cordeliers, calling upon the legislature to take prompt measures for preventing their execution. The Committee of Twelve presented a project of decree for general security. They proposed that the national representation, the treasury, the offices of government, &c., should be declared to be placed under the safeguard of all good citizens, that at the beat of drum all good citizens

should take up arms and hold themselves ready to act, that the assemblies of the sections should always be closed by ten o'clock in the evening, and that their presidents should be answerable for the execution of this order. Although Danton and some other members of the Mountain opposed this decree, upon the ground that it would give unnecessary terror to the good people of Paris, it was triumphantly carried. If the respectabilities had been more numerous and a vast deal more bold, or if the sans-culottes had not been all armed, the decree might have been of some value, but as matters stood it was not worth a rush. Finally, however, by the passing of it, and by some more respectable petitions, the Committee of Twelve proceeded to arrest Varlet, the Apostle of Liberty, and several other individuals, among whom was Hébert who, by his most obscene and bloody news paper, 'Le Père Duchêne,' had earned the not easily acquired reputation of being the worst journalist and most sanguinary and frowzy villain in France. Marat himself not excepted. This Hébert, who was a magistrate and a municipal high in office, who was substitute to Chaumette, procurer general of the commune, ran over to the Hotel de Ville and told the council which was now sitting in permanence as a central revolutionary committee that the traitors were going to throw him a misdeed of the people, and intrusted with the most important functions, into a prison. He reminded the commune of the resolution which they had taken to regard any wrong done to one of their members as an injury inflicted on their whole body, but then, playing off the captivated and profitable part of a patriot martyr, the filthy scoundrel declared that he only recalled this resolution to mind for the sake of his fellow citizens—that for his part he was ready to die on the scaffold for liberty and country. Chaumette, his official superior, hugged him in a transport, the president embraced him in the name of the whole council, all present applauded and Hébert went forth to submit to a confinement, which he well knew would be of the shortest duration. Forthwith the commune called upon all the agitators and mob-leaders of Paris and the environs, distributed some money and promised a great deal more, and dispersed by means of messengers, well mounted to go the faster papers in which they represented that the Girondists and the *côté droit* were going to expel the true patriots of the *côté gauche*, were going to replace the revolutionary tribunal which had acquitted Marat by a new counter-revolutionary tribunal, which would send Hébert to the guillotine, and bring the commune, which had done so much for the revolution, and the members of the Mountain, and all sincere sans-culottes, to the scaffold. The Jacobins and the Cordeliers and all the sans-culottic sections declared themselves in permanent session, calling upon all their members to be true and steady at this awful crisis. In some of the sections there was a diversity of opinion, and the respectabilities, and those who thought that Hébert was a beast,

and that the revolution ought to stop where it was, fought the sans-culottes in the assembly rooms and in the streets with benches, and chairs, and joint-stools. Many heads were broken and some eyes knocked out, but the battle, to be of any avail to the friends of order, ought to have been fought with cannon and grape shot. On the 25th of May a numerous deputation from the commune, escorted by all the desperadoes of the capital, appeared at the bar of the Convention, and demanded justice and vengeance on the traitors who had calumniated their civic body, and the immediate suppression of the tyrannical Committee of Twelve, who had committed high treason against the nation by arresting Hébert, a magistrate of the people. Girondist Isnard, who that day occupied the president's chair, and who had probably raised his mouth a little by wine—for he was a great and habitual drinker—thundered at the commune deputation with these well-known words—"Magistrates of the people it is proper that you should hear some important truths. France has confided her representatives to the city of Paris, and wills that they be safe here. If ever, by one of those insurrections which have been so frequent since the 10th of March last, and of which the magistrates have never warned this Assembly, the national representation shall be violated, I declare to you, in the name of all France, that Paris will be annihilated! Yes Paris will incur the vengeance of the whole republic, and future travellers will vainly seek on the banks of the Seine where this great city once stood. As the Gironde had evidently not the power to work out a partick of this prophecy, it was nothing, but loud spoken and exasperating nonsense. "Come down from your seat, Mr President," cried Marat, "you are talking like an earthquake!" "Come down, I say, you are dishonouring the Assembly, and putting a scandal on the republic." Danton, postmaster Drouet, Fabre d'Églantine, and other members of the Mountain, assailed Isnard and, by putting the choleric man into a great passion, made him talk more nonsense, and be guilty of more bad taste. "I say," shrieked this mad president of madmen, "that the sword of the law, which is yet dripping with the blood of the tyrant Louis Capet, is ready to strike off the head of every man that dares raise himself above the national representation!" Presently after this speech a deputation came in from the ultra-sans-culottic section of the Unity, to deny that there was or had been any conspiracy or design of massacre, to affirm that the Parisians would never shed any blood except only the blood of traitors, and to demand that the Convention would make some changes in its committees,—decree the establishment of a new tribunal composed of one citizen taken from each department, who, at the end of the session, should try and pass judgment upon all the deputies of the Convention who had betrayed the interests of the people,—decree a new republican federation festival for the 10th of August, at which all the French republicans might

bind themselves to one another by a fresh oath,—and fix a near term for the organization of a new revolutionary army to be paid for solely by the rich. When the section orator had done speaking, Danton got to the tribune, and there made a good use of the indiscretions of which Isnard had been guilty. He said that he understood the use of bold oratorical figures, having himself had some practice in that way, that he knew how excited orators would often say more than they meant, but that in Isnard's threat of erasing the great and splendid city of Paris from the face of the earth, there was something more than mere rhetoric—there was a bitterness which came from the heart, and which, taken in union with the propositions of that party to remove the legislature from the capital, and the constant appeal to the provinces, and the war in the Vendee, and the insurrections against the republic that were breaking out in the south, in the country from which the Girondists came, proved to demonstration that their object and plan was to set all the departments against the capital. His speech made a deep impression on the Parisians, who already fancied that they saw their city set in flames by the men of the south. On the morning, the 26th of May, more petitions were presented from the sections, some simply demanding the liberation of the pure patriot Herbert and of the apostle of liberty Varlet, others demanding the suppression of the Committee of Twelve and the expulsion of the twenty-two. In some of the sections the fighting with chairs and joint stools still continued, but in the evening it was announced to the commune that the working-people had in several places obtained a complete victory over the aristocrats. The Girondists, armed with pistols and swordsticks, met at the house of Valize, but apparently did nothing but talk. On the 27th more deputations besieged the Convention. The section of the city directed by their orator, a very young man, that the Committee of Twelve had issued orders of arrest that were far worse than the letters de cachet of the old government, that they could no longer tolerate these violations of the 'Rights of Man,' and that they required the immediate arrest of every member of the said Committee of Twelve, and their trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. "The time for complacency," said the youth, "is past, we come to warn you that you must save the republic, or the necessity of saving ourselves will force us to undertake the work. In vain the enemies of the people who are sitting among you have calumniated the citizens of Paris to their brethren in the departments let those brethren come and witness our patriotism, and they will then approve of our holy insurrections. President, the section of the city demands to defile through the hall." The Committee of Twelve, foreseeing that the Convention would be inundated and blockaded by deputations and armed sans culottes, had applied to three of the more respectable sections for a guard, and these three sections had promised to march in force, and were

now, under the command of Raffet, a sworn enemy of the Jacobins, and a man of some decision, gathering in the Place de Carrousel and in the gardens of the Tuilleries, with their artillery, and matches lit. President Isnard therefore read the young orator a sharp lesson, told him that the Convention was occupied upon the constitution, and could not for the present attend to his demands, and that the Convention, which could not suffer itself to be influenced by any violence, would ever preach obedience to the laws, security to persons and property, and war to aristocrats and anarchists. "But," said he, "you must know that republican liberty does not consist in words and in signs, that a tyrant, whether he hides himself in a cellar or shows himself in the public places, whether he is on the throne or in the tribune of a club whether he carries a sceptre or a dagger, whether he wears gold-embroidered clothes or goes without breeches (*à la sans culottes*), whether he wears a crown or a red nightcap, is still a tyrant and the French people have all sworn that they will tolerate no tyrant." The *côte d'roit* applauded, and called out to the ushers to keep the door closed and not permit any armed deputations to enter. Robespierre ran to the tribune but the president told him he was out of order. Marat called the president a tyrant, an infamous tyrant, and another frightful *racarme* took place. While it was raining, some members of the Mountain who had gone to the door returned in visible consternation, and reported that the lobbies and all the avenues were blocked up by national guards from the anti-patriotic sections. Marat rushed to the door, and with a pistol in his hand demanded of Raffet, the commandant, by whose orders he was there. Raffet replied that he did not know him (Marat), and that he would show his orders only to the president of the Convention. Marat then spoke to some of the national guards, and, after commanding them to place Raffet under arrest, he returned into the hall exclaiming that the patriots were duped, betrayed by the *côte d'roit*, but that Raffet was an aristocrat drowned by the men under his command, and would thus be incapable of doing any great mischief. Collot d'Herbois demanded that Raffet should instantly be brought to the bar, the Girondists demanded that the mayor of Paris should be summoned to give an account of the state of the capital. Both demands were agreed to. Raffet, being nearest at hand, presented himself first, he produced two orders, one signed the preceding evening, and the other that morning, and both enjoining him to march to the assistance of the Convention with the battalions the Committee of Twelve might require. The first note was signed by Vincent, who had the temporary command of the national guards, commandant-general Santerre having taken his departure for the wars in the Vendee the second was signed by Lapierre, provisory adjutant-general, who stated that he acted conformably to the orders of the mayor of Paris. Raffet further reported that his march had been

quicken by an adjutant, who had told him that the Convention was threatened, that on his arrival he had found a multitude of people assembled, and that he was clearing the lobby and passages when Marat had interrupted him, pistol in hand. The Friend of the People shrieked that Raffet lied most impudently—that Raffet was in the plot for blockading the Convention and cutting off all the patriots of the Mountain. The majority of the House, however, admitted the commandant to the honours of the *seance*. President Isnard then announced that Mayor Pache, who had been summoned to the bar, and the minister of the interior, of whom no mention had been made, were both at the bar and requested permission to speak. The minister of the interior was now Garat, whom we have seen diplomatising in England, and carrying the sentence of death to Louis XVI in the Temple. He was a shifting, double-sided man, who wished, as long as possible, to keep well with both parties, but who was fully determined to consult his own safety by joining the stronger at the critical moment. He had lately had frequent conferences with Robespierre and other Montignards, and everything justifies the suspicion that, having now discovered that, though the Girondists might protract the struggle for a while, they must succumb in the end, he had made terms with the Mountain, and now presided himself, at their secret request, to throw dust into the eyes of the House, and make the *côté droit* and the Plain believe that there was no danger and no necessity of keeping Raffet's battalions at their gates. We have seen it confidently asserted that it was a messenger from Robespierre that brought him down to the Convention. Being allowed to speak before Mayor Pache, he said that, though he had not been summoned by the Convention, he thought it his duty as a public functionary and minister of the interior to come forward at this moment of alarm and tell all he knew about the state of Paris. He declared that he would tell the truth about dangers which had been horribly and absurdly exaggerated—that he would speak to the Convention as if he were speaking at the feet of the Eternal. In cautious, honeyed terms he stated that one side of the House had committed a great mistake in believing that the commune were organising an insurrection, that this mistake had led to the greater error of creating the Committee of Twelve, that the too great zeal and heat of this Committee of Twelve, and the arrests they had made, had produced some fermentation, which was not, however, of a dangerous character, that the committee had certainly acted rashly in arresting Hebert merely on account of what he had written in his newspaper, which newspaper, though not so good as it ought to be, did not prevent Hebert from being a very good citizen and patriot. Last night, he said, he had been sitting with the Committee of Twelve, who were assuredly very good patriots, though perhaps somewhat too anxious to display a great energy—he had been sitting with them till three

o'clock this morning, and he knew there was no danger then. This evening at six o'clock he had been advised that there was an immense concourse of people gathering round the Convention and menacing it, yet when he had come down he had found the armed force much more considerable in number than the crowd. "It is true," said he, pointing to the door on the right side of the House, "that I could not get in there, yet even at that door the number of armed citizens was more considerable than that of the other citizens, who are full of respect for the national representation." Here a member cried out that this was not true, that he himself had been insulted, threatened by the people. "That may be," replied Garat, "for you know there might be some aristocrats mixed in that crowd to make mischief. But I mean to assert that the great mass of the citizens out there are in the best sentiments." The Mountain and the galleries repeated the loud applauses with which they had several times honoured him. "Do you think," said the ready man, pointing to the galleries, "that those *sans-culottes* there would applaud the account I am giving you of their sentiments, if they had any criminal intentions in their hearts?" I repeat that there is no danger to the Convention; you will all return in peace to your homes this night." Mayor Pache then spoke, and made the same declaration, that there was nothing to fear, that the people revered the sanctity of the Convention &c. but he accused the Committee of Twelve of being guilty of an illegal, unconstitutional act, in bringing Raffet and his national guards to the Convention, and he requested the House to order them away, and rest satisfied with the ordinary number of patrols. This order it appears was given immediately (many of the men had not waited for it, but had taken their departure, or had mixed with the mob fraternally some time before), and then the way being clear, and there being nothing to oppose the sovereign people, Mayor Pache begged that the Convention would admit several deputations of good quiet citizens, who were come down to the House to demand the liberation of Hebert, Varlet, and some other citizens. The Girondists cried out that it was ten o'clock, and that the House ought to adjourn. The Mountain shouted that the petitioners ought to be admitted, that the tyrannical Committee of Twelve ought to be dissolved that night. The deputations began to pour in through the several doors of the hall, roaring like victorious soldiers that had taken a fortress by storm. Knowing that Raffet and their defenders were gone, that there was nothing between them and the fury of the *sans-culottes*, the *côté droit* began to squeeze themselves out at the doors, and Isnard vacated the president's chair. Henri Lariviere had the courage to ascend the tribune, and to make one effort more for his party, but the Mountain and the galleries hooted him down. Herault-de-Sechelles took possession of the president's chair, the members of the Mountain and the *côté gauche*

kept their seats, and the orator of one of the deputations was invited to the bar by the intrusive president, who said that the deputation had been shamefully kept waiting for more than three hours. The orator, in the name of the majority of the Paris sections—in the name of twenty-eight of the sections—demanded back their friend, their brother, the man that was invested with their confidence, and who had always told them the truth (Hébert), and further demanded the liberty of all those who were groaning under the despotism of the Committee of Twelve. "Citizens," said Herault-de-Sechelles, "*the force of reason and the force of the people are one and the same thing*!" The mob cheered. "Say that over again," said Leonard Bourdon, "for that is a grand truth!" "Citizens," continued Herault, "the force of reason and the force of the people are one and the same thing. You come here to demand justice—justice is our first duty—you shall have it before we rise." Other deputations with other orators came in to present the same demands, and to call in a more explicit manner for the suppression of the Committee of Twelve and the capital punishment of its members. One of the critics further required that the "infamous Roland" should be put upon his trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Every one of the orators spoke more or less plunkly of the expediency and necessity of expelling the Girondists, "the hypocrites and traitors who had obtained the good people of Paris to show their strength once more." When they had all been heard and applauded, Lacroix, the comrade and friend of Danton, moved that the Convention should instantly decree the liberation of Hébert, Varlet, and the rest, the dissolution of the Committee of Twelve and the examination of the conduct of its members by the Committee of General Security. The deputations, who had seated themselves on the empty benches, shouted and voted with the members who had remained in the House, Lacroix's first and second propositions were carried by acclamation, by tumult, and, this being done, Herault de-Sechelles quitted the chair, and deputies, deputations, and mobs all departed just as the Fulkier's clock was striking the midnight-hour.*

On the following morning the 28th of May, the Girondists resolved to renew the struggle, although they were not a whit stronger than they had been on the preceding evening, although they could no longer entertain a reasonable hope that any portion of the armed force of Paris would stand by them. To themselves, however, it signified little what course they took, no submission to the Mountain would have saved them from its fury, the most they could have gained would have been a few days or weeks more of a miserable, uncertain existence, the Montagnards had declared, and they themselves had declared over and over again, that there never could be peace or truce between them, that the guillotine must be the

arbiter of their disputes according to the confessions of many of them, they had for a long time been living in the constant apprehension of massacre or assassination → it was better to die at once than continue thus. When the House met in the morning, Osselin, a Robespierriat, called for the report of the decree which had been voted the preceding night. Lanjuinais ran to the tribune, and exclaimed that there had been no decree, that everything had been conducted in a violent and illegal manner, that the votes of a fraction of the Assembly on the previous evening were null and void, that the whole affair was a conspiracy—a conspiracy a thousand times more atrocious than any that had hitherto been got up. After noticing the arrests of Hébert and Varlet, and the two or three other individuals about which so much noise had been made, he said, "Above fifty thousand citizens have been imprisoned in the departments, within these two months, by order of your commissioners, more arbitrary arrests have taken place in three months than ever took place in thirty years under the old regime. For these six months men have been preaching nothing but anarchy and murder, and shall these men go unpunished?" Here butcher Legendre cried out that, if Lanjuinais did not hold his tongue, he would go and throw him headlong from the tribune. But Lanjuinais continued his speech, declaring that last Sunday night it had been proposed at the Jacobins to get up a general massacre, that the same subject was to be discussed this very night, that the Mountain protected only assassins covered with the blood of their fellow-citizens, that last night the Convention was not free, but forced, violated, and coerced by a mob, and by the perpetrators of murder, that the House was not free even at this moment, being surrounded by multitudes that were shouting "Death to the Girondists!" Some of the Mountain denied that there was any coercion or violence, but Osselin told Lanjuinais and his party that, if they caused any delay in passing the decree and in liberating Hébert, there would be a terrible insurrection. When Guadet attempted to speak, and to show how Petion, Lacroix, and other members of the *côté droit* had been prevented by the mob from entering the hall the preceding evening, Bourdon de l'Oise demanded a decree of accusation against him, and cast in his face that old and terrible charge of the correspondence of the Girondists in July last with Boze, the painter, and Thierry, the king's valet. Robespierre threw back to Lanjuinais his charges of plots and conspiracies. "It is we," cried he, "that are threatened with a conspiracy which all but fools must see. The conspirators were defeated yesterday, but they are renewing their efforts to-day." Barbaroux and others of that side taxed Robespierre with aiming at the dictatorship, &c. At last all parts of the House joined in crying for a division, and the House divided. A good many members of the Plain voted with the Mountain, but still so many had courage to remain on

* *Moniteur*, and other newspapers of the day, in *Hist. Parlement*

the other side, that the forced decree of the overnight was reversed and annulled by a majority of 41, the numbers being 279 against 238. The Jacobins foamed with rage. "By this iniquitous vote," cried one, "the inquisitorial Committee of Twelve is to continue in full force!" "But we will not allow it," cried another. "You have violated the Rights of Man! Throw a veil over your statue of Liberty!" exclaimed Collot d'Herbois, who always spoke and acted as if he were upon the stage. "We will now show them," cried Danton, "that, as we have surpassed them in wisdom and moderation, so can we surpass them in audacity and revolutionary vigour!" The patriots in the galleries expressed their opinions in a still louder and coarser manner, and the mobs outside re-echoed their roar. "We have counter-revolution here, we are not free, let us be gone to our departments," said some of the members of the committee. At the end of this storm the Mountain demanded the temporary liberation of Hebert, Varlet, and the other prisoners arrested by order of the Committee of Twelve. To this not the slightest opposition was offered, the Girondists supported the motion, Bover-Fontrède pressed for a prompt decision, and it was unanimously voted that those interesting captives should be set at large. Rabaut St-Étienne attempted to read a report from the Committee of Twelve, and, not being able to obtain a hearing, and apparently being glad of an opportunity to get rid of the danger of belonging to so unpopular a body, he gave in his resignation, declaring that he would have nothing more to do with that committee.

Hebert and Varlet were instantly released from the Abbaye, and carried shoulders high through the streets of Paris, crowned with oak leaves. Hebert's procession ended at the Hôtel-de-Ville, where he was received with transports and ecstasies, his municipal colleagues, the president, and all present hugging and kissing him. Chaumette, his official superior, tendered him another civic crown, which had been presented by the patriots. The frowzy journalist took the crown and put it upon the bust of Rousseau, saying that men in office like himself only required encouraging words, and that such crowns ought not to be awarded until after their death. A citizenship then presented another crown, which was put upon the bust of Brutus. From the Hôtel-de-Ville Hebert proceeded in triumph to the Jacobin Club to demand vengeance on the Committee of Twelve.

Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette and Mayor Pache, whose official powers were so extensive, now organized or finished organizing an insurrection which should be so universal and tremendous as to sweep away every attempt at opposition. A great assembly met in the electoral club of the Evêché, composed of commissioners of the sections, commissioners of the commune, and delegates from the department and from the various political societies. The elective and representative rights of women were

recognized, and the patriotteses of Paris were represented in this assembly by one hundred women. Before night thirty-six of the forty-eight sections had sent their commissioners to this meeting. Peremptory summonses were sent to the twelve other sections, and a select committee of six was appointed to provide the means of public salvation. Besides this the sections met in their several halls or assembly-rooms, and most of them sat all through the night, preparing addresses to the Convention to demand an explanation of what president Isnard had meant by talking of the destruction of Paris, and in doing other work or in making other preparations, which cannot be so briefly described, but which may be easily imagined. On the following day, the 29th, the fire of insurrection was fanned by disastrous, alarming news from nearly all the armies of the republic—the army of the Pyrenees had been beaten by the Spaniards, the army of the North was continuing to retreat, and, worst of all, the army lately sent into the Vendée had been thoroughly defeated by the insurgents. Several of the sections sent deputations to the Convention with black flags or flags bearing very dark mottoes, to demand the explanation of Isnard's threat, the suppression of the Committee of Twelve, the formation of a revolutionary army, and to state that no inviolability except that of the people could be acknowledged any longer, and that, consequently, all the deputies who had endeavoured to arm the departments against Paris must be expelled the House and put under arrest. Many were for beginning that day or that night, and at the Jacobin Club great discontent was expressed at the unnecessary delay. Even butcher Legendre was there accused of supineness and excess of moderation—he was called an *adormeur*, or one that set people to sleep. Robespierre was called upon to act, but the Inextinguishable, who never put himself far from these occasions, said that the business properly belonged to the commune, who would not doubt join the people and do its duty in proper time. And then Robespierre added pathetically, "It is not given to our men to prescribe the salvation of the people, and least of all is it given to a man like me, exhausted, worn out by four years of revolution, consumed by a slow and mortal fever." The assembly at the Evêché continued their sittings, and, to quiet the apprehensions of the shopkeepers and respectabilities, who cared much less for the Girondists than for their own goods and purses, they took and administered an oath to respect property during the coming insurrection, which, in their language, was to be not a *physical* insurrection, but a *moral* one (*non physique, mais toute morale*). The Committee of Twelve, which was now only a committee of eleven, the Girondists in general, and all Paris knew what was doing, only Garat, the minister of the interior, and Pache, the mayor, pretended to be ignorant or uncertain as to the facts. In the course of the day the trembling Girondists, clutching at straws, and fancying that, if they could only detach Danton

from the Cordeliers and Jacobins, they might yet weather the storm and triumph over the Mountain, sent Meilhan to flatter and cajole that great bully. Meilhan performed his task as well as it could be done—he praised Danton's energy and ability and generosity of character, represented how different a man he was from Robespierre, and how sensible his party was of that difference, ending with telling him what a grand part he might play if he would only quit the Mountain and join the Gironde. "No," said Danton, "it cannot be! The Girondists have no confidence in me, and I have none in them," and with these words he turned his back on the negotiator. On the next day the assembly sitting at the *Evêché* took the name of the Republican Union, and in the name of all the sections it declared itself and Paris in insurrection. Mayor Pache now announced to the Committee of Twelve and the Committee of Public Security that, to his singular grief, Paris was rather in a turbulent state. L'Huillier, the present procureur syndic of the department, was happy to say that the insurrection would be *fatal*. In the middle of the night the alarm was sounded, as on the night of the 9th and 10th of August, the drums beat to arms, and the barriers were all shut. The Girondists believed their last hour was come. Roland leaving his wife and child behind him, ran and hid himself in the house of a friend, Gaudet, Buzot, Burbon, and two or three more of them entrenched themselves in a secret chamber, being well provided with arms.* The night however, passed away without any massacre or murders: their friends reported that it was only going to be a fêted August without the Swiss. And in fact, the Republican Union at the *Evêché*, and the other functionaries who devised the revolt, had resolved to imitate very closely the plan of operations which had been adopted again at the Tuileries in August, when it was the abode of the king, and not as now the seat of the Convention and its governing committees. In many particulars the proceedings were the exactly the same now as then, when the Girondists had a part in them. There was little originality in these insurrections, which were to succeed each other so rapidly, the whole process of revolution making was carried on with a very small outlay of invention. In the morning, earlier than usual (it was Friday the 31st of May), about a hundred members assembled in the Convention, and among them were several of the Girondists, who had come with their arms, and Danton, who retired into a corner to converse with Garat, who, as minister of the interior had thought it decent to come down and make a report—a report sufficiently made by the terrible tocsin which was still sounding throughout the city. The members assembled called Mayor Pache to the bar, but the mayor was a long time in coming. In the meanwhile Garat told them what they all knew. "I cannot dissemble to the Convention," said this nice-spoken gentleman, "that there exists a great agitation in

Paris; that all the citizens have been snatched from their repose by the tocsin in the middle of the night. The cause of these troubles is your reinstatement of the Committee of Twelve, who are accused of having calumniated Paris, of having arbitrarily imprisoned magistrates of the people, of having formed the project of oppressing the patriots. The barriers are shut, all the citizens are at this moment under arms in their respective sections, and under the orders of their usual commanders," &c. At last, at about seven o'clock, Mayor Pache arrived accompanied by a grand deputation of municipals. His story was short and intelligible enough. At the dawn of day, after he had ordered the guards to be doubled at the treasury and other public edifices, and after having made a report to the Committee of Public Security, a great number of persons entered the Hotel-de-Ville, where he was sitting in permanence with his council, and told him that Paris was in insurrection, that they were the commissioners of the majority of the sections, and that they had been charged to suspend, *pro tempore*, the mayor and the municipality. Upon this he and his municipals had retired into the adjacent Hall of Liberty, and laid down their official sashes. But, immediately after, he and his adjoints had been called back to the council-chamber, where the commissioners of the sections had told them that, seeing they had not lost the confidence of their fellow-citizens, they should all be provisionally reinstated in their offices. "Upon which," said alty Pache, "we expressed our gratitude to our fellow-citizens, and renewed our oaths to the sovereign people." From the mouths of others the Convention learned that these commissioners of the sections with the concurrence of Mayor Pache and the reinstated municipality, had appointed to the temporary command in chief of the national guards and all the troops in Paris one Henriot, a low ruffian who had been a leader of émeutes, and who was more than suspected of having been a chief of the Septemberizers. The president received a note from an officer commanding at the Pont-Neuf, stating that the said Henriot, as provisory commandant-general, had ordered him to fire the alarm gun which was posted at that bridge, which he had refused to do without the express order of the Convention, who had decreed it to be a capital crime for any one to fire that piece without their authority. Valaze called Henriot an audaciously impertinent scoundrel, and demanded that he should be brought to the bar. Mayor Pache said it must be all a mistake, that he had ordered that the alarm-gun was on no account to be fired—that assuredly it would not be fired. But he had scarcely said the words when that terror-striking gun boomed off, shaking the hall and most of the hearts in it. At the sound, the galleries, which were now beginning to fill, set up a joyous shout. Cambon did two vain things, he called the galleries to order and decency, and he called the House to union, unanimity, and firmness. "In these extraordinary circumstances," said he,

* Letter of—Maxime Roland to the Committee

"the only means of disappointing the evil-intentioned is to cause the National Convention to be respected." Thurot exclaimed, "And I call for something better! I demand that the Committee of Twelve, the scourge of France, be instantly suppressed!" "Yes," roared Danton, "that committee has merited the indignation of the people!" Tallien went further still, calling not merely for suppression, but for vengeance, and for the trial and judgment not only of the members of the committee, but of all traitors, by which he meant all the Girondists, and a great many of those who had hitherto voted with them. "Let the sword of the law," cried he, "strike every conspirator that sits in this Assembly!" It was the ordinary revolutionary practice for conspirators thus to accuse the party against whom they were conspiring of conspiracy, the Girondists, who now felt the practice to be very atrocious, had themselves repeatedly employed it against the king. Meanwhile the alarm-gun continued to boom from the Pont Neuf, and hurried messengers brought reports that the sections were marching towards the Tuileries in overwhelming numbers, preceded by the terrible Paris cannoniers, who were shouting, "Long life to the Mountain, and death to the Gironde!" Vergniaud mounted the tribune, and proposed in flashy oratory that the patriots should all die rather than abandon the cause of liberty—that they should all take a solemn oath to die at their post. To die was hard, but nothing so easy as to swear, and so not only the Girondists, but all parties took the oath, the House, or all the members that were present, rising simultaneously and swearing en masse. "And now," cried Danton, with his far-sounding voice, "dissolve the Committee of Twelve. The cannon has sounded. If you are political legislators, far from blaming this explosion of Paris, you will turn it to your profit and the profit of the republic, by reforming your errors and recovering your popularity. I address myself to the men among you who have some sense and see their true situation, and not to the blockheads who, in great movements like these, can only listen to their passions. Do not hesitate a moment in satisfying this people!" "What people?" cried some of the Gironde. "This people of Paris," responded Danton, "this immense people, which is the advanced guard of liberty, and which abhors tyranny and cowardly *moderantisme*—this people of Paris, who will be backed by all the departments. Hasten to satisfy them! Hasten to save them from the aristocrats and from the effects of their own wrath, and, if the movement should continue after you have done this, Paris itself will soon annihilate the factious, and those who move them." If the Girondists had sworn to die, they had certainly no intention of dying for their Committee of Twelve. They made up their minds to give up that committee at once, and sent Rabaut-St.-Etienne to the tribune to propose the instant suppression of the committee, from which he had separated himself by his resignation on the 28th. But Rabaut, deeming it expedient

to justify the original formation and intention of the committee, declared, in his sanctimonious manner, that the committee had been instituted to discover and circumvent the perfidious complots of Austria and Pitt, who were evidently the cause of all the divisions, disorders, and excesses committed in France, who were certainly keeping in their pay all the anarchists and assassins that had done so much mischief in the interior of the republic. This was a favourite theme with all classes of Frenchmen, the decided royalists themselves not excepted, but at the present moment the House was not in a humour to listen to the fable. Bazire exclaimed that Rabaut St.-Etienne was a liar,—that the Committee of Twelve had been appointed to organise a civil war in Paris, and Marat begged to remind the president that a deputation from the commune was kept waiting. Rabaut was obliged to cut his calumnies short, and to propose, *sans phrases*, the suppression of the committee. The deputation from the commune, which then came to the bar, announced in simple and direct language that a great plot against liberty and equality had been discovered by the people just in time to prevent its execution, that the commissioners of the forty-eight sections had all the threads of the conspiracy in their hands, and meant to arrest the chief conspirators and send them to the guillotine, that the people, who had risen to a man on the 14th of July, 1789, to take the Bastille and begin the revolution, and on the 10th of August, 1792, to cast down the tyrant from his throne, had risen a third time to stop libercide and counter-revolutionary complots, that the council-general of the commune had placed all property under the safeguard of the people, *had allowed the sans culottes forty sous a day as long as they should be under arms*, and had formed a committee to correspond directly with the Convention in this moment of agitation. The Girondists declared that whatever plot there might be was of the commune's own making, that the Convention was not free, but under the bayonets and cannon of insurgents, that they ought to suspend their deliberations until their liberty should be restored to them but their voices were drowned, and the majority of the House were terrified out of their senses, and, when another deputation came from the commune to reproach them with their delay, they voted that a committee the commune had appointed to act with them should have an apartment in the Tuileries, close to their own hall, and that the national treasury should pay the forty sous per day, which the commune had thought proper to allow the patriots. Not stopping at these condescensions, the Girondists, with some faint, delusive hopes of winning over the people, resolved to proceed further, and Vergniaud himself moved a resolution, "That the sections of Paris have deserved well of their country." The motion, as a matter of course, was carried by acclamation, the galleries applauding, but wondering how it could have originated in such a quarter. Vergniaud and

his friends took heart, but their rising spirit was soon damped by the arrival of fresh deputations, all crying vengeance against them. Departmental procurator syndic L'Huilier, who had told the government that this insurrection would be *toute morale*, came to the bar, at the head of another deputation from the commune or from the commune and the department (a host of men, followed by troops of armed sans-culottes), and, after accusing the Girondists of all manner of political crimes and delinquencies, and Isnard in particular for his blasphemous words against Paris, he demanded vengeance against Isnard, the members of the Committee of Twelve, and a great many others, such as Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonne, Brissot, Buzot, Barbaroux, Roland, Lebrun, Claviere, and, in short, "all the men proscribed by public opinion and denounced by the commune of Paris." The Mountain, and also the galleries, who had so recently applauded Vergniaud, now cheered L'Huilier, and demanded that Barrere, who undertook to draw up a decree for the suppression of the Committee of Twelve—of that fatal committee whose creation he had himself recommended and proposed—should insert in it the proscription of all the Girondists who had been named or alluded to by L'Huilier. The president's chair was at this moment occupied by Giroude, who invited L'Huilier and his tail to the honours of the sitting. L'Huilier and the whole of the numerous deputation went and seated themselves on the benches among the members of the Mountain, who made room for them, and received them with eager joy, while the sans-culottes, who had accompanied them, called in other patriots from the lobby or corridor until the floor of the House was completely covered. The cote gauche called out for the printing of L'Huilier's address and for the decree which Barrere had undertaken to draw up. Vergniaud exclaimed that the House was less free than ever—that it was intimidated—that its members were mixed with the people. "Well, then," cried Levasseur, "let the members of the gauche go over and sit among the members of the droite, and then the Convention will be separated and distinct from the petitioners, who will remain on this side." And presto, even as if Levasseur had been a billet-monger, and the Jacobins, operificurants, the Montagnards (hanged sides) and set themselves down among their adversaries of the cote droit, leaving the gauche entirely to the deputations and the mob. President Giroude, in the midst of a hurricane (for the members of the right did not receive the members of the left so amicably as the latter had received the people), put the question of printing L'Huilier's address to the vote, and pretended that it was easily carried, though neither he nor any one else could possibly collect the votes, or distinguish, in that scene of confusion, one party from the other. "And now," cried the Mountain, the deputation sitting on the benches of the Mountain, the sans-culottes in the body of the House, and their brethren in the galleries (thousands of voices all pitched to the

highest key), "now for Barrere's project of decree! Now let us vote *that*!" Again the Girondists cried out that they were not free—that no division could take place—that the business of the House was suspended. Vergniaud did something more than this—he had been out to look at the national guards that were patrolling near the Tuileries, and from the behaviour of some of them he had conceived a hope that they were as yet undecided, and therefore he exclaimed, "Let the Convention go and unite itself with the armed force which surrounds it, and seek in these ranks protection against this violence!" Having said these words, he went towards one of the doors, in the expectation that the whole of the cote droit and the greater part of the Plain, which, together, would form the majority of the Assembly, would follow him. But none followed him except his own party, the members of the Plain sitting silent and motionless, in an uncomfortable state of doubt or fear. The Mountain cheered as Vergniaud and his Girondists disappeared through the door, and then Chabot demanded the instant appel nominal, or call by muster-roll, in order to show who were the traitors that had deserted their posts. But at this moment Vergniaud, with his friends, returned into the House, sorely disappointed, not having been followed by the majority, much irritated against the sedentary Plain, completely discouraged and dejected. His attempted secession had failed—and failed most ridiculous! The Mountain and the sans-culottes welcomed him back with unsavoury comparisons and shouts of laughter. He demanded to be heard, but Robespierre got into the tribune before him, and kept possession of it in spite of him. The younger Robespierre had delivered a tremendous speech earlier in the day, but down to this moment the great Incorruptible had sat silent. Now, however, he made up for his abstinence. He was weary, he said, of idly talk and idle measures; the country must be saved to-day or never—tomorrow it might be too late; the Convention required purging and purifying, and so did the army; the petition presented by L'Huilier clearly explained what the people wanted, that petition had laid down the only means of saving the commonwealth. He was proceeding to weave an argumentative speech, when Vergniaud cried out, "Robespierre, come to the point!"—"I will, and it shall be against *you*," continued the Incorruptible—"against *you*, who, after the revolution of the 10th of August, endeavoured to bring to the scaffold the patriots who had accomplished it—against *you*, who have never ceased invoking the destruction of Paris—against *you*, who would have saved the tyrant, had you dared—against *you*, the accomplices of Dumouriez—against *you*, who have savagely pursued the same patriots whose heads Dumouriez wanted! Yes, I come to the point, and I require a decree of accusation against all the accomplices of that traitor, and against all the others impeached by L'Huilier and the petitioners sitting there!" These words which

were the death-warrant of the Girondists, were vehemently applauded. By this time Barrère had got his project of decree ready. It was very long, but the substance of it was this.—1 That the Committee of Twelve should be forever suppressed (a good deal of the storm of the day had been made to prevent the Girondists enjoying the merit of the voluntary surrender they had offered), that the papers of that committee should be seized, and a report upon them presented within three days.—2 That the armed force and all the *sans-culottes* hired at forty sous a-day should continue under arms till further orders.—3 That the conspirators and enemies to the republic who had been denounced by the commune and the other deputations should be impeached as soon as possible.—4 That a proclamation should be drawn up and sent to all parts of France, explanatory of the proceedings of this day.

At about ten o'clock at night this project was put to the vote, and carried with the same circumstances which had attended the preceding division. The Girondists were allowed to retire to their homes, or to their nightly hiding places. The commune ordered a general illumination, and the sections made what they called a civic promenade by torch-light. But, before daylight returned, loud murmurs were heard that *ça n'allait pas*; that great preparations and dispositions had been made to very little purpose, that the Girondists were not yet under lock and key in the Abbaye, that the traitors might escape through an absurd delicacy about forms of law, &c. The Jacobin Club was frantic, nor was the commune much calmer or more satisfied. In the club Billaud Varennes declared that they had been doing things by halves, and that they must complete their work before the people could upon it, and Henriot came forward with an offer to place the armed force at the disposition of the club. The next day (the 1st of June) being a Saturday, it was agreed to put off further proceedings till Sunday, which had always been the favourite day with the insurrectionists. This delay, too, would allow time to bring into Paris several thoroughly *sans-culottic* battalions who had been destined for the war in the Vendée, but who had not marched farther than Courbevoie. The committee of the commune, which took possession of their allotted apartment in the Tuilleries on Saturday morning, assumed all the functions and powers of an executive government, or only shared those powers with Pache and his insurrection-increased municipals, and with the assembly of sections, which continued to sit at the *Lveche*. We cannot trace the steps of Robespierre so distinctly, but all Saturday Marat appears to have been going and coming between the *Éveche* and the *Hôtel-de-Ville*, and between the *Hôtel-de-Ville* and the Tuilleries, haranguing at each, and recommending to all energy—energy and rigour. The commune voted more money, six livres a-head for the working-men who continued out and under arms. Assignats of a hundred sous each were provided

for the soldiers of the battalions at Courbevoie, who arrived all in good time, and who received, in addition to this stimulus, the most exciting accounts of a conspiracy discovered, the authors of which sat in the Convention, and must be dragged from it, whatever the letter of the constitution might say to the contrary. All Paris was in motion; muskets and pikes were seen everywhere, and immense parks of artillery at various points. The men of the sections had slept on their arms the preceding night, the Paris cannoneers had slept by their guns. In the course of the day the municipality sent to arrest Roland, but, not being able to find that ex-minister, they arrested his wife and lodged her in the Abbaye.* About a hundred members assembled in the morning at the Convention, but none of the Girondists attended. The chiefs of the party, however, all contrived to meet at a dinner in some bye corner of Paris. We can believe Louvet who says they had small appetite. They deliberated upon what was next to be done to save the republic, or their own party and their own heads. Pétion, Buzot, Gensonne proposed that they should all return to the Convention and die in their seats (which, by the way, they were bound to do by their oath of yesterday), Barbaroux proposed that they should go to the Convention, but that, instead of waiting for death on their curule chairs, they should leave and attack their adversaries, that they recommended close encirclement and then fight to the places where they might find a party strong enough to bring them back victorious to Paris. Louvet—Irriblas Louvet—was, according to his own narrative, the most decided of those who recommended the last course. "It is impossible," said he, "for us to do any good by going to the Convention, where the Mountain and the *Gilliches* will not permit us to speak. If we go there we shall give them the opportunity of seizing all their prey at one blow. Nor is there anything that we can do by staying in Paris which is overruled by the terror inspired by the conspirators who are masters of the armed force and of all the constituted authorities. There is *nothing but a departmental insurrection that can save France*. We ought, therefore, to seek some secure asylum for this night, and in the course of tomorrow and the following days steal out of Paris one after the other, and then, using our various resources, we ought to meet and reunite at Bordeaux or in the *Calvados*, and, if the insurgents there are in an imposing attitude we may put ourselves at their head. Above all things we must avoid staying as hostages in the hands of the Mountain. We must not think of returning to the Convention."† Brissot, Vergniaud, Valaze, and some others thought that the danger was not so great, and

* There was much jesting upon this capture. "The ex-minister Roland," says the *Chromosome de Paris*, "has not been arrested. Some men will be at everything in learning, that his wife was caught instead of him, and that the body had escaped! But the soul had remained behind and he took them."

Many other arrests were made in these days by order of the commune. The printers who worked for Girondist publishers were much sought after.

† Louvet *Memoires*.

that they might stay a little longer in Paris, to see what turn affairs might take. Every man thought his own opinion the best, and they had come to no common conclusion or agreement when the sound of the tocsin again struck their ears. The frightful chiming was led off by Marat, who ascended the belfry of the Hôtel de Ville, and with his own arm rang the first peal between eight and nine o'clock on Saturday evening. At the sound the Girondists rose from table, and separated to go in search of good hiding-places for the night. The few members of the Convention who had assembled in the morning had gone to their dinners, but at the sound of the tocsin some of them now returned to the House. The number that met was too small to make a House, but this was not a time to allow of any delicate attentions to forms. Legendre, who had been a sailor before he took up the trade of butcher, exclaimed, "When a ship is out in the roads and the seaman sees that the wind is good, he sets sail, and away!" These few Montagnards therefore set themselves up as a House and proceeded to business. One of them said that the tocsin, and the drum-beating to arms, and the troop of the section that were marching through the Convention, plainly announced a new insurrection, and that the glorious justifiable cause of this new insurrection lay in the fact that the Convention had not satisfied all the demands of the petitioners. The explanation was presently given in great length by an officer mixed up in it from the commune and the department, who said that he was Hasselfratz and not a medical man, an lecturer on the physical sciences, but who had abandoned his former occupations to take up the more civilising and more profitable profession of patriot-Jacobin, and municipal. He had made his name terrible before now by harangues and denunciations; he is generally supposed to have been Marat's right hand man in the whole of the present affair. Hasselfratz stated that he came to demand a decree of accusation against the members of the Committee of Twelve, against the correspondents of Dumouriez against the men who were exciting the inhabitants of the departments against the people of Paris, against the men who were trying to federalise the departments and make several republics, while the people wanted a republic, one and indivisible. The number of twenty-two victims, which had been proposed in previous petitions or addresses, did not satisfy Hasselfratz, who asked for twenty-seven, and named them all. He called for the heads of Billaud, Gorsas the journalist, Lanthenas, Lesage, Lehardy, and Grangeneuve, who were, he said, as great traitors as Petion, Vergniaud, and the others. "Legislators!" cried he, "it is at length time to finish! We must put an end to this counter-revolution!" All these twenty-seven conspirators must fall under the sword of the law, without any consideration—they must all bite the dust!" Legendre thought that, while they were

doing, they had better make the decree of accusation include the names of all those who had voted for the appeal to the people on the king's trial. Marat, who had run over from the Hôtel de Ville, said it might seem indelicate in him, who had so long been the personal enemy of the Girondists, and who had been so cruelly persecuted by them, to speak against them now, it might lead to a suspicion that he had got up this insurrection against them, but the public salvation exacted from him what his feelings would not otherwise have permitted, and therefore, as a member of the Convention, he must demand the decree of accusation against all the chiefs of the denounced faction. Barrere, who was sitting and voting with this handful of Montagnards, presented the following propositions:—1 That the National Convention decree that the committee of public safety or salvation (*salut public*) should be bound to present, within three days, the measures proper to save the republic. 2 That the said committee should also make a report upon this petition presented by the constituted authorities of Paris. 3 That the department of Paris, the municipality and all citizens who had any evidence and papers against the members they had denounced, should be bound to lay them before the said committee.—This fragment of the Convention would not do more for the present than they separated about midnight. The tocsin kept sounding all through the night, and at the dawn of day the alarm-gun was fired on the Place Neuf, the barriers were again closed, and black flags were hoisted in every direction. Men, well trained to the business, ran among the troops and pikemen, reporting that Conde had fallen, that the department of the Gironde and other departments of the south, were in insurrection, that insurrections and foreign enemies, in correspondence with the twenty-two or twenty-seven traitors, were endeavouring to surround Paris. The members of the Convention repaired to their hall, and this Sunday morning there was rather a full House—the Mountain, the Plain, and even a good many of the moderate, taking their usual seats. Except Lanjuinais and Barbaroux, all the menaced Girondists kept close in their hiding-places, listening to the tocsin and the cries of the people, and the roar of the alarm-gun. Clavier, their minister of finance, had been arrested during the night by the section of Piques, but Isnard, Lanthenas, Dussaulx, Fauchet, and a few others who had identified themselves with the party, appeared in their places, or arrived in the course of the morning before the Convention was blockaded. Lanjuinais, who seems to have been the only man of real courage attached to the Gironde party, obtained possession of the tribune, and demanded why the drums were beating to arms? The Mountain interrupted him by crying, "Down! down!—You want to sow divisions in the assembly!—You want to make a civil war!" But Lanjuinais raised his voice, and boldly told many truths—truths so unpalatable to the Montagnards, that Robespierre's brother, Legendre,

Drouet, and Julien rushed to the tribune, and attempted to drag him down by brute force. They tore his clothes off his back; but Lanjumeau, being a muscular man, kept so tight hold of the iron railing, that they could not do it, and, continuing his speech, he demanded that all the insurrectionary authorities of Paris should be removed, that all that they had done during the three last days should be annulled, that all those men who were attempting to arrogate to themselves a new authority, contrary to the law, should be declared outlawed, and permission given to every citizen to fall upon them (*de leur courir sus*). Here he was stopped by the president (Malarme), who announced that a deputation of the *revolutionary and constituted authorities* of the department of Paris demanded to be admitted to the bar, in order to present the last means of public salvation. The *côté droit* opposed the admission of the deputation, but those terrible petitioners, followed by the usual escort, marched into the hall. 'Delegates of the people,' exclaimed their orator, "the citizens of Paris have been under arms these four days,—for these four days they have been demanding their rights, and for these four days you have been laughing at their tranquillity and inaction. The torch of liberty has grown pale, the pillars of equality are shaken, the counter-revolutionists lift up their insistent heads. But let them tremble! The thunder groans, they are going to be pulverized! Their crimes are known to you. We come for the last time to denounce them, decree, then, this instant, that they are unworthy of the public confidence, place them this instant under arrest, we will answer for it with our heads to the departments. Citizens, the people are weary of your continual adjournment of their happiness! Act for them this minute, or in the next they will act for themselves." Billard-Varennes and Tallien demanded that the House should not rise, and that no other question should be discussed, until the petitioners were satisfied. But a great number of voices, including even some of the Mountain, called for the order of the day, some of them reminding the Assembly that a petition of the same nature had on the overnight been referred to the Committee of Public Safety, who were to report upon it within three days. 'What order of the day?' cried Legendre, "the order of the day is to save the country!" The order of the day was, however, put to the vote, and carried by a considerable majority. Upon this the petitioners retired from the hall with menacing gestures, the mob poured down from the galleries, and the cry was heard outside the doors, "*Aux armes, citoyens! aux armes!*" "Save the people from the effects of their own fury! Save the lives of your colleagues by voting their temporary imprisonment! You see circumstances command it," cried one of the Mountain. "No," responded La Réveillère-Lépeaux, "rather let us all go to prison." All the *côté droit*, all the Plain, and even some of the Mountain, rose and cried, "No!" An un-named member ingeniously proposed

that the committee of public safety should be called upon to report immediately on the petition which had been referred to it, instead of waiting till Monday or Tuesday. His proposition was agreed to. Cambon went to the committee, and, presently returning, informed the House that the said committee had proposed certain measures relative to the critical circumstances of the Convention, and would present their project of decree in half an hour. This project was the handiwork of that expeditious maker of decrees, Barrere, who, in less than the given time, ascended the tribune, and proposed that the Girondist chiefs should voluntarily resign their seats, and submit to a temporary exile from Paris. The committee, he said, had not had time to investigate the subject, or to examine any evidence, but, considering the position, moral and politic, of the Convention, they believed that the voluntary suspension of the deputies designated by the petitioners would produce the happiest effect—would save the republic from a fatal crisis, and that therefore the committee appealed to the patriotism and generosity of the accused members, &c. Isnard, who had hastened the crisis by his wild rhodomontade about Paris, and whose name had been set down in most of the black lists, instantly grasped at the proposal. Thus, as we believe, he did to save his neck, but a patriot and orator like him could scarcely avow so selfish a motive, and he declared, in well-rounded periods, that he suspended himself (thit is to say, from his functions as a legislator) solely for the good of his country, and in order to avoid the terrible misfortunes which threatened the Convention. Lanthenas followed his example, saying he entertained the same sentiments as Isnard, but was not at all influenced by the armed masses that were gathering round the House. Fauchet, whose exploits at the taking of the Bastille and whose sermon at St Jacques de la Boucherie had long been forgotten, because he had given offence to Marat and had sided with the Girondins,—Fauchet, whose Social Circles and systems of universal truth and love had all exploded, or had all been rolled away by newer circles and bolder systems,—followed Lanthenas, and voluntarily demitted. Dussaulx, who had also been a Bastille hero, did the same thing, and in still fewer words. Some of the Mountain seemed touched at these political self-sacrifices, but Marat would have none of them, and thought that Barrere and the Committee of Public Safety had been very silly to suggest them. "I disapprove," cried he, "of the measure proposed by the committee, because it gives the accused conspirators the honours of self-devotion. One ought to be pure to offer oneself as a sacrifice for one's country, it is for a man like me, the true martyr of liberty, to devote himself as a sacrifice, and I offer my suspension if you will only this instant order the arrest of the counter-revolutionists, adding to the list the names of Ferment and Valazé, which are not there, and scratching out the names of Dussaulx, Lanthenas, and Ducos,

which never ought to have been there. Dussaulx is nothing but an old dotard, incapable of being a party chief, Lanthenas is a half-witted simpleton, not worth a thought, and Ducos, although he has some erroneous opinions, is not guilty of any state crime, and cannot be regarded as a counter-revolutionary chief." Lanjuinais, the bold Breton, said, "I believe I have hitherto shown some courage and some energy, never expect then from me either demission or suspension. Self-sacrifices ought to be free, and we are not free, you are not free, nobody is free in this Assembly—the cannon of the insurgents are turned upon us." Barbaroux said that he had sworn to die at his post, and he would keep his oath. Some other Montagnards were quite as wroth as Marat at the *mezzo termine* of Barriere, wanting something more than resignation, and Billaud Varennes demanded, not the suspension, but the arrest and judgment of the *re uscd*, and was pressing the House to divide on this question, and vote by *appel-nominel*, when Fierrot, who had been to the lobby, returned into the Hall, making a terrible outcry, and announcing that all the doors were blocked up by armed men, who permitted neither access nor ingress. "Ah!" cried Barriere, "all this insurrection comes from London, Berlin, Vienna, Madrid!" Previously to this intimation that the deputies were all prisoners, several of the *côté droit* had been to the doors and had tried to escape, but not one of them had succeeded except Gorsas, the journalist. Now, several other members, from both sides of the House, ran out to the outer doors, but they were all driven back, and Boissy-d'Anglais, one of the number, venturing to dispute the will of the sovereign people in insurrection, received some blows, and got his clothes all torn. At this said moment Danton, who was not in all the secrets of this insurrection, although he had himself managed the beginning of it (he had been left behind by Marat), expressed the loudest indignation, and said that the outraged majesty of the nation must be vigorously avenged. At last it was agreed that the whole Convention should go out in a body and ascertain whether it were free or not. All the *côté droit* and the Plain rose and formed in marching order, with Hérault-de-Séchelles, who had a fine showy professional figure, and who had just been called to the president's chair, at their head. They were moving off, but, seeing that the Mountain remained in their places, they halted and called upon them for shame to follow and share in the common danger. The galleries, with signs full of meaning, advised the Montagnards to stay where they were, but after a little hesitation those deputies descended from their seats and formed in the rear of the Plain. The whole Convention then moved on in solemn procession, Hérault-de-Séchelles having his hat on, but all the rest going

bareheaded, in sign of woe. The sentinels and guards that had been stationed in the interior of the palace gave way at their approach, and let them pass, and they descended a great staircase, and issued out of the eastern door of the Tuileries, which opened upon the Place du Carrousel. To such as were not in the whole secret with Marat and the commune, the sight before them was not very encouraging. Henriot was there with his redoubted Parisian cannoneers, who stood by their guns with matches in their hands, there were camp furnaces for making balls red hot, tumbrils, and waggons loaded with provision, with meat and drink provided by the commune for the use of the patriots, every where, every spot to which the eye could reach seemed covered with armed men and artillery, and in effect Henriot had surrounded the Tuileries with from 80,000 to 90,000 armed men (counting that very effective force the pikemen), and with 163 pieces of artillery. There was still some iron ruling between the Convention and the troops and cannoneers in the Place du Carrousel, and outside the open iron gate was Henriot mounted on a charger, and surrounded by a numerous and mounted staff. Bravely and theatrically Hérault de-Séchelles marched up to the gate and, in the name of the nation, commanded Henriot to make way for the National Convention. With equal dignity Henriot replied that he would make no way until the Convention had obeyed the sovereign will of the people. Hérault and the Convention behind him advanced a few steps, as if they were all determined to pass. Henriot reined back his charger, drew his sword, and shouted "Cannoneers, to your guns!" President, Convention, right, left, centre, and all—or all who had gone so far—fell back from the disputed passage, and fled into the Tuineries. When they had recovered their breath, they thought they would try some other passage, they went to the opposite side of the palace, and next to the garden front of the palace through which Louis XVI. and his family had gone forth on the 10th of August, but they met with the same reception, and, not seeing the slightest hopes of obtaining access anywhere, they returned to their hall with their ears ringing with shouts of "Long live Marat!" "Down with the *côté droit*!" "Death to the Gironde!" Marat had urged behind to speak a few words of thanks to the brave Henriot, and to say to the soldiers and cannoneers, "Comrades, no weakness! Quit not your posts till the traitors are delivered up." But he presently entered the august Areopagus, followed by a long train of patriots, who shouted "Long live the Convention!" and seated themselves among the members with a great rattling of muskets and pikes. And then paralytic Couthon crawled up to the tribune to put an end to this long tragical farce by a sublime piece of mockery. "Representatives of the people," said he, "you see how the people respect you, how they obey you, you see that you are quite free, and that you can without any fear vote upon the question sub-

* The council of ministers sat in another part of the Tuileries were equally present. Curat, Fournier and Goussier were not from the council room to one of the apartments to treat little. They were instantly warned by the alarm and the result of it was indispensable that they should get them in again.—*Mémoires de Girard*

mitted to you. Vote then at once, make haste to satisfy the wishes of the people and your own consciences!" Forthwith the list, under the dictation of Marat, was definitively settled: a decree declaring the members whose names were in the list to be prisoners in their own private residences was drawn up and passed, few of the Plain and none of the *côté droit* voting. The names included in the list (thirty-two in all) were those of Gensonné, Guadet, Brissot, Gorsas, Pétion, Vergniaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Biroteau, Lidon, Rabaud, Lasource, Lanjumeau, Grangeneuve, Lehardi, Lesage, Louvet, Valzé, the minister for foreign affairs (Lebrun), the minister of finances (Clavière), and the following ten, who had been members of the Committee of Twelve—Kervéga, Gardin, Rabaut St Etienne, Boileau, Bertrand, Vigée, Molléau, Henri Larivière, Gomaire, and Bergoing. It was added in the decree that, though these individuals were to be under arrestment in their own houses, they were to be considered, until the Convention should otherwise determine, to be under the safeguard of the French people. As soon as this vote was made known to the sovereign insurgents outside brave Harriot raised his blockade, and cannoners, sectioners, pikemen, and patriots of all descriptions, marched off, singing the *Ça Ira*. It was about ten o'clock at night. By order of the commune there was another general illumination and another civic promenade by torchlight. Some of the sectioners quarrelled about what had been done, and were near fighting but, in the end, everything passed off fraternally—only a great many more arrests were made. In the course of the month fourteen victims were sent to the guillotine.

The Girondists, who hid themselves tranquilly upon the constitutional inviolability of Louis XVI, called upon heaven and earth to witness the monstrous crime of their adversaries in trampling upon their inviolability as representatives of the people. The simple truth was, that, as they had got rid of the king because he stood in the way of their republic and of their personal aggrandizement, so the Mountain had got rid of them because they stood in the way of their sanguinary, and because they had declared war, to the guillotine, against them. The common calamity which had befallen them did not produce any unanimous plan. They might all have escaped from Paris, but Gensonné, Valzé, Guadet, Pétion, and Vergniaud, and six or seven others of less note, thought it better to remain in the capital, and, quitting their places of concealment, they returned to their own houses or lodgings to place themselves under the safeguard of the people, which was immediately converted into a guard of gendarmes or municipals. Others continued in their hiding-places, or fled and disappeared until the Reign of Terror was over. Only Buzot, Grangeneuve, Louvet, Chambon, Salles, Gorsas, Lidon, Rabaut-St-Etienne, Lasource, Lesage, Vigée, Henri Larivière, and Bergoing, resolved to repair immedi-

ately to the provinces to try the chances of a civil war, or of that *departmental insurrection* which Louvet had so warmly recommended. A little later, however, Barbaroux escaped from his gendarmes and joined his friends who had gone to the départements, and, as soon as opportunity served, Pétion, Salles, and one or two others followed his example. Disguised as servants, grooms, or mechanics, the fugitive legislators arrived at Caen, the capital of the department of Calvados, in Normandy. There they found insurrection enough, but it was an insurrection of royalists, and the chiefs of it considered the Girondist republicans as little better than the Jacobins. For a short time there was a hollow union between these two parties, and the Girondists were allowed to take the name of "Assembly of the Departments reunited at Caen," and to establish the semblance of an administration. Being joined by a few counter-revolutionists from Brittany, they even ventured to skirmish once or twice with the troops of the Convention, who were very weak in that quarter. But they soon came to an open quarrel with the royalists, their incompatible allies, accusing them of a design to betray them and to betray their country by entering into negotiations with the English, and, at news of the approach of reinforcements which the Mountain were sending, they all fled from Caen to try their fortunes at Bordeaux, nearly at the other end of France.

While they sojourned at Caen, Beau Barbaroux and others of the fugitive deputies made the acquaintance of Charlotte Corday, an unmarried lady of twenty-five years of age, graceful, handsome, and enthusiastic, a republican, as she said herself, because the revolution began. She had quitted the house of her father (a provincial nobleman, when nobility was) to live, in greater liberty, in the town of Caen with Madame Couturier-d-Bretyville, a relative or friend. Her morals were said to be irreproachable, but her enthusiasm seems at all times to have had a touch of insanity. If so far the eloquence and the misfortunes of the Girondists may have wrought upon her excitable mind, or whether they had any distinct notion of her intention, are considered as unpolitical mysteries. Of this part of the story all that is certainly known is, that she frequently saw and conversed privately with Barbaroux and Pétion, and that Barbaroux gave her a letter for his friend Duperret, the member of the *côté droit* who had raised such a storm by drawing his sword on the Mountain. On the 9th of July, after taking an affectionate leave of the fugitive deputies who still continued at Caen, she took her place in the Paris diligence, and on the afternoon of the 11th she arrived in the capital and took up her lodging in the hotel of La Providence, in the Rue des Vieux Augustins. On the following morning, the 12th, she delivered Barbaroux's letter to Duperret. On the next morning—the 13th of July—she bought a large sheath-knife at a shop in the

Palais Royal, and then, taking a hackney-coach, drove straight to the house in the Rue de l'Ecole de Medecine, in the squalid third story of which Marat resided. There she was told that the great man was sick, and could not be seen [And so sick was he in very truth, that he would soon have been a dead man without her knife.] Returning to her Providence hotel, Charlotte wrote him a note, stating that she had recently arrived from the Calvados, that she could give him important information about the counter-revolution and insurrection in progress in those parts, and enable him to render a great service to France. To this note, which she sent by the post, she received no answer. She wrote another note to carry with her, and to present at his door in case of her being again refused admittance, or of his not having received the first. In this second note (which appears never to have been delivered, as Marat had received the first) she said, "I hope that tomorrow you will grant me an interview. I repeat to you that I have just arrived from Caen, I have to reveal to you secrets the most important for the salvation of the republic. Besides I am persecuted for the cause of liberty, I am unhappy, and this will suffice to give me a right to your protection." At half past seven in the evening she took her hackney coach, went again to Marat's lodgings, and asked for an answer to the note she had written. The door was opened by a woman or by a man, who refused to let her enter, saying that Marat, still very ill, was in a bath. But Marat himself, who had read her first note, hearing her voice, ordered that she should be admitted and called her into his room. The diseased wretch was in a portable bath with a stool, and papers a dpen and ink by the side of him. He eagerly asked his fair visitant what the fugitive Girondists were doing at Caen? Who were they? What were their names? She named them one by one. He raised himself almost out of the bath, crying, "The traitors! they shall all perish! The guillotine!" Here Charlotte Clary drew the knife from her bosom, and plunged it into his exposed right side, and with a firm and well-directed a blow, that the weapon penetrated right through the lungs. He could only shriek, "*Aidez, chère amie!*" (Help, dear friend!)—his blood choked him, and he was dead almost in an instant. The *chère amie* to whom he alluded was his gouvernante, or house-keeper, a young woman of the lowest or poorest class, with whom he had for some time been living conjugally. She and her sister ran into the room, and the dying shriek also brought in a man who had been folding up newspapers for the deceased. They found Charlotte Corday standing by the side of the bath, they knocked her down with the stool, and would have torn her to pieces if the noise they made had not brought some sectioners and two national guardsmen, who were on duty at the door of the Théâtre Français, into the house. To these men in authority, who saved her

from the fury of the *chère amie* and conducted her to the Abbaye, she declared that she had done the deed for the good of her country and in the view of ending the civil war which was breaking out on all sides.*

She was lodged in a room or cell which had recently been occupied by Brissot, for that chief, after escaping from Paris towards the end of June, had been intercepted in his flight towards Switzerland, and was now in the safe keeping of the Montignards. She began to write a long letter to Barbaroux, a document which seems to have been overlooked by the many English writers who have chosen to dress her up as a pure, high-minded heroine. The letter contains much triviality, some coquetry, an infinitude of vanity, and indications of qualities or principles that are still worse. It proves that she had been a diligent student of those writers who had completed the demoralization of France, and driven the people into their present madness—a madness taking various shapes according to circumstances and variety of condition, education, and character. She quotes Raynal, whom she calls her oracle, to prove that one is not bound to speak the truth to one's tyrants. She avows that she had made use of a perfidious artifice to entice Marat to receive her, but she adds that all means are justifiable or good in such circumstances, in other words, that the end justifies the means which was precisely the doctrine upon which Marat himself had so long acted. In describing her journey in the diligence, she says that one of her fellow-travellers, mistaking her for the daughter of an old friend, and supposing her possessed of a fortune, which she had not, had offered her his own hand and fortune. She admits that she had been guilty of the indiscretion of talking in the public diligence about her friends, and that it was through her fellow-travellers that the discovery was first made that she knew Barbaroux and talked of Duperret. She writes as if she were confident that the death of Marat would put an end to all the horrors of the revolution, and restore peace, union, and happiness to France. She says her own life was worth nothing, that a lively imagination and a too sensible heart promised but a stormy existence, and she anticipated an eternal repose in the Elysian fields with Brutus and a few of the ancients. "My plan," she says, "in setting out from Caen, was to sacrifice him in the summit of his Mountain, but he no longer went to the Convention." She declares that what decided her to undertake the assassination was the courage with which the volunteers had enrolled themselves at Caen on Sunday the 7th. There is not a word to commit Barbaroux, there are many words meant to disprove his complicity, but it must be remembered that this letter was written under the eyes of gendarmes, and must pass through the hands of the commune, the Committee of *Salut Public*, and the tremendous Tribunal. As

* *Procès Verbaux*, and newspapers of the day in Hist. Parlement.

evidence for the Girondins it is entitled to no weight. She complains of the inelucency of being watched in her cell, by night as well as by day, by gendarmes, and says she fancies that this must be the invention of Chabot, as nobody but a Capuchin could have such foul ideas. She says that for the rest she is very comfortable in her prison, and passes her time in writing songs (*à l'erreur des chansons*). She has given the last couplet of the charming song Valazé composed at Caen to all who like to have it. Here and there there is a gleam of good sense, as when she exclaims, "What a wretched people this to form a republic! Peace and good will ought to be founded first, and then government might come after, but at least it will not be the Mountain that will ruin long."

In consequence of some revelations made by witnesses, Duperret and Fauchet were arrested. After one or two examinations before the Committee of Public Safety, Charlotte Corday was transferred from the Abbaye to the Conciergerie, the latter prison having now become the usual portal to the guillotine. Here, with the certainty of death before her eyes, she wrote (on the 16th of July) to her father to beg him to pardon her for having disposed of her existence without his permission—to beg him to forget her, or rather to rejoice at her fate, and to remember the verse of Corneille,

Le crime fait l'honneur à l'innocent.

On the same day, the last of her life, she finished her long letter to Barbaroux. She tells him that he must be sure to read the long interrogatory she has undergone, if it should be published, that she has written an address, but fears it will be suppressed, that yesterday she thought of getting her portrait painted, to be sent to the department of Calvados, but that the Committee of *Salut Public* had not returned any answer to his demand, and that it was now too late to get the portrait done. She has asked for counsel—for that is the rule—and has chosen an advocate who is a member of the Mountain, she had thought of asking for the legal assistance of Robespierre or Chabot. She is astonished that the people did not massacre her on her way from the Abbaye to the Conciergerie, and considers this as a new proof of their return towards moderation. With the same vanity, and anxiety to figure well in public, was mixed the same rampant Romanism. "To-morrow," she says, "at eight o'clock, I shall be tried—probably by noon, to speak the Roman language, I shall have lived (*j'aurai vécu*). People ought now to believe in the valour of the inhabitants of the Calvados, since even the women of that country are capable of Roman firmness."

Her trial contains many passages that throw a strong light on her own character, and on the temper and manners of the time. Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, who was beginning to make his name terrible in France, read the act of accusation, after which Marat's *chère amie* and other witnesses were called in to be examined. The prisoner interrupted the first of these witnesses

before she could say many words, by declaring that such examination was useless, that she had confessed, and now confessed again, that it was she who had killed Marat. "Who induced you to commit that assassination?" asked the president. "It was his crimes that induced me." "What do you mean by his crimes?" "The miseries he has caused since the revolution." "Who are those who engaged you to undertake this deed?" "Myself alone." They then went on with the examination of witnesses, and Charlotte said after each of them, "That is true," or, "That is very true." But, when a man employed about the Marrie deposed, with the intention of proving that she had had an evil design against mayor Pache that he had seen her the night before the murder at the Marrie, and that she had asked him whether she could speak with the mayor, she exclaimed emphatically, "That is false. I never was at the Marrie in my life. I know not where it is." When the mistress of the hotel deposed that the day after her arrival a gentleman had called to ask for her, the prisoner said that that gentleman was M. Duperret. The president asked her whether Duperret did not call to conduct her to the minister of the interior. [The minister of the interior was still Garat, who had been very intimate with Duperret.] She replied that it was so, and that he had actually conducted her to the minister's, in order that she might obtain from him some papers for the use of a friend of hers, one Alexandre Lorbim, a ci-devant canoness of the Calvados. "Who recommended you to Duperret?" said the president. "It was Barbaroux, at Caen," said Charlotte. "What is the present state of Caen?" "There is a central committee of the departments, who intend to march upon Paris." "At the time of your departure from Caen, did Barbaroux know the object of your journey?" "No," he only recommended me not to be long on the road. "Who told you that anarchy was reigning in Paris?" "The newspapers." "What newspapers were you accustomed to read?" "Perlet, Le Courrier Français, and Le Courrier Universel." "But did you not also read Gorsus's paper, and Brissot's?" "No, I have never seen those papers." "But you are no doubt acquainted with certain royalist papers, L'Ami du Roi, for example?" "Yes, I sometimes read those sorts of journals." "Were you in close intimacy with the deputies that have fled to Caen?" "No, nevertheless I have conversed with all of them." "Where are they lodged?" "In the Intendance." "How do they occupy themselves?" "In writing songs and proclamations, to call the people back to peace and union." "....." "What do they say about Robespierre and Danton?" "They consider them, like Marat, as provokers of civil war." "Did you not present yourself at the National Convention with the design of assassinating Marat there?" "No." "Who gave you Marat's address, which was found in your pocket written in pencil?" "A hackney-

coachman." "Was it not rather Duperret?" "No." "Was your confessor at Caen a sworn or an unsworn priest?" "I neither went to a sworn nor to an unsworn priest, for I had no confessor." "Were you not the mistress of some one of the fugitive deputies?" [The president was thinking of Beau Barbaroux, whose exploits in this line were very notorious.] "No!" "What were your intentions in killing Marat?" "To put an end to the troubles of my country, and to escape to England if I had not been arrested." "Is it long since you formed this project?" "Ever since the 31st of May, and the expulsion and arrest of the representatives of the people." "It was, then in the newspapers you read that you learned that Marat was an anarchist?" "Yes, and I knew that he perverted France. I have killed one man to save a hundred thousand! Besides, he was a buyer-up of money (*un accapareur d'argent*). A man was arrested at Caen that was buying up specie for him with assignats. I was a republican a long while before the revolution, and I have never been wanting in energy." "What do you mean by energy, or persons of energy?" "Those who set their private interests aside, and know how to sacrifice themselves for their country." The president wanted to know whether she had not made some experiments or studied anatomy beforehand, as the blow she had given to Marat had been so well directed and so instantaneously fatal. She said no—that that had happened as it had happened—that it was mere chancework. Peter Francis Feuillard, garçon or waiter at the hotel of La Providence, deposed that, while he was making her bed on the afternoon when she arrived, she told him that 60,000 men were going to march upon Paris, and asked him what the people of Paris thought of little Marat, and that he, the garçon and bed-maker, had replied thereto that the patriots esteemed Marat very highly, but that the aristocrats did not love him. The president then asked the prisoner whether she had ever been in Paris before, to which she answered, never. Fauchet, who appears to have been denounced simply because he was still nominal bishop of the Calvados (for atheism by establishment had not yet come, though it was coming fast), made rather a miserable exhibition. A woman of the people swore that she had seen him, as well as Duperret, with Charlotte Corday on one of the galleries of the National Convention, on the evening of the 11th. A person belonging to the hotel swore, on the contrary, that Charlotte, who had gone to bed almost as soon as she arrived, had slept all that evening, and had not quitted the house; and Charlotte herself made the same declaration. Fauchet, in an evident tremor, declared that he had never known Charlotte, either directly or indirectly, that he had never seen her in the whole course of his life. Charlotte, when questioned, said she knew Fauchet by sight, having seen him at Caen as constitutional bishop of the Calvados; but that she had turned her eyes from

him, as his manner of thinking did not suit a woman of her character. The women persisted that she had seen Fauchet with the assassin on the gallery, that there could be no mistake, that she knew his person very well. When asked how he made out his alibi, the right-severed Socialist said that, as well as he could recollect, he had spent the evening of the 11th in playing at trictrac with the constitutional bishop of Nancy and the citizen Loiseau, one of the directors of the jury of the tribunal of the 17th of August, or in the house of citizen Gaumets, in the Faubourg St Honoré. Duperret, who was firm and bold, and evidently prepared to face the certain death which awaited him, and upon charges wholly unconnected with this assassination, declared that he had never been in the gallery of the Convention with Charlotte Corday, but he admitted that he had received her at his house, that she had brought him a letter of introduction, that he had visited her twice at her hotel on the 12th, and that he had accompanied her to the minister of the interior. He added that they had found the minister engaged, and had appointed to return to his house in the evening, but that, in the interval, his (Duperret's) papers having been seized and sealed by decree of the Convention passed that day, he had represented to her that he would do her more harm than good if he returned with her to the minister's, that he saw besides that she had no power of attorney to receive papers or transact business for her friend the canoness; and that, in fine, they had not returned to Garat's. The letter of introduction which Barbaroux had given to Charlotte for Duperret had been already produced and read in the Convention, and, though it spoke of the business of the canoness, it contained some very different matter, and had a postscript in which the writer said, "Here all goes on well. We shall not be long before we are under the walls of Paris." It appeared also from the letter of introduction that Barbaroux gave Charlotte some writings, and particularly a work of Salles on the constitution, which Duperret was to get printed immediately, and in large numbers. The garçon of the hotel deposed, that, besides visiting Charlotte twice on the Friday (the 12th), he had visited her on Saturday, the day of the murder. Duperret denied the last visit, and so did Charlotte, she asserting that she had expressly forbidden his coming to her on the Saturday. The president asked her why. "Because," said she, "I did not wish him to commit himself, indeed I even pressed him to set out for Caen." "And why?" "Because I did not believe his life to be safe in Paris." "But you see that you yourself were safe in Paris even after committing so horrible a crime, and you know that the deputies who ate at Caen did not receive the slightest scratch here." "But the deputies who have been detained in prison have not been tried yet!" [She was hastening on their trial,—their heads were as good as in the sack.] "How many deputies are there at Caen?" "They are sixteen in all!" "Did you not take

a secret oath to them before quitting Caen?" "No." "What did you say when you set out?" "I said I was going to make a little tour in the country." [Barbaroux's letter to Duperret stated that she was going to Paris about the affairs of her friend the canoness, who had some claims on government.] "Did you not intend to assassinate the minister of the interior when you went to his house with Duperret?" "If I had had any such design I should not have taken Duperret with me to be a witness. My only animosity was against Marat, and against him only for the sake of my country." "I ask you again, who were the persons who advised you to commit this assassination?" "I would never have committed such a deed by the advice of others. It was I alone that conceived the project, and executed it!" "But how do you think you can make us believe that you have not been advised, when you say that you regarded Marat as the cause of all the evils which desolate France—Marat, who never ceased unmaking traitors and conspirators?" "It is only in Paris that people are fascinated by Marat; in the other departments he is regarded as a monster." "How can you regard Marat as a monster, when he admitted you into his room by an act of humanity, because you had written to him that you were persecuted and unfortunate?" "What would it have signified his being humane towards me, if he was a monster towards others?" "But do you think that you have killed all the Marats?" "No, certainly not!" The president then turned to Duperret, and asked him what opinion he had formed of the accused from the conversations he had had with her. "I perceived nothing in her discourse," responded Duperret, "that was unbecoming a good citizeness. She gave me an account of the good the deputies are doing at Caen, and advised me to go and join them." "How," cried the president, "can you consider as a good citizeness a woman that advised you to go to Caen?" "I only regarded that as a matter of opinion," said Duperret. The woman who had sworn so positively to what she had seen in the gallery of the Convention, now said that, if it was not Duperret that was with Fauchet and Charlotte, it was some individual very like him. They showed Charlotte the sheath of the knife, and she calmly recognised it. Throughout the trial she seemed perfectly self-possessed. Perceiving some artists occupied in sketching her features and person, she smiled, and complacently placed herself so that they might see her face to most advantage. The letter to Barbaroux, and the letter to her father, were produced and read. At the reading of a passage where she described Marat's terrible threat—"those words which decided his fate"—her countenance was lighted up with satisfaction. At the reading of the indelicate passage about the nightly gendarmes and the ex-monk Chabot, she laughed. The advocate, the member of the Mountain whom she had whimsically chosen to be her defender, did not appear in court, but the tribunal named Chau-

veau, a distinguished advocate and a man of honour and spirit, to act in that capacity, "*seeing that the address of the counsel she had named could not be discovered*." There was nothing for Chauveau to plead unless it were the insanity of the prisoner, and thus he pleaded in a very brief and striking manner. "The accused," said he, "avows with sang-froid the crime she has committed, she avows with the same coolness the long premeditation—she avows the most frightful circumstances attending the execution of her design, in a word, she confesses everything. This, citizens of the jury is her entire defence. This imperturbable calm and this entire abnegation of self, this absence of all remorse in the very presence of death, this calm and this abnegation, sublime in one point of view, are not in nature, and can only be explained by the exaltation of the political fanaticism which put the knife into her hand. It is for you, citizens of the jury, to judge what weight this moral consideration ought to have in the balance of justice." But at that time no species of monomania, or any insanity short of raving madness, was usually admitted in any court of law in Europe as a bar to responsibility, and the juries and judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal (monomaniacs themselves and athirst for blood) were little likely to make practical improvements in medical jurisprudence. The jury unanimously convicted her, and the president, applying the law to the case, sentenced her to the guillotine, and to be conveyed to the place of execution dressed in a red shirt or shift (*chemise rouge*) as a murderess. She heard the sentence with a smile, thanked her advocate in a high-flown speech, and then begged him to discharge for her some debts she had contracted in prison, as her property was all forfeit to the Republic.* She returned to the dismal Conciergerie with a smile on her lips. A priest attended to offer her spiritual assistance and consolation, she thanked him, but she did not want his services—she knew how to die. At seven o'clock on the evening of the same day, the 17th of July, the executioner presented himself to conduct her to the Place de la Révolution. At the moment she was writing a note, which she finished and sealed, it was addressed to the advocate of the Mountain, and called him a coward for having refused to defend her. She was conveyed through the crowded streets in an open cart, looking calm and beautiful, in spite of the *chemise rouge* and the savage cries of the mob. She placed her head in the appointed place without force or assistance from the executioners, and it was severed from her body in a twinkling of the eye. Legros, one of the executioners, in showing the head to the people, struck the cheeks unslungly. This, it is said, excited a universal murmur†. The face, ac-

* Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, in Hist. Parlement.

† The fellow was afterwards imprisoned for his brutality. Sous-solien a jurymen of the Revolutionary Tribunal wrote a curious letter about it to the public papers, saying that citizen Mocheau, administrator of police, had corrected the man on the spot that the tribunal, informed of his indecency, had thought it their duty to give

cording to the minute relation of one of the journalists, was then "pale, but of a perfect beauty," and when the executioner showed it a second time, "the extravasated blood had given the cheeks their most beautiful colours," and then "cries were heard of *Vive la Nation*! *Vive la République*!" and every one retired, carrying with him the profound sentiment of her horrible crime, and the memory of her courage and beauty.* One Adam Lux, député extraordinaire from Mayence, went crazy at the thought of her beauty and her fate, he instantly composed a poem or discourse, in which he called Charlotte Corday a greater than Brutus, and proposed erecting a statue to her memory. They seized him, and threw him into the Abbaye, he cried, in a transport of joy, "I am then going to die for Charlotte!" They did not keep him long waiting, his head was cut off a few days after hers †

The cry that the assassination had been promoted by some of the Girondists was not confined to the Jacobins and sans-culottes. Baron General Wimpfen, a royalist, who had entered into the short and hollow league with them, and who had held the command of the insurrectionary forces at Caen, consisting partly of republicans à la Gironde, but mostly of royalists like himself, says that he penetrated into all their secrets, and knew to a certainty that five of the Girondist deputies at Caen had instigated Charlotte Corday. "The assassination of Marat," he says, "was the work of five of the Girondists who had taken refuge in the Calvados, but it was not Marat that was originally designated, it was Danton that the new Judith was to immolate. The Girondists called this cutting the Mountain in two (*couper la Montagne en deux*), because the letters, of which Madoiselle was the bearer, contained an instruction importing that, at the moment of the great event, the report was to be spread in all the corners of Paris that it was Robespierre that had caused the blow." He says that Charlotte Corday was, like himself, a disguised royalist, and that having opened the letters and discovered that the Girondists accused Danton of a design of placing the little dauphin on the throne, a project she cherished herself, she would not think of attacking Danton. This imputed royalism (and Wimpfen even goes the length of calling Charlotte Corday a fanatic royalist) startles belief, but for whatever depends upon assertion, or testimony, the Girondists, who wrote their own memoirs, and who

blackened Wimpfen as he blackened them, are in general quite as little deserving of trust as he can be. The mistake has hitherto been to place implicit confidence in the ex-parte statements of one particular faction who made the greatest use of the pen—to quote and repeat, without any examination or search into opposite statements, the stories, professions, and declarations contained in the memoirs of the Girondists. There never yet was a political faction that could deserve thus to be trusted for the materials of the history of their own day and their own desperate struggles, and perhaps least of all were such persons as Barbaroux, Buzot, Louvet, and Madame Roland entitled to such credit. With scarcely an exception, and with only a slight abatement, it may be said of them—

Vain boasters! Iars make shifts they are all,
Men that removed from their inkhorn terms,
Bring forth no action worthy of their breath.

Wimpfen refers to living testimony for the truth of his assertions. The heaviest of his accusations seem to fall more especially upon Pétion. He says that that ex-mayor of Paris one day declared in the club of the Cabarots at Caen, that a proof that the Mountain intended to re-establish royalty was their letting live the little dauphin, whose face and charms were state crimes worthy of death! He states that a great diversity and contrariety of opinion prevailed among them, and this fact, though disguised and half-concealed by words and flowery sentences, peeps out even in their own memoirs. He says that Louvet, Barbaroux, and Guadet would have consented to live in friendship with the Montagnards, if they would only have ceded to them all the southern part of France, on the other side of the Loire, to make a republic in their own fashion, that they counted a great deal on the little powers of Italy, with whom they would have made treaties of alliance offensive and defensive. He laughs at Salles, who was eternally writing pamphlets, which he called the batteries that would breach and destroy the Mountain. He could see little patriotism in their fury, their predominant motives being a jealous spite at the triumph of their adversaries and a rabid thirst for revenge, and yet he thought that there was not one of them, except Duchâtel, but would have enrolled himself in the victorious party, with Danton and the Robespierres, if he had been able. He declares that Pétion wanted to establish the guillotine *en permanence* in Caen, and that, upon seeing that the people were slow in rising against the Convention, he wanted to set fire to the four corners of Caen, in order to have the opportunity of saying the horrible deed had been done by the agents of the Mountain. On the whole Wimpfen insinuates that humanity would not have been a great gainer if the victory had been reversed, and if the Girondists had triumphed over the Montagnards †

Marat was honoured with an apotheosis. His body was embalmed, and was carried to the church of the Cordeliers, where it lay in state in a novel

a lemon to citizen Levas by putting him in prison and that the tribunal proposed to make a remonstrance to him *coram populo*. "I have thought it my duty," continues this jurymen, "to make this act of justice known to the people who always grand always just will approve this chastisement which the Friend of the People himself would have approved if he had survived his wound. Marat was too great a man to have approved of such meanness: he knew and all the world ought to know that when the crime is punished the law is satisfied. Some persons have been led to believe that it was the chief executioner himself that committed the fault. This is a great mistake. Sanson is an excellent citizen and too enlightened to have made a blunder of the sort: on the contrary he was much grieved at it. Health and Fraternity! — *Chronique de Paris* in *Hist. Parlement.*

* *Chronique de Paris* in *Hist. Parlement.*

† Louvet, *Mémoires*.

* Thomas Nash, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*.

† Fragment d'une Notice du General Wimpfen in *Toulougeon*.

and most strange fashion. The marks of foul disease would have rendered him a most unsightly object if his body had been exhibited as bodies usually were, but painter David, who had charge of all these spectacles and exhibitions, got over the difficulty in a very ingenious manner. "I thought," said he, in his report to the Convention, "that the best way of showing him to his fellow-citizens was to place him in the same attitude in which I myself had surprised him the day before his death, and, therefore, I placed him in his bath, with only one hand, holding a pen, raised above the bath, and at his side I placed a stool with a sheet of paper upon it." His bloody shirt and the knife were exhibited in the church at the same time. The sections came in solemn procession, walking round that hideous mortal mass, and throwing flowers upon it, with republican orations and the most extravagant panegyrics. "He is dead," said one of these section orators, "the Friend of the People is dead! He has perished by assassination! Let us not pronounce his eulogium over his inanimate remains. His eulogium is in his conduct, his writings, his bloody wound, and his death. The people are coming to throw flowers over his tomb. The consternation of the people, their silent grief, their tears, the spontaneous honours they render to his memory, these are the most eloquent, the most sublime of all eulogiums. Citizenesses, throw flowers on the pale body of Marat, he was our friend, he was the friend of the people, it was for the people that he lived, and it was for the people that he died. [Here the citizenesses, in silence, threw flowers on the body—they were virgin citizenesses, according to David's programme.] But no more tears! His great soul, ever inflamed with the love of the republic, expects other honours from you—homages more worthy of him, more worthy of you, more worthy of true republicans. I seem to see that magnanimous soul issue from his bloody wound, I seem to hear him addressing you in his energetic language: 'Republicans, cease your tears, put an end to your regrets, it is for slaves to lament and grieve, the republican sheds but one tear for the misfortunes of his country, and thinks of vengeance. It was not me they wanted to assassinate, but the republic, it is not me you must avenge, but your country!' Yes, citizens, this is what the soul of Marat tells you. Let the terrified traitors see in you a nation of avengers. Oh, Marat! rare and sublime soul, we will imitate thee, we will crush all the traitors, we will avenge thy death by force of courage and by force of virtue. We swear it on that bleeding corpse on the pognard which pierced thy breast We swear, we swear." This strewing of real flowers, and of flowers of speech, continued for two or three days, all the clubs and popular societies making their processions and their harangues. The honours rendered to Mirabeau were tame and insignificant compared with the funeral honours of Marat. At the Jacobins, Ben-

tabolle formally demanded that his remains should be deposited in the Pantheon. Robespierre, who thought that the club and the patriots, and sans-culottes generally, were thinking rather too much of the dead Marat, and rather too little of his living self, opposed the demand, and claimed the attention of the society to the Girondists, who had instigated Charlotte Corday, and to his own personal risks and sufferings. "I have some right," said he, "to speak in this matter, for I clearly see that the honours of the pognard are reserved for me also, that Marat's priority has been decided only by hazard, and that my death is advancing with rapid steps." Let us not lose our time in talking about interments and sepulchres. What are these honours of the Pantheon? Who are the men that lie in that place? Would you place Marat by the side of Mirabeau—by the side of that man who only merits renown for his profound villainy? Are these proper honours to solicit for the Friend of the People? Bentabolle said, angrily, that they were very proper honours, and that Marat should obtain them in spite of jealous men (*malgré les jaloux*), but the majority of the club went along with Robespierre, and nothing more was said about the Pantheon, the honours of which, by the way had been interdicted by the Convention until twenty years after death. It was in the end agreed that Marat's body should be interred in the garden of the Cordeliers, near to a tree under which he had been accustomed at eventide to read his own newspaper to the club and to the people. Several societies disputed the honour of possessing his heart, but the Cordeliers obtained that also. The Convention, on the motion of David the painter, decided unanimously that they would attend the funeral in a body. All the clubs came to the same decision. The Mother society voted, moreover, that Marat's printing-presses should be purchased by the society, in order to prevent their falling into unworthy or sacrilegious hands, and that his journal should be continued by good Jacobin editors, who, if incapable of equalling him, might yet recall some of his energy and replace a part of his vigilance. Busts were ordered with wondrous profusion, thousands of them were made in a very few days, and in all manner of materials, from marble to sugar-paste: they faced you in all clubs and public places—there was no going anywhere without seeing the bust of Marat side by side with the bust of Brutus. The funeral procession was immense: it lasted from six in the evening till midnight. "On arriving in the garden of the Cordeliers," says the reporter of the commune, who aimed at picturesque writing, "the body was placed under the trees, whose leaves, slightly agitated, reflected and multiplied a sweet and tender light. The people environed the bier in silence.

* Others besides Robespierre were very anxious to have it believed that their lives were threatened by assassins employed by the disaffected Girondists. On this evening Thuriot told the club an absurd story—but not too ridiculous for their belief—about a woman with a sufficiently bad countenance that had lately found her way into his apartment and had very suspiciously rummaged in her pocket for something which he thought must have been a dagger.

The president of the Convention (Thuriot) made an eloquent discourse, in which he announced that the time would soon arrive when Marat should be properly avenged After several other discourses, which were enthusiastically applauded, the body was deposited in the grave. Tears flowed, and every one retired with his soul full of grief. The seals were then removed from his papers and effects. Nothing in the likeness of money was found where he had dwelt, except a solitary assignat of twenty-five sous. Madame Roland, as well as Charlotte Corday, accuses the Friend of the People of a greed for money, as if he had not vices enough without that one, it appears, however, to be indisputable that the great Incorruptible himself was not so indifferent to lucre or to the comforts and pleasures money can procure, as was Marat. It was held to be the duty of the republic to make some provision for the *chère amie*, whom, according to Chaumette, "Marat had taken for his spouse, one bright day, in the face of the sun," and the Convention voted that the *gouvernante* should have the same annual pension that had been allowed to the widow of Jean Jacques Rousseau. They changed the name of the Rue de Cordeliers into that of Rue Marat, and the name of a square near it, into Place de l'Ami du Peuple, and they put an inscription over the door of the house which he had inhabited, which was written in very bad verse, but which recorded the fact (an indisputable fact to all true sans-culottes) that he had been assassinated by the Girondists.* Charlotte Corday, after she had murdered him, thanked heaven that he was not a born Frenchman. He was a native of that anomalous corner of the earth Neuchâtel, which geographically belonged to Switzerland, but which appertained politically to the crown of Prussia, and the language of which was French. His family were Calvinistic Protestants, but he appears to have got rid of all religion at a very early period. Though not born in France, nearly the whole of his life was passed in Paris, and in the same quarter of it, near the medical schools, where he perished. As a poor and uninformed student of medicine, he declared war against every established system of cure, and against all regular practitioners. He continued to be familiar with poverty and abject misery; a quack medicine of his own invention barely supplied him with the means of existence. At one time he gave lectures on optics. At a later period he obtained the post or title of Doctor of the stables of Count d'Artois, and appears to have doctored both horses and men. Down to the time when the revolution broke out, he seems to have been considered, by the few that knew him, as an eccentric if not a crazy man, but his insanity, when applied to politics and the promulgation of sans-

culottism, came to be considered as prophecy and inspiration, or super-human wisdom. He was nearly fifty years old when he perished, thus being a much older man than the great majority of the makers of the French republic.

All parties had adopted Doctor Guillotin's great invention, and among them there appeared to be at one time a chance that the head-lobbing machine would be *en permanence* in all the great towns of the republic. The counter revolutionists, the royalists, and the Girondists were strangers to this healing virtue of moderation, marking all their temporary successes with executions and blood. At Toulon we have seen how the royalists had put to death the president of the Jacobin Club. On the 17th of July, the very day on which Charlotte Corday was guillotined at Paris for the assassination of Marat Chaler, a partizan and imitator of the Friend of the People, president of the Jacobin Club of Lyons, was condemned to death by the Girondists and royalists of that town, who had been driven into a league, and into open insurrection against the Convention, by his violence and his frightful projects. He was executed, with some circumstances of atrocity, on the 18th, and he died predicting that his death would cost Lyons very dear. On the same day the same party or parties put to death Chaler's friend and brother Jacobin Riard. There seems little reason to doubt that Chaler was a monster, but it was not by such summary and barbarous executions that these counter revolutionists were likely to put a stop to the ferocity of their enemies, or to obtain mercy from them when their hour of triumph should come. On the 15th of August Barrere introduced in the Convention his project for a levee en masse, and the fourteen armies of the republic, which among them already amounted to nearly a million of men, were all reinforced, and by the 21st of August the city of Lyons, which had been invested some days before, was summoned to surrender by Dubois Crance, one of the commissioners of the Convention. Though deserted by the Girondists, who would not agree to any project for restoring the monarchy in any shape whatsoever, the royalists who had employed an able engineer in fortifying the town, which was by its natural situation strong, made a brave defence, and, in spite of the levies that constantly poured in to Dubois-Crance's besieging army, they held out for two good months. At first they counted on the assistance of the insurgents of Marseilles and the other towns of the south, but the victories obtained by Castaux deprived them of that hope, and none other remained except that of assistance from the army of the King of Sardinia, which, as we have seen, never got nearer to Lyons than Aiguebelle in Savoy. As the population of Lyons was large, and as the republicans were numerous enough to occupy in great force every road and path that led to the town, the royalists soon began to feel the sad pinchings of famine. A large portion, too, of this consuming population—or all the labouring

* This was the inscription which was left for a long time over the door—

"Peuple Marat est mort l'ami de la patrie,
Ton ami ton so tien l'espoir de l'affligé
Est tombé sous les coups d'une horde féroce
Pleure mais souviens toi qu'il doit être vengé

classes that remained—were disciples of Chalier and Riard, were watching the opportunity of avenging the deaths of those two patriots, and were quite as Jacobinical and republican as the men of Dubois-Crance's army. Thus the royalists had to watch these desperate enemies within, as well as the daily and hourly increasing forces without. Couthon, whose paralysis did not reach his heart or brain, travelled from place to place preaching a crusade against the rebellious city, and on the 2nd of October he arrived with a new levy of 25,000 peasants of Auvergne. Entirely regardless

of the sacrifice of human life, he demanded that the town should be immediately stormed on every side. Dubois-Crance objected that there was no necessity for wasting so much blood, as famine alone must compel a surrender in the course of a very few more days, and upon this Couthon, with proper authority from the Convention, superseded Dubois-Crance as one deficient in republican energy, and took the chief direction of the siege into his own hands. On the 7th of October, after a terrific cannonade and bombardment, Couthon summoned the place for the last time. After some



Stroz. v. L. 10. From Talieux Hist. repub. de la Réol. et de la France.

hours of debate and hesitation, the famishing Lyonese sent out a deputation to negotiate with the terrible cripple, or rather to gain time and the opportunity of allowing Pécy, who had been at Turin, and who had invited the troops of the King of Sardinia into France, to escape out of the town with all those royalists who could have no hope of mercy from the Convention. Accordingly, while the deputation, in the skirts of one of the faubourgs, were engaging the attention of Couthon, Pécy and his friends, 2000 men in all, rushed out of the town in an opposite direction, and took the road which led towards Switzerland. At the very same instant a republican column rushed into the town by a passage that was thrown open to them by Chalier's sans-culottes. This put an end to the parleys, but the Convention had expressly ordered the commanders of the republican forces never to allow of any conditions, and nothing but having the place entirely at his mercy would satisfy Couthon. As soon as Pécy and his royalists departed, and the republicans began to enter, all the Jacobins and sans-culottes came forth from their hiding-places, from their cellars and garrets, and joined the troops, and on the morning of the 8th or 9th of October Couthon, with two other commissioners from the Convention, made a

triumphal entrance into the city of Lyons, a considerable portion of which had been reduced to ruins by the tremendous and long-sustained bombardments. Pécy had not marched far with his doomed column ere he encountered a great body of republicans; he attempted to cut his way through, and he succeeded, but he left half of his friends behind him there; he was hotly pursued, he found the roads before him occupied by the armed peasantry of the country, and, though he again fought through, and even succeeded in reaching the mountains of Switzerland, only about eighty men escaped with him, all the rest of the two thousand who had rushed out of Lyons with him having perished on the road. If the siege had been conducted with the most savage fury—if not so much as the public hospitals, though crowded with sick and afflicted people entirely of the sans-culottic orders, had been respected by the republican artillery, there was slight chance that there would be any mercy or gentleness after the capture of the place. The *lex talionis* was the only law and rule of all parties, and, the old Montagnard commune or municipality being reinstated by Couthon, its members proceeded to denounce their adversaries, and especially all such as had taken any part in the overthrow, judgment, and execution

of Chaler. To facilitate their vengeance and his own, and to carry out the system of terror, Couthon established a popular committee to try all rebels by martial law, and then, writing to the Convention, he divided all the population remaining in Lyons into three classes—1 The culpable rich, 2 The egoistical rich, 3 The ignorant working-people, who had no political feeling and he coolly proposed to send to the guillotine the first of these classes, and to destroy their houses and every vestige or sign of them, to deprive the second class of their riches and all property whatsoever, and to remove the third class into other departments and corners of the republic, and supply their place by a colony of undoubted and vigorous republicans. At the same time Couthon denounced Dubuis-Crance, who, if he had been somewhat slow or over cautious in pressing the siege of Lyons, had previously rendered important services to the Convention in putting down a formidable insurrection at Grenoble. The Convention employed the ready pen of Barrere—ready for all kind of work, and for every party that should prove itself the strongest—to draw up the project of a decree that should be decisive of the fate of Lyons. Barrere proposed, as good republican lessons and examples,—that the city of Lyons should be destroyed that nothing should be preserved of it except the houses of the poor, the manufactories, the schools of art the hospitals, the public monuments, and the public schools, that the name should be changed into that of *COMMUNE AFFRANCHIE*, that on the ruins of Lyons a monument should be raised bearing this inscription, *LYON FIT LA GUERRE A LA LIBERTÉ, LYON NEVIT LUX**. The decree was carried instantly and unanimously, and copies of it, together with high-sounding republican proclamations, were sent to all the armies and to all the departments and municipalities of France. To co-operate in carrying the decree into execution a considerable number of the Paris mob, selected from among the most desperate or daring, were sent off to Lyons. Eight hundred workmen were engaged to destroy the houses, the guillotine was made permanent, and the Montignard commission sentenced their victims as fast as the Jacobin Club could denounce them. Having set the example of republican energy in which was to be included the most pitiless revenge, Couthon quitted the place, and left the completion of the work to Collot d'Herbois, Maribon-Montaut, and a third villain who has not hitherto been mentioned, but whose name will frequently occur in the sequel—this third man was Fouché of Nantes. It is said that Collot d'Herbois had solicited this mission from the Convention in order to have the opportunity of taking vengeance on the citizens of Lyons, who, in his strolling player days, had hissed him off their stage. Fifty or sixty persons of both sexes, and of nearly all conditions and all ages, were dispatched every day by the guillotine. Three times

* Lyons made war against liberty. Lyons is no more

that instrument of death was removed from one quarter of the town to another, but its operation seemed too slow to the fury of Collot d'Herbois, who recommended and introduced the practice of firing upon the prisoners with musketry and grape-shot. On one day 269 victims of both sexes perished in this manner, they were tied together in pairs, and driven into an enclosed space, from which there was no issue. Collot superintended the carnage in person, and killed some of the prisoners with his own hand. In the midst of these horrors which lasted altogether nearly five months, and which are said to have cost the lives of from 5000 to 6000 individuals, Collot, who was always a great admirer of, and a conspicuous actor in, festivals and processions, got up in Lyons an apotheosis for Chaler, who had proved so true a prophet. Preceded by a moveable guillotine and a band of executioners carrying naked swords, which had been dipped in blood, he and his two brother representatives, Fouché and Montaut, dressed in their costume of ceremony, went in solemn procession to remove the remains of the guillotined Jacobin from the place where he had been thrown, to a more fitting and more honourable sepulchre, republican hymns, written for the occasion, were chanted, extravagant panegyrics were pronounced, and flowers were strewed, as at the funeral of Chaler's great model and teacher. After those fêtes there were fresh butcheries attended by fresh atrocities on one occasion, the scene of the wholesale executions was the principal square of the town, and Collot and Fouché looked on from a window or balcony of one of the best houses. But Charlotte Corday had not killed all the Marats, there were thousands of political fanatics capable of the same excesses, nearly all the commissioners of the Convention were as cruel as Collot d'Herbois and Fouché, and some of them, as Carrier and St Just, were infinitely more ferocious. It has been remarked by an eminent French writer of the present day, that the error has been too generally committed of regarding these men, famous for the blood they shed, as individuals made great as well as terrible by circumstances, pursuing their design with a necessary oblivion of morality and humanity, excused by the danger of their country and the imperious necessity of victory. But this was not the case, there was nothing great or noble or elevated to excuse their crimes in the eye of history. Generally it was not even the error of a blind and fanatical opinion that transported these men, but a factitious exaltation and extravagance, cold at bottom, and always ready to be intoxicated by harangues and declamations, theirs was not the fury against an enemy that resists, against the victim that braves his executioner, for their inhumanity was as complete against the weak as against the strong, the dominant feeling which disturbed and impelled those ignoble souls was a species of hot fear (*peur ardente*) inspired by terrible events, seeking to make illusions to itself, and believing

itself courageous because it slaughtered, without number, victims without defence. There was also mingled the passion of envy against every superiority, a ferocious irritation against all things to which there was attached any idea of respect or duty. The necessity of deadening their remorse finished the perversion of these ill-organised spirits, and the absolute and arbitrary power entrusted to men who had never before exercised any kind of authority was, in itself, enough to throw them in a sort of mental alienation.* But the members of the Convention who remained at Paris were as sanguinary as the commissioners they sent to the provinces. At a later season, when the French people universally were glutted with blood, and desirous of some new repast, the majority of these legislators pretended an excruciating horror at the massacres which had been committed at Lyons and at so many other places, but at the time they occurred, there was nothing of the sort, they applauded the republican energy which had been displayed, they directed, in most instances, the massacres that were perpetrated, and they never descended to the examination of particulars. More than a month before Lyons was taken by the republicans, the Convention, on the demand of the Jacobin Club, had agreed that Terror should be the order of the day, that no quarter, no mercy should be shown to any that rebelled against the republic, or entertained opinions contrary to the revolution.

The list of the guillotine victims in the capital, where there had been no counter-revolutionary insurrection, was now exhibiting a fearful crescendo. In the month of June, which witnessed the expulsion of the Brissotins or Girondists, the number of executions in Paris was fourteen, but in the course of this month of October it swelled to sixty. Towards the end of July, partly through the assassination of Marat, and partly through the ill success of the republican armies, and the insurrections made by the royalists and attempted by the Girondists, and, perhaps most of all through the scarcity of provisions, and a report industriously circulated that the plague had broken out in the heart of the city, there was a terrible fermentation in Paris, which tended to disturb the now triumphant Mountain, and to lead to several changes in the conventional committees, which, in union (or at times in disunion) with the committees of the commune, transacted the entire business of government, even the name of ministers having now disappeared. The Committee of Public Safety or Salvation (*Salut Public*) had the most work, and the heaviest responsibility of all these governing committees, a fatigued or alarmed member of it resigned, and then, in the first days of August, Robespierre obtained a seat in that committee, and the Reign of Terror began. Down to this time Robespierre had been but a private man, directing or commanding much that was done from his "pride of place" in the Jacobin hall, and latterly

from the summit of the Mountain in the Convention, without having, however, any part in the execution of government measures. But now, as member of the Committee of Public Salvation, he became an effective member of the government, and, as he forthwith made himself supreme in that terrible body, he rendered himself responsible for all their deeds*. From the instant that he was admitted a member of it, there was both more energy and more cruelty in the proceedings of this essentially revolutionary government. Barrere, who was now his friend and instrument, who had thrown the moderation which befitted a member of the Centre or Plain to the winds, as soon as the Mountain had secured the victory over the Gironde, proposed, on the 7th of August, that by special decree Pitt should be declared the enemy of all mankind (*l'ennemi du genre humain*), whom every man had the right to assassinate. Couthon thought it would not be quite proper to authorise the assassination of the English minister, but he demanded and obtained a solemn decree that he was the enemy of the human species†. On the 9th of August Gossuin announced that the edifice of liberty was finished and would be durable and he reported, in the name of a committee appointed to collect the sense of the people, that the new republican constitution had been accepted by the nation with enthusiasm. Condorcet's respectability republic, which had never got into action, was thrust into the same limbo as the Feuillant or Lafayette constitution of 1791 and the new constitution was chiefly if not entirely, the composition of Herault de Sechelles who had scarcely been a fortnight about it. Compared with Herault, Tronchet was a great legislator. It may be conceived what manner of unlimited mad democracy it prescribed, and any examination of it is altogether unnecessary, as it was almost immediately suspended, and never produced any other fruits than an inauguration festival which was celebrated on the 10th of August. Herault-de-Sechelles presided over this grand spectacle, and painter David was its *ordonnateur*. Besides being the baptism of Herault's precious constitution, the fête was noticeable as a sort of installation or introduction of atheism. On the ruins of the Bastille the wry-mouthed painter had erected an enormous naked female figure, called *Statue of Nature*, with the hands pressed upon the two breasts, from each of which flowed or spouted a copious stream of pure water, which fell into a vast basin at her feet. The figure, like all the rest, was made up of wood and canvass, hoops, plaster of Paris, and paint, but on some day (which never arrived) they were all to

* See the article in *Quart. Rev.* on Robespierre to which we have repeatedly referred.

† On the same day the Convention was visited by a vast number of federalist and other patriots from the departments who made speeches and sang a new verse (not very flattering to the Girondists), which had been added to the Carmagnole song.

La Montagne n'est qu'un roseau

Et le compendium Girondin

Est dissolu comme l'eau

Les Vergniaud les Brissot

Danton la Carmagnole, &c.

* Barante, *Mémoires* Hist. 214 215 art. Carrier

be converted into pure marble or everlasting bronze. At the base of the statue of Nature was inscribed, "WE ARE ALL HER CHILDREN." Other inscriptions, far too numerous to be cited, were placed all round about. One of them was brief and significant — "HELL VOMITED KINGS, HELL VOMITED PRIESTS." Between night and morning the Parisian cannoners began to fire salvos, and the Convention, the Jacobin Club, all the other clubs, Mayor Pache and the commune, and all the people of Paris, some in processional order, and some in no order at all took their ways through the long dirty streets to the Place de la Bastille. Hérault-de Séchelles, in plumed hat and embroidered mantle marched at the head of the honourable deputies, and bands followed them, playing the softest and sweetest music. Just as the sun rose above the horizon Hérault stepped forth from the crowd, bent his knee before the gigantic statue, and addressed to it a speech or hymn in prose, which was considered a very neat imitation of 'the only prayer ever used in the first ages of mankind.' It began with 'Sovereign of the savage and of the *enlightened nations*, O Nature!' and it ended with 'O Nature! receive the expression of our eternal attachment of the French for thy laws, and may this abundant water that spouts from thy breasts, may this pure draught which satisfies the thirst of the first mortals, consecrate in this cup of fraternity and equality the one to which France takes to thee on this day,— the most beautiful day that the sun has shone upon since it was first suspended in the immensity of space!' And having so said, President Hérault filled a cup, made at David's design, in the antique form, with the pure water of the basin, and having taken a draught himself, he handed it round to his fellow-citizens who drank likewise, and pressed the holy cup of equality and fraternity to their lips, repeating 'O Nature!' or making other suitable ejaculations. One enthusiastic patriot cried out, "May this pure water be for me a mortal poison, if all the rest of my life be not employed in exterminating the enemies of equality, of nature, and of the republic!" Another, who, according to the process verbal of the fête, signed by Hérault-de Séchelles, Amar, Thirion, and other members of the Convention, must have been seized by the spirit of prophecy, exclaimed, "O France! liberty is immortal!" The laws of thy republic, like those of great Nature, will never perish!" As the holy cup was passed from hand to hand there was electrical joy and loud cannon firing. When the enlightened nation had finished worshipping this plaster-of-Paris Nature, they marched along the boulevards in a most admired disorder, or confusion, or fusion, of all ranks and distinctions, and this simple idea of painter David is said to have impressed on the fête its most beautiful character. Hérault, who doubtless wrote this process verbal as well as the constitution which the fête inaugurated, says in a transport, "There was no longer any division between private persons and public func-

tionaries the members of the executive were dispersed *au hasard*, the scarf of the mayor or of the procurer of the commune, the black plumes of the judges, only helped to show that they were marching on a footing of equality with the black smith and the weaver. There the differences which seemed made by Nature herself were effaced by Reason, and the African, whose face is blackened by the fires of the sun, gave his hand to the white man as his brother, there all were equal as men as citizens, as members of the sovereignty." But the inventive genius of David had thrown some distinct picturesque groups into this chaos of equality. The nurses of the great Frenlin Hospital (which, perhaps, was the more fitted, in consequence of a recent address of the commune—*Citoyennes, give children to the country*) carried their little charges, all dressed in clean swaddling-clothes, and ribbands and devices importing that the republic was the bountiful mother of them all. Blind men, taken from the hospital, were mounted upon a platform that rolled upon wheels, and were made to sing and cut capers, in order to embody the idea of how physical misfortune was consoled and honoured. Artisans and labourers with hammers, spades, and other tools or emblems of their crafts, walked along in separate bands. There was also a plough turned into a triumphal car, and, an old peasant and his old wife being seated upon it, and being drawn by their own children this group was considered as "offering a tableau vivant of the ever-celebrated history of Baton and Cleobis." Midway, on the Tuileries, was erected a triumphal arch, destined more particularly to celebrate the citizenesses who, in October, 1789, had marched to Versailles. Over the arch were sundry corresponding inscriptions, importing that the women of Paris had inundated the porticoes, and the tyrants had disappeared, that the justice of the people was terrible, but their clemency extreme, and underneath the arch were some of the citizenesses themselves seated on cushions, even as they were when they went to Versailles. The whole procession stopped before these Dames de la Halle, the people contemplated them, Herault de Sechelles harangued them, and then gave them the paternal accolade all round, and placed a crown of laurel on the head of every one of them. In the Place Louis Quinze, now Place de la Revolution, and near the spot where they had cut off the head of Louis XVI., David had erected a statue of Liberty bigger than his statue of Nature. It was veiled by canvass, which was painted all over with trees and flowers, but which was removed by rope and pulley at the proper moment. Ten thousand red worsted night caps and mitres were stuck upon poles all round the huge pliant

* The two Arg e v o t h s w h o a s r e l a t i v e l y f i r o d t a s a n d s
a c c o u n t o f t h e c o n t r a s t b e t w e e n u n i o n a n d c r a s s w i t h t h e x e n
w e r e t h e n r e a l i s e s y k h i t t e n e s t a n d t h e n t h e
a n d d r a w t h e t e m p l e o f i n o f w i l l a s
t h e n a n s w e r t h e q u e s t i o n i f t h e w e l l a n
t h e t w o t h s a s t h e a r t i c l e i s w e l l a n
f i l l e n a l t h e t h e n t h e t h e t h e t h e
n o r a n s w e r

divinity Hérault, who must have declaimed as much this day as he would have done if he had been acting first part in the longest-winded tragedy his country ever produced, made another oration, and then took a lighted torch and set fire to a vast heap of combustible materials, fashioned and painted into likenesses of kingly crowns, sceptres, fleurs-de-lis, ducal mantles, escutcheons, &c. &c. And at the very same instant three thousand birds were let loose, to fly to the four corners of the earth, each of them with a tri-colored riband round its neck, inscribed with the words, "*We are free, imitate us!*" We can follow Hérault de Sechelles no farther, but, on the other side of the Seine, in front of the Hôtel des Invalides, there was another colossal figure made of the same materials to represent the Hercules people, the *almighty* people (*le peuple tout-puissant*), with uplifted club, about to strike the many-headed dragon of Girondist federalism, and, farther on, in the Champ de Mars, were other effigies and emblems with allegories made in wood and canvass, all about liberty and equality, and at each of these great stations Hérault had to make a great speech.*

The very next day Robespierre, who continued to introduce his great state measures in that place before proposing them to the Convention, announced in the Jacobin Club that there was a very urgent necessity of striking terror into the hearts of the commanders of the armies of the republic, and denounced in a breath some dozen of generals, but claiming precedence at the guillotine for old General Custine, who had not been able to keep Mavence from the Prussians. Within a fortnight and two days Custine's head was in the sack, and his daughter-in-law, and a priest who had attended him to the scaffold, were in prison as *suspects*. As the old soldier had some religion left, and as he asked for a confessor, he was represented as a rank coward, that died like a Capuchin and not like a warrior. On the 23rd of August the decree of the levee en masse was passed after a report presented by Barrère in the name of the Committee of *Salut Public*. A few days after this a deputation of schoolmasters and teachers presented themselves at the bar of the Convention, to demand that the national republican education, the arrangements for which had now been systematised, should be compulsory and gratuitous. Nearly a year before this, in discussing this very question of public education, a legislator had said, that for his part he must confess that he was an atheist. On the present occasion, a boy (*un enfant*) who accompanied the schoolmasters requested that instead of being preached to in the name of a soi-disant God, they should be instructed from the pulpit in the principles of equality and the Rights of Man. But Robespierre though soon obliged to tolerate for a season the rampant atheism of Hébert and of other

colleagues, certainly never favoured such pretensions, and it is said that the Convention generally expressed their indignation or disgust at the forward boy.

On the 5th of September Merlin proposed and carried a decree, denouncing the punishment of death against all who trafficked in or discredited the assignats. On the same day a deputation from one of the Paris sections demanded that no more pensions or allowances should be paid to any priests whatever, and that all the money hitherto set aside for that or for similar purposes should be applied to the pressing wants of the republic. Postmaster Drouet particularly distinguished himself in this debate. "Since," cried he, "our virtue, our moderation, our philosophical ideas, are of no use to us, let us be brigands for the happiness of the people!" (*Soyons brigands pour le bonheur du peuple!*) And brigands they became with a vengeance, seizing everything they could lay hands on, and not even respecting the burses of the colleges, or the revenues of the hospitals and other establishments of charity. Also on the same day, the 5th of September, Barrère, in the name of the Committee of *Salut Public*, presented a report on the state of Paris, in which it was stated that royalists and conspirators against liberty were very evidently plotting again in the heart of the capital that the lives of the members of the Mountain were again in danger, that the lives of Mayor Pache and all his municipals were menaced, and that nothing could save these conscript fathers of the republic but a regularly organised Parisian guard, which should sweep away all the conspirators, and be called, *par excellence*, the Revolutionary Army (*l'Armée Révolutionnaire*). To make this decree go down the better, Barrère, with a radiant countenance, announced that a nephew of Pitt had been discovered hidden in a château at Dinan on the coast, and had been put under arrest. The Convention shouted with exceeding great joy at this promising chance of seeing a near relation of the English minister looking through "the little window," as the space between the side columns of the guillotine and block and axe was facetiously called. We hear no more of Pitt's nephew (probably the Englishman caught on the coast was a smuggler), but the Convention immediately decreed that there should be this Revolutionary Army, that it should be embodied that very day, that it should be liberally paid out of the national treasury, and that it should consist of 6000 men and 1200 cannoners, who were to serve as a guard to the Convention, and to enforce the revolutionary laws and the measures of public safety which the Convention had decreed, or might hereafter decree. On the same busy day it was decreed that the members of the revolutionary committees should be entitled to three livres per day per man. As one of these committees had been established, not merely in every town, but almost in every village or hamlet in France, the pay thus voted amounted

* *Procès-Verbal de la Sép. Nationale du 11 Aout 1793 consacré à l'érection de la Constitution de la République Française. in Hist. Parlement.*

altogether to an enormous sum. But immense also were the services these committee-men rendered to the Jacobin legislators. To keep up the supplies, forced loans were imposed, and the ascending war-tax was made to press more and more heavily upon all persons of any property, the decrees of the Convention declaring with tolerable clearness that money and effects should be seized wherever they could be found in any abundance, and the commissioners or pro-consuls of the Convention, who ranged through all the departments, giving whatever latitude they chose to the decrees. On the 17th of September was enacted the notorious and terrible *Loi des Suspects*, which enclosed in its wide-spreading meshes whatsoever individuals the government powers might choose to sacrifice, and which struck with doubt and terror all classes except the very poorest and lowest, and even their poverty and obscurity did not invariably preserve them from the operation of the law. As soon as this decree was passed, a report was ordered on the subject of the *Musca lina*, or Dandies, by which term was now meant the young men of fashion, or of better condition, who evaded the decree of the *loi d'en misse* and some two months after a law was passed for considering and treating as emigrants all such persons as did not join the army when called upon so to do. Barrere proposed, in the name of the Committee of *Salut Public*, to bring before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and to punish as a counter revolutionary, every individual that should be detected in spreading false news and exciting alarm in the country, deportation or transportation to that unwholesome, pestiferous country, French Guiana, being proposed as the proper punishment for such offenders. Collot d'Herbois, who was destined to end his days in

that colony, thought the punishment proposed by Barrere much too mild—a penalty that would give the enemies of the republic new hopes and chances. “*We must transport no one*,” said he, “*we must kill all conspirators, and bury them in this land of liberty!*” They must all be arrested! The places of their imprisonment must be undermined, and there must be trains of gunpowder and a match ever ready to blow them into the air, in case they or their partisans should dare to make any new efforts against the republic. Barrere warmly supported his transportation scheme, saying that there were in France immense numbers of *gens suspects* who had not conspired, and he proposed to decree, as a revolutionary measure, the transportation of all those who, since the 10th of August, 1792 had not shown themselves friends of the republican government. The proposition was referred to the Committee of *Salut Public*, but it was not until the Parisians grew weary of the exhibition of the guillotine that Barrere’s plan of transportation was much resorted to. By the joint action of all these decrees, the property, liberty, and lives of the French nation were put at the disposal of the Committee of Surveillance, the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the revolutionary committees and the pro-consuls or Jacobin members of the Convention *en mission*. Yet, as though all these means were not sufficient to establish the Reign of Terror, St. Just, on the 10th of October, in presenting a truly terrific report from the Committee of *Salut Public*, complained of weakness and indecision and demanded that Hérault de Séchelles’s republican constitution should be suspended, and that the government should be declared to be *revolutionary* until the peace. The Convention, which now rarely



INTERIOR OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR. From *Taill aux Histoires de la Révolution*.
2 Y

divided except upon some trifling matters which the Mountain had not at heart, and which no party cared for, unanimously passed a decree embodying St Just's proposition—"The provisory government of France *shall be* revolutionary till the peace." At the same time they extended the powers of the Committee of *Salut Public* by declaring that the provisory executive council, the generals of the armies, and all constituted bodies whatsoever, were placed under the surveillance of the said committee, which would render an account to the Convention every eight days, and that the provisory executive council was to act only under the authorization of the said Committee of *Salut Public* in matters relating to the security of the republic. They also declared and inserted in their present decree, that, the government being declared revolutionary, any inactivity or delay would be considered as treason, and that all the revolutionary laws must be executed rapidly (*rapidement*).

On the 14th of October, only four days after the passing of the last-mentioned decree, Marie Antoinette was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The sufferings of that hapless queen since the execution of her husband in the month of January had been excessive, for the detestable ingenuity of the most ingenious tormentors and torturers had been directed to their aggravation and embitterment. For some short time after this execution she was allowed a little more liberty in the Temple. Her two children, and the other companions of her captivity, the Princess Elizabeth, were even deluded by the hope that the Convention intended to send them all out of France. But the queen was a stranger to this hope, and continued to suffer an agony which nothing could calm. Her daughter, the only one of the party that survived the Reign of Terror, says, "No hope could touch her heart, because life and death were equally indifferent to her. She would sometimes look upon us with an air of pity which made us shudder. *Fortunately* affliction increased my illness to so serious a degree, that it made a diversion to the mind of my mother."* The torturer in which it was the obscene, bloody, and in every way execrable Hébert, whom we have seen borne in triumph and crowned with the civic crown, by the people of Paris. At the instigation of this monster, who appears not to have had a single redeeming quality, and to have been altogether a stranger to that political fanaticism which has been pleaded in extenuation of the crimes of some of his complices (pleaded much too often and much too confidently), the royal captives, shortly after the death of Louis XVI., were deprived of every comfort, and were literally half-starved. He pretended that they were not entitled to any better treatment than the lowest family of sans-culottes, or the worst of criminals, or the *galeriens*. Their

servants were all sent away, except an old woman who took charge of the linen, a cook, and two girls, and these, appointed by the commune, were not admitted into the apartment where the queen resided. The faithful Clergé, whom the king had so tenderly implored to take care of his son, was even separated from the dauphin. The wax-lights, which had hitherto been allowed, were changed into tallow candles, the silver forks and spoons into copper ones, and the china plates and dishes into common crockery. To some, if not to all of these privations, the queen, at least, absorbed by her deeper sufferings, must have been indifferent, but Hébert had other *pages* in store for her, and for them all. Furnished with the decree of the commune, to which he continued to be substitute procureur-general, he went to the Temple, and barbarously tore from them a number of little articles which were dear to them, as recalling the memory of those friends who had procured or given them. He also deprived Madame Elizabeth of a rouleau of eighty louis-d'or, which had been given to her by the Princess de Lamballe a short time before her death, and inventing nearly every day some new torment, and finding in the members of the council of the commune monsters as depraved as himself, quite ready to authorise whatever he might suggest, he separated the young dauphin from his mother, his aunt, and sister, and gave him in charge to Simon and his wife, in order, as he said, that the little Captive might receive a sans-culottic education. But Hébert had not even yet reached the acme of his atrocity or beastliness. He proceeded to invent calumnies so unnatural, so revolting, so unspcakably obscene, that we can scarcely venture to hint at them. But the hint, at least, must be given. He accused the queen of incest with the dauphin, he accused the aunt of being a partner or participator in the crime, he accused them both of debauching the child in order to destroy his health, so that, if monarchy should ever be re-established, the dauphin being enervated, they might reign or rule in his stead, and, in the presence of Mayor Pache and the procureur of the commune, Chaumette, he forced the dauphin to put his signature to a paper which contained these infernal charges. It has been doubted whether the poor boy, who was only *eight years old*, had any notion of the import of the paper he was thus forced to sign. It is probable—it is almost certain that he could have no conception of the charges, but we are assured by his sister, who was some years older than himself, that he understood the paper to be some kind of denunciation against his own mother and against his aunt, and that, *from the moment he had signed it, he never spoke again**. Robespierre, though eager for the queen's trial and death, was exceedingly enraged at these charges, not on account of their falsehood and atrocity, but because he thought

* Private Memoirs of what passed in the Temple from the imprisonment of the Royal Family to the Death of the Dauphin by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Angoulême.

* Private Memoirs of what passed in the Temple from the imprisonment of the Royal Family to the Death of the Dauphin by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Angoulême.

open impolitic "That fool, Hebert," said he, "will make her an object of pity!" Nevertheless, the accusations were retained to be produced before the Revolutionary Tribunal, without any remonstrance either from Pache or from Chaumette, who were cited in Hebert's denunciation as witnesses of

the dauphin's signature. It was on the 3rd of July that the queen was separated from her son, shortly after she was separated from her daughter and the Princess Elizabeth, and on the night between the 1st and 2nd of August she was removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie. In this great ante-



THE CONCIERGERIE, PARIS. THE POPULACE CONVEYING MARIK ANTOINETTE TO PRISON. THE
AN ORIGINAL DESIGN FROM SKETCHES ON THE SPOT

chamber of death she was watched most rigorously, for reports were circulated that every possible kind of attempt, including some of the most desperate character, would be made to rescue her, and carry her out of France. Some plans were really devised, both before she was removed from the Temple and afterwards, but not one of them appears to have presented the slightest chance of success. In the interior of France all hearts that were not steeled against pity were paralysed by terror, and the foreign armies on the frontiers could do nothing. The best attempt was made by Count Mercy, the Austrian minister, who found means of communicating by letter or message with Danton, whose protection, he thought, might at least save the queen's life. Danton, it is said, even promised his support, declaring that the death of the queen had never entered into his political calculations, and that he would endeavour to save her without any view to his personal interest.* But Danton, whose courage, except in words, was always problematical, was scared by the Committee of *Salut Public*, by the espionage which was also the order of the day, by the prospect of the inevitable ruin that awaited him if any correspondence or understanding with Austria should be detected, and by the bloody rabies of the clubs and the populace, who had long determined that the queen must perish, and that her execution would be the proper answer to give to foreign interference, war, and invasion. In Danton's protestations of disinterestedness on this and on other occasions, we cannot place the slightest confidence. If, with

safety to himself, he could have saved the life of the queen, and have taken some large sum which the Emperor of Austria would readily have paid, he would most assuredly have done it, for he was no fanatic, he had none of the passion of shedding blood for the mere sake of shedding it. He had been, in a manner, the first author of the system of Terror—he had recommended or justified massacres *en masse*, when he fancied that they would lead directly to some great result—but he had shown (what is not altogether an inconsistency) an aversion to murder in detail, and, in almost every case where application had been made to him to save the life of an individual, he had done it. It is said that even in the September massacres, not one personal enemy of Danton was sacrificed as such.

We have noticed, not without astonishment, the vast number and infinite variety of persons that witnessed the sufferings of the royal prisoners with dry eyes and unmoved hearts. But, after the king's death, two or three of the municipals, but not more, were sensibly affected by the condition of the queen, and made some perilous efforts to save her. One of these men, Loulan, appears to have carried all the information he could collect to the hapless captives. Another, Michonis, introduced to the queen a disguised emigrant, who could do nothing but hold forth an illusory hope, by presenting a flower to her majesty, within the leaves of which was concealed a minute slip of paper, bearing these words, "*Vos amis sont prêts*" (your friends are ready). Cleverly as the whole affair was managed, it was discovered by that ten-

* De Trédy, La Belgique.

thousand-eyed Argus the Commune Michonis was arrested and eventually guillotined as a traitor and agent of the foreign powers. And from this time gendarmes, selected from among the most decided Jacobins, were placed night and day at the door of the queen's chamber or cell, with orders not to speak to her, and not to answer if she spoke to them.

In the Conciergerie she was confined in a room which was called the council-chamber, and considered as the most unwholesome apartment in the whole prison. Richard, the gaoler, ventured to represent that the place was unfit for her reception, but he was told that a dungeon and straw would be good enough for such a prisoner. The man and his wife had, however, some humanity, and made the room as comfortable as they could. The queen was allowed to set up an altar, and she passed the best of her time on her knees before it in prayer, which no human being ever more needed. In general the prisoners remained only a day or two in the Conciergerie before they were carried to the Revolutionary Tribunal, which sat in the old Palais de Justice close by, and then to the block, as we have seen in the case of Charlotte Corday; but the queen was left there for nearly ten weeks, although, as early as the 25th of August, Fouquier Tinville, the accuser-general, complained in a letter addressed to the president of the Convention, that he was ac-

cused in the newspapers, in the clubs, and all public places, of shamefully delaying the affair of the ci-devant queen. At last, on Sunday night, the 13th of October, her indictment was delivered to her, and on the following morning she was carried before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Putting the usual questions to her, the president (Herman) said, "What is your name?" She replied calmly, "I am called Marie Antoinette of Lorraine of Austria." "What is your condition?" "I am widow of Louis Capet, once King of the French." "Your age?" "I am thirty-eight years old." She was no older, but she looked sixty or seventy. Fouquier Tinville read the long indictment, which charged her with everything that had been done amiss since her arrival in France, with all the embarrassments and public debt which had preceded the revolution, with every counter-revolutionary project which had been conceived since the meeting of the States-general, with an implacable and savage hatred to the generous French people, with having maintained at all times a close connexion and correspondence with the worst enemies of France, with having enriched her brothers, the emperors, with incalculable sums of money taken out of the national treasury, &c. &c. Notwithstanding Robespierre's *plati ut remonstrance*, the horrible charge invented by Hebert was inserted in the indict-



CELL IN THE CONCIERGERIE WHERE MARIE ANTOINETTE WAS IMPRISONED.

ment, and Hébert himself was there to speak as a witness, and present the paper the dauphin had signed, *the dauphin being too young to appear in a court of law*. After Hébert had been examined, the queen being called upon to say what she could reply to his deposition, answered to several of his charges, which were only ridiculous, but took no notice of his monstrous invention. One of the jury called upon the citizen president to take notice of this omission, and the citizen president put the question singly and distinctly "I have not answered," exclaimed the queen, "because nature refuses to answer such a charge brought against a mother. I appeal to all the mothers that are here!" She was dreadfully excited, but, except in this one case, her answers were calm, clear, concise, and her composure and dignity unruffled. A smile played on her lips at the dispositions of some of the witnesses, as when a low ruffian affirmed that Lafayette had always been her best friend, and the best friend and defender of her husband and family. Never before had there been so strange an assemblage of witnesses, half of them were constitutionalists and aristocrats, or men who had begun the revolution, but who were now all prisoners themselves, or set down in the guillotine lists, to be taken off, one by one, in batches, as opportunity might serve. Others were ex-ministers, ex-functionaries (or Girondists, who had swept away the Constitutionalists, who had gone farther in revolutionism than they, but only to come to the same scaffold. The mock-trial, in fact, was so directed as to serve in a manner as the trial and judgment of these early revolutionists and respectability republicans. Ex-mayor Bailly, who had been discovered in his hiding-place at Melun, was there, and was so examined and cross-examined that the jury and the spectators were convinced that he, as well as Lafayette had been in a conspiracy with the court. Yet Bailly played his part with some address when called upon to state his condition, he modestly said he was a man of letters, who asked whether he knew the prisoner at the bar, he gave a cool, half-insulting nod to the queen, and said, "O Yes, I know Madame. Much, late procurer of the commune, was there also, and described his condition as that of a man of letters, and old Count d'Estung, who had fought in the American war by land and sea, and Valaze, one of the expelled Girondists of the Convention were all put in the same witness box, each of them knowing that he must very soon be placed at the bar. None of them appear to have been so calm and self-possessed as the queen. When the brutal president cried out to her, "You persist then in denial? You deny everything?" She replied, "I have told the truth, and I persist in that." "How is it," said the president, "that you, who promised to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, have only taught them erroneous and royalist principles, as in treating your son with that ceremony and respect which made people believe that you

expected to see him become some day the successor of the ci-devant king, his father?" She replied, "My son was too young to be talked to about such things. I merely placed him at the end of the table at dinner, and helped him with my own hand to the food he wanted." "Have you nothing more to add to your defence?" asked the president. "Yesterday," said the queen, "I did not so much as know the names of the witnesses who were to be produced against me, I was altogether ignorant of the charges they intended to make. Yet, not one of them has alleged against me so much as one positive fact. I finish by observing that I was never a queen regnant, that I was never anything but the wife of your late king, and that, as the wife, I was bound to conform to the will, the interests, and the wishes of my husband." These were her last words before that infernal tribunal. Fouquier Inville followed with a long declamation, and then Chauveau, who had pleaded for Charlotte Corday, and Tronçon Ducoudray, another advocate, were heard on the side of the defence. The counsel had been named and appointed, not by the queen, but by the tribunal, yet they both pleaded with eloquence and earnestness, and appealed to the clemency, the humanity of the court and jury. But the jury was only a permanent part of the tribunal, and humanity and decency had fled from France. When Chauveau and Tronçon Ducoudray had finished their pleadings, the queen was removed from the bar and conducted into another room, and the president delivered his charge to the jury, ending with a series of questions, as, Is the accused guilty of conspiring against the republic? Is the widow of Louis Capet convicted of having co-operated in bringing foreign armies into France? Is it proved that she has participated in a plot or conspiracy for lighting up the flames of civil war in the interior of the republic? "We are going to give a grand example to the universe," said President Herman, "a grand example which will not be lost upon the nations and peoples of the earth. Nature and reason, which have been so long outraged, are at last going to be satisfied, for equality is going to triumph!" A woman, who was surrounded not long ago by all the pomp and prestige that the pride of kings and the meanness of slaves could invent, has this day occupied before the tribunal of the nation the same place that was occupied only two days since by another woman, and this equality assures to her an impartial justice." These words alone—this appeal to the pride of equality—this call upon all the universe to witness and wonder at the great and startling deed that was doing, would have sufficed to settle the verdict, and would have expelled every sentiment of humanity, of pity, of justice, from the minds of the revolutionary and hired jurymen, if any such sentiments had lingered there. After staying about an hour out of court, for form's sake, the jurymen returned with an answer in the affirmative to all the questions which the president had put to them. The queen was then brought

back to the bar, the declaration of the jury was read to her. Fouquier Tinville demanded that the accused should be condemned to death conformably with the laws, and President Hermin, after consulting with his learned brothers, Coffinhal, Foucault, Sellier, and others (they were, most of them, sans culottes, without legal or any other education), pronounced sentence in these words — "The Revolutionary Tribunal, after having heard the unanimous declaration of the jury, and the requisition of the public accuser, and in conformity with the laws quoted by him, condemns the said Marie Antoinette, called Lorraine of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, to the pain of death declares, conformably with the law of the 10th of March last, all her property and goods, if any she have, within the limits of the French territory, to be acquired and confiscated to the profit of the Republic, orders that, at the request of the public accuser, the present judgment shall be executed in the Place de la Revolution, printed, and placarded in all the extent of the republic." Marie Antoinette, who, except for one brief instant, had displayed so much calmness (it may be doubted whether, during the far greater part of the time, her thoughts were not far away from that scene of iniquity for it is noted of her that she kept moving her fingers on the arm of her chair as if she were playing on the piano-forte) heard her sentence of Death without betraying any emotion, and walked out of the court without addressing a single word to judges or jury, to the people that crowded the court, or to any one there. It was half past four o'clock of Wednesday morning, the 16th of October, for the trial had lasted all the 14th and 15th. She was carried back to the Conciergerie, and placed in the condemned cell (*cel des condamnés*). At five o'clock the drums began to beat to arms in all the sections, by seven o'clock all the armed force was on foot, cannons were placed on all the bridges, and, at intervals, all the way from the Conciergerie to the place of execution. Notwithstanding the noise made by these preparations, the queen, first cutting off her own hair and changing her mourning dress for a dress of white muslin, threw herself on her bed, slept soundly for several hours, and was found fast asleep when the executioners came to conduct her to the scaffold. It was about eleven o'clock. They placed her in an open cart, with her hands tied behind her, and they surrounded the cart with cavalry and artillery. As she was dragged slowly through the streets between double rows of national guards and pikemen, and under the eyes of tens of thousands who crowded the windows and the house-tops, all shouting "Long live the Republic!" "Down with tyranny!" &c., she showed no symptom either of dejection or of pride, she looked calmly at the tri-colored flags and the strange republican inscriptions and devices which had been painted in front of most of the houses. But on arriving in the Place de la Revolution, and catching a view of the Palace of the Tuileries, she was much agitated. It was but a

moment's weakness. She mounted the scaffold with a firm step, said a few words to a confessor who attended her in a laical dress, placed herself in the appointed position, and in an instant was no more. The executioner showed the head to the people, who shouted *Vive la République!* It was a quarter past twelve o'clock. A little later the body was thrown into the cart, and carried to a grave, partly filled with quick-lime, like that which had received the mortal remains of her husband.

Before the month was ended twenty one of the Girondists were executed, all in one day, on the same scaffold, the original number of twenty-two being made up by Gorsas, the journalist, having been guillotined on the 17th of October, just nine days before the queen. Some of these twenty one were deputies who, like Gensonne, had remained in Paris after the decree of the 2nd of June, and others were deputies who, like Brissot, had been intercepted in their flight. Several of them were deputies who had not been named in any of the petitions or addresses of the Commune of the Sections. But, as a good many of those who had been named had escaped, these new names were put down to make up the number *twenty two*. The impeachment, or *acte d'accusation*, which had been demanded repeatedly by the more impatient, was at last drawn up, and also presented, by St Just. Twenty-two victims were not enough to satisfy this blood-thirsty and yet cold-blooded fanatic. In relating the trial of Charlotte Corday, we have mentioned that the papers of deputy Duperret (to whom Barbaroux had recommended her) were seized and sealed by order of the Convention. Now among these papers was a vehement protest against the *mutil* insurrection which commenced on the 31st of May, and ended on the 2nd of June in the defeat and ruin of the Girondists. It was signed by *twenty three* members of the committee, and St Just set down every one of these protesters as a conspirator and traitor. Some of the most furious members of the Mountain demanded that these *twenty three* should be tried and executed at the same time as the *twenty two*, but Robespierre politically considering that so immense a slaughter of deputies might startle the people, who had not as yet seen the inevitability of one of their representatives touched by the guillotine strongly opposed the proposition, and suggested that the *twenty two* might be tried now, and that the *twenty three* ought only to be put under arrest. Since the *moral* insurrection, there had not been the slightest opposition to the will of the Mountain, and the House, which would have voted for St Just's scheme if it had not been modified, readily passed into a law or decree the propositions of Robespierre. * The *seventy-three*

* Five *sans-culottes* had been presented to the Jacobins praying for the extermination of the faction, and on the 1st of October two have been tried. The question is, whether the *seventy-three* of Paris, presented to the Convention, should be tried at the same time as the *twenty-two* of the Girondists, or whether they should be punished due to their crime &c.

deputies were arrested and Fouquier Tinville was enjoined to proceed without further loss of time against the others. This was on the 3rd of October. Gorsas, who led the death-dance of the representatives of the people, was executed on the 9th, but not in virtue of this decree, the executioner and journalist had fled to Caen, and had been outlawed as early as the 28th of July. Upon the dissolution of the insurrectionary army of the Calvados, instead of trying to escape to Bordeaux with Luvet, Buzot, Barbaroux, and that wretched band, he had rashly returned to Paris, and had gone in broad daylight to the Palais Royal (now Palais Egalité), the most frequented place in the capital, where he had a mistress, who kept a book or pamphlet shop in that nursing-place of French liberty and of every vice under the sun. On the 5th of October, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was seized at this citizenship Brigidé's, after a vain attempt to escape by jumping out of a back window. The Revolutionary Tribunal, before which he was carried on the morrow, did nothing but identify his person, and condemn him to death by virtue of the outlawry which the Convention itself had passed. He attempted to address the court but the court would not hear him, and then, turning to the people, he said, "I recommend to those who will hear me my wife and children! I am innocent, my memory will be avenged." His execution, on the very next day, was witnessed by the people without any unpleasant emotion. But, between his death and the execution of the Twenty-one the constitutional inviolability had received another blow, though not at Paris. Buzot, who had been revolutionizing in the south, was discovered in his hiding place near Bordeaux, was carried into that city, and guillotined on the 24th of October. He, too, had been outlawed in July, and thus left nothing for his brother-deputy Tallien (who was at Bordeaux presiding over the military commission) to do but to identify his person. "I know," said he to Tallien, "that the guillotine awaits me, but neither you nor the partisans of the Mountain would have escaped it if we had been the strongest." * The words rest up an ultra-Jacobin authority, but the sentiment is cynical and justifies the Girondists' memoirs and hundreds of their speeches.

It was on the 24th of October, when the Bordeaux guillotine was severing the neck of Biroteau, that the *grand procès* of the Twenty-one commenced, not before the Convention, which meddled with no trials after that of the king, but before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The court was crowded to excess, some of the citizens and citizenships being brought thither by their sanesulottic fury, and a great many more being impelled merely by that curiosity and love of sight-seeing which carried the Parisians to every kind of exhibition or *spectacle*, however horrible or disgusting, and on the present occasion there was, as M. Thiers observes, the charm of no-

velty, it being something new to see so many republicans condemned by other republicans as counter-revolutionists. When the guillotine was first brought into active operation, it was considered as an invention reserved entirely for royalists and aristocrats, for nobles, courtiers, and priests, but here were none but decided anti-monarchists, men of the people, men of letters, popular orators, philosophes, perfectibility men, who, reversing the old monarchic fiction, had proclaimed the divine right of the people to do whatever they chose. At the head of the list, as the man most hated by Robespierre, was Brissot, aged 39 years, native of Chartres, man of letters and *ci-devant* deputy. Next followed Vergnaud, aged 35 years, native of Limoges, *homme de loi* (lawyer), *ci-devant* deputy, &c. Then followed Gensonne, aged 35 years, native of Bordeaux, *homme de loi*, &c. Duperret (whom the fury of the friends of Marat would not allow to be left in the category of the seventy-three protesters), aged 46 years, agriculturist, *ci-devant* deputy, &c. Carra, aged 50 years, man of letters, &c. Ducois, aged 25 years, man of letters, &c. Gardien, aged 39 years, *ci-devant* procureur general syndic of Châteaufort, deputy, &c. The rest were—Valize, Duprat, Sillery (the husband of Madame de Genlis and the friend and adviser of Philip Egalité), Fauchet (the socialist and bishop), Boyer Fonfrède, Lasource, Lastrapé, Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainville, Lacaze, Lehardy, Boileau, Antibois, and Vigne. The oldest man of them all was Sillery, and he was only 56 or 57 years old, the youngest was Boyer Fonfrède, who was only 26 or 27. Most of them were men of letters or men of the law, there were two merchants, and one medical man Chauveau, who had pleaded for Charles Corday and for the queen, now appeared as counsel for these twenty-one Girondists, who were all equally sure of death. He remarked that the law allowed the prisoners the greatest latitude for their defence, but that, notwithstanding, the articles of charge had not yet been put into their hands, and he demanded, in their name, the production of these papers, with proper time to examine them. The public accuser, Fouquier Tinville, who accused and judged and controlled everything, who was the real soul of this body, the Revolutionary Tribunal, said that some of the papers were not ready, that some of them should be handed over to Chauveau that evening, and that in the mean time the trial must go on, and on it went at the charging pace.

The very first witness examined was the demure, mild-spoken Mayor Pache ("the good papa Pache," as he was invariably called by the people), who owed his first promotion to virtuous Roland, and who had been a Girondist as long as it was profitable and safe to belong to that party. He declared in the first place that he had known very intimately Brissot, Gensonné, Vergnaud, Duprat, Carra, Lasource, Sillery, and Fauchet and that he had long been convinced of the existence of a

* Journal de la Montagne in Hist. Parlement.

plot against liberty and the republic. "From the time," said he, "when I was brought into the ministry, I remarked in the Convention a faction whose actions all tended to the ruin of the republic. What confirmed me in my suspicion was, the demand of an armed force from the departments made by the accused, in order to federalise the republic, and the protection which they gave to the traitor Dumouriez, whose infamous projects they must have known. But it was when I became mayor of Paris that I was better enabled to follow the march of the accused. Dumouriez was threatening to march upon Paris, and the city was without provisions. I hastened to the Convention's committee of finance to solicit the funds necessary to provision the city, and the members of that committee, composed chiefly of agents of that faction, obstinately opposed delivering the money to me, the mayor. The committee of Paris decided that in consequence of Dumouriez's treachery the barriers should be closed. The Committee of General Security, consisting of members of the same faction, said that the barriers should be kept open, and that the officers of the committee should be put under arrest." Pache then took up the terrible subject of the Committee of Twelve attributing the idea of that unpopular body to Guadet the Girondist, whereas, as every one knew, or might have known, the idea originated with Brissot. He said he always regarded that committee as contrary to all the principles of liberty, and that he saw that the arrests the committee made had for their object the provoking of an insurrection against the Convention, in order that the faction might have an opportunity of culminating the people of Paris. He said that the facts which had convinced him that there existed in the Convention a set of men opposed to the establishment of a popular government were public and known to all citizens, that to go over all these acts would be to recapitulate the entire history of the revolution, that the Committee of Twelve had certainly shown anti-popular dispositions—and this was the substance of all that Mayor Pache could depose. Chaumette, procureur-general of the commune, the next witness called in, began by declaring that he believed the Act of Accusation to be founded on truth, and to contain nothing but truth. Then, descending to particulars, and speaking of facts as of his own knowledge, he related, in his own manner, all the quarrels and contests for authority between the Convention and the commune, all the differences and combats between the *côté droit* and the Mountain, declared that Brissot had done infinite mischief in the colony of St Domingo (which was true enough, though not in the way imputed by Chaumette), that he had monopolised more power and disposed of more places than any three or four ministers of the ancient regime, that Duquesne had demanded and obtained the liberty of an English servant, who had notoriously been engaged in the sugar and coffee riots, that Valaze had held nightly meetings in his house, where all the com-

plotter and conspirators assembled. Chaumette said nothing that was more explicit or less vague than this, except that Santhonax, who had been appointed commissioner to St Domingo, by means of Brissot, had offered to take him out with him to that colony as his secretary. Hebert, Chaumette's deputy, told over the long story of his arrest by the tyrannical Committee of Twelve, said that Roland corrupted journalists and other public writers, and vowed that Madame Roland had tried to bribe or buy his own very popular and useful journal, *Le Père Duchêne*. But none of these witnesses for the prosecution went on so rapidly or rubidly as ex-Capuchin Chabot, who had many personal motives to indulge the Girondists having long treated him with much contempt. He accused them of being the most greedy place-hunters that had ever attempted to pass for patriots, of having made war upon Narbonne and the other Feuillant ministers only to get their places, of having provoked the people to make their first attack upon the Lucretians on the 20th of June, of having done their best to rob the people and the true republicans of the fruits of their glorious victory on the 10th of August, and finally, of having caused or promoted the massacres of September, in order to ruin the reputation of the patriots. He declared that in the morning of the 2nd of September Brissot had told him that there would be great massacres that evening. Among many things which were not true, or true only in part, the ex-Capuchin presented some unquestionable and weighty truths, particularly with reference to the conduct of the Legislative Assembly, where the Girondists and the *côté droit* were then the majority, during those awful nights and days. If these pretended friends of humanity had gone to the prisons in a body, those long massacres, he said, might have been prevented; but when the council-general of the commune, confessing their own powerlessness, appeared at the bar to demand assistance the majority had carried the order of the day. When it was announced that three hundred priests were being butchered, what did the factious majority of that Assembly propose or do? "Did they then, at least, go in a body to the scene of slaughter, and raise their indignant voices to the people? No they! They contented themselves with naming commissioners, and what commissioners! There was Bishop Fauchet, that drunken priest, who is now among the prisoners before the court, and two or three other men, who were altogether unknown to the people. Fauchet had refused to go—some others had refused to go—new commissioners were named, but they did not want to have me among them. I had saved a great many Swiss and Feuillant national guardsmen, I had saved those traitors to the Assembly from being massacred on the 10th of August by the just wrath of the people. I do not know whether they were anxious that I should not save the poor prisoners on the night of the 2nd of September, but I do know that they were anxious not to send me

as one of the commissioners of mercy I was named, indeed, but that was not their doing. It was my friend Bazire, and some others of the commissioners, who consented to go to the prisons, who obtained my nomination. And Dussaulx, another of the prisoners now before the court, the friend of these Girondists, and the bosom friend of Brissot, being one of the commissioners that went with us to the prisons, prevented me from addressing the people and making use of my influence over them. And would you know why? It was because the people had not yet massacred Morand, the personal enemy of Brissot, who was in one of the prisons, and who was butchered afterwards." He dwelt upon the silence of the Girondist journals and the inactivity of the whole party at and for some time after the terrible September days, he would not allow that terror for themselves had any part in this passiveness. Petion, he said, had been as bad as Brissot, and he had drunk wine with the men whom they afterwards called *Massacres*. It had long been notorious, he said, that Brissot was the agent of Pitt. This would explain a great deal. Pitt saw with despair that the revolutionary principles of France were making a rapid progress in England, it was therefore necessary to disgust the English people with these principles and to represent the French as a nation of massacreurs and brigands to the people "who had some pretensions to philosophy." And John Peter Brissot had perfectly served Pitt's project by promoting the massacres first, by drawing up exaggerated accounts of them afterwards, and by attributing them to the virtuous patriots who had made the revolution, and who were about making the republic. All this was wild and absurd enough, yet not more absurd than the counterimputations of the Girondists, who had been declaring all along that the chiefs of the Mountain were in the pay of England, and that every crime, every disturbance, every massacre, was executed by them in pursuance of direct orders from Pitt. But, perhaps, nothing in Chabot's long accusation made a more unfavourable impression for the prisoner than his quoting some passages from Brissot's published letters to his constituents (*Lettres aux Communes*), in which he called the revolutionary tribunal a tribunal of blood, and divided the inhabitants of Paris into two distinct and antagonistic classes, *le peuple de Robespierre et les hommes gens*. Chabot whose speech, explanations, and replies to the prisoners seem to have occupied the greater part of two whole days, yet left a great deal to be said—to be invented, or magnified, or travestied by other witnesses, every witness examined being a Montagnard, a Jacobin, or a Cordelier, or all three in one, and as such the political and mortal enemy (for in France all political enemies were mortal) of the persons against whom he deposed. This was the case with every man that sat on the bench or in the jury box of that vindictive, bloody tribunal. Fouquier Tinville, who frequently gave

the key-note to the witnesses, and explained away their contradictions, laboured to connect Charlotte Corday and the assassination of Marat, not only with Duperret and the deputies who had been at Caen, but also with those who had taken totally different directions, or who had never quitted Paris. Montaut, going further back, declared that they had thought of assassinating Marat that night when the traitor Dumouriez, in the midst of the charming festival, was reprimanded by the courageous Friend of the People Labre d'Eglantine, who, like Chabot, was strongly suspected of being a great stock-jobber, a swindler, and a robber, declared, among many other things, that there could be no doubt but that the Girondists and their ministers had encouraged and profited by the immense robberies committed at the *Garde Meuble*. Although his name was perpetually mentioned by the witnesses, although they quoted his words on many critical occasions, and constantly referred to him as an authority, and as one of their party, Danton neither appeared at the trial, nor sent in any written deposition. Robespierre was equally invisible and silent, and—which is still more noticeable and significant—his name scarcely occurs half a dozen times in the course of the whole trial. Danton, who disliked massacres in detail, and who was really free, to a very extraordinary degree, from personal enmities and piques—Danton, who never loved to witness the death-struggles of men that had been his colleagues and colleagues, may have stayed away from feeling, but we believe that Robespierre's absence cannot be attributed to any such cause. He was employing the critical interval of time in the Jacobin Club, in the Convention and in its committees, and we shall presently see the result of his labours there.

The twenty-one prisoners adopted almost twenty-one different ways of defending themselves, the only rule they followed in common being to throw the charges from themselves, who were in the hands of the Montagnards, upon their friends and colleagues who had escaped. Another pretty general method of pleading was, however, to say, I was not a member of that committee, or I was not a member of it at that time, or I did not vote on that occasion in the Assembly or Convention, or I did not say or write those words then, but at another time, when they had a different meaning. Several of them did not hesitate to excuse themselves at the cost of their fellow-prisoners. Thus Brissot said that the proposition to reform or reconstruct the commune of Paris had not proceeded from him, but from Gensonné, Vigée, Boyer-Fonfrede, Gardien, and Boileau, who had all been members of the Committee of Twelve, denied having concurred in the order which brought Raffet and his battalions down to the Convention, and Vigée even confessed that all the ill that had been said about the Committee of Twelve by Leonard Bourdon was perfectly true. Billeau seemed to testify a great willingness to send them all to the scaffold if he could only preserve himself, he declared

that, though for a long time he had not believed it, he was now perfectly convinced that there had been a federalist plot against the union and indivisibility of the republic, that he had sought for truth, that he had found it among the Jacobins, and that he was now a decided Jacobin himself. "The treason of the Toulonense," said he, "has convinced me that there are conspirators but I do not name them, I wait to be enlightened by the judgment of this tribunal." The president, seeing him in so plaintive a humour, asked Boileau whether he would not agree that the monster who had cut short the days of Marat had been instigated by the *côte droit*? "It is perhaps that event which has most enlightened me as to the existence of the conspiracy," responded Boileau Gardien, following the example of Vazez, condemned the Committee of Twelve, and protested that he had taken no part, or no part but the small part, in any of its obnoxious proceedings. Others, however, were not so base in spirit, or they had a clearer notion of the inutility of such cunningness. When the president asked Duchetel whether it was not he that had come down to the Convention in his nightcap and flannels to vote against the death of the king, the prisoner replied that it was he, and that the action was one at which he should never blush. Lastly, when asked whether he had not been in the habit of attending the Girondist meetings at the house of Valaze and whether he had not lived in close intimacy with Barbaroux, Buzot, Petion, &c, replied, "I only knew my colleagues, who are here with me, through their genius and talent, and I declare that they still possess all my esteem, because I believe that they merit it." Vergnaud made several eloquent speeches, which several times produced a very visible, and to the tribunal a very alarming, effect on the people who crowded the court, and who had once been accustomed to regard him and his friends as the greatest of citizens and the best of patriots. The length of the trial, very much disquieted the tribunal and the party that stood watching it not merely behind, but over it, as too much opportunity might be given for examination and reflection, or for the chance recurrence of some generous sentiments in the convulsed mind of the Parisians. But Robespierre provided against this danger. When the trial had lasted three days, the Jacobin Club petitioned the Convention to put a speedy end to this shameful delay of justice, and the great Incorruptible, going over to the Convention, moved and carried, with out any difficulty, a decree that, "whenever any trial should have lasted three days, the court might declare themselves satisfied in conscience, and pass sentence without hearing more." This decree was sent on the fourth day of the trial to the tribunal for its rule and government. On the very next day, the 30th of October, when the twenty-one Girondists were quitting the Conciergerie to go to the Palais de Justice, they were stopped and carefully searched, lest they should have concealed

some sharp instruments about their persons. They could not avoid understanding that this was to be their last appearance before the tribunal. Valaze avoided search by a little trick, pulling out from his pocket a pair of scissors, he presented them to his friend and fellow-prisoner Riouffe (a political prisoner like himself, and like all who were then in the Conciergerie, but one whose trial was not to be that day), and, as he presented the scissors, he said aloud, "Keep them, my friend, we must not think of suicide." This deceived the gendarmes, who permitted him to pass the wicket without any search. As soon as they were all at the bar, Fouquier Imville demanded that the law passed by the Convention should be read in court, the court ordered that it should be transcribed in their registers, and, these things being done, President Hermin said, "Citizens of the jury, in virtue of the new law which you have just heard read, I ask whether your consciences are sufficiently enlightened." The jury withdrew to deliberate. Lest the sudden production and application of so great a novelty in law should shock tender consciences, the permanent and salaried jurymen thought that the trial ought to go on at least through this day, and Antonelle, their foreman or chief, who had been a member of the Legislative Assembly, said for them that their *zeppen* (meaning conscience) was not yet sufficiently enlightened. The court sat till two o'clock, when they stopped proceedings, and went to dinner. At six o'clock in the evening, when they met again, Antonelle declared that the conscience of the jury was sufficiently enlightened. The president then, in the name of the law, invited the citizens of the jury to retire and deliberate on the following questions—1. Is it proved that there has existed a conspiracy against the indivisibility of the republic, against the liberty and the security of the French people? 2. Are John Peter Brissot, Peter Victorin Vergnaud, &c, &c, convicted of having been authors or accomplices of it? The jurymen withdrew, the twenty-one prisoners were removed by gendarmes, it was seven o'clock at night. Perhaps some clouds came over the sufficiently enlightened conscience of the jury, perhaps they were only seeking to make the action of Robespierre's legal ordinance more solemn and awful, perhaps they only wanted to prolong the agony of some of the prisoners, but, whatever might be the reason of their long absence, it was ten o'clock before the jurymen returned into court with a unanimous answer in the affirmative to the questions. This was their verdict, and, in consequence, the tribunal condemned to death, with forfeiture of goods, &c, John Peter Brissot and all the rest, making no exception in favour of those who had shown so much readiness to recant. The prisoners were then brought in, and the president read to them the declaration of the jury and the sentence of the court. Brissot's head dropped upon his chest, his arms fell by his side, he seemed already half dead. Fauchet shut his eyes and

though brief notice. This was Philippe Egalité, ci-devant Duke of Orleans, who had been alternately accused by the Girondists of being an ultra-Jacobin, and by the Jacobins of being a Girondist. As soon as the flight of his sons with Dumouriez was known in the Convention, certain messengers, who found him playing at whist in his splendid residence of Palais-Egalité, late Palais-Royal, were dispatched to tell him that he was wanted at the bar. He went, appealed to his inviolability as a representative of the people, to his past services to the revolution, and protested that he was entirely ignorant of the causes which had led to the defection of his eldest son. "It," said he, "my son is really a traitor, I see here the image of Brutus, and I know how to follow that Roman example." But all this availed him nothing, and a decree was presently passed which sent him a state prisoner to Marseilles. By other decrees which speedily followed, and which were either proposed or warmly supported by Robespierre, every individual of his family that could be found in France was put under arrest, and the property of all of them under sequestration. For more than six months he lay in prison at Marseilles, uncertain of his fate, and incapable of comprehending the march of affairs, but on the 3rd of November Philippe Egalité was brought back to Paris, and on the 6th of the same month he stood before the Revolutionary Tribunal, charged by the Convention and by the Public Accuser with having been the accomplice of the Girondists who had perished on the last day of October. The merits of the parties were different, but the trial of Philippe Egalité was to all intents as great a mockery of justice as the trial of the queen, whose earliest and most terrible enemy he had been. In one particular, however, it was less odious—it was exceedingly short. In the account before us* it is truly said that *from his complicity either with Dumouriez and his own son, or with the Girondists, who had so frequently endeavoured to procure his arrest or banishment*. The chief crime imputed to him, or that which was most dwelt upon, was his fondness for England, his frequent journeys and his numerous intimacies in this country. He was asked whether, during his residences in London, he had not been closely connected with the creatures of Pitt? In leaving the fact, which he well might do, he admitted that he had seen Pitt, because he had letters to deliver to him, and, in the present temper of the French people, this admission was equivalent to a confession of enormous guilt. He was asked whether he had not sent his daughter over to England in the view of getting her married to one of the sons of George III? Having replied in the negative, he was asked what was the object of his last journey—of his last pretended mission to England? He said he went or was sent *because it was known he was very intimate with the opposition party in that country, and because the*

* Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, in Hist. Parlement.

*French government of that time wished to preserve peace with England**. But, when his daughter and Madame Genlis went to London, they were accompanied by the Girondist traitor Petion—how was that? He said that he did not know then that Petion had any evil designs against the republic. But did he not know that Madame Genlis, to whom he had intrusted his daughter, was an intriguing woman (*une intrigante*)? He declared he was entirely ignorant of it. But he must know that at a later period Petion kept up a close correspondence with his eldest son, who was in the army of Dumouriez. He only knew that Petion had received some letters from his son, and the letters which he himself had received from his son never contained the slightest hint of Dumouriez's criminal intentions. But was he not aware that the husband of the intriguing Genlis, the traitor Sillery, his constant counsellor, had been closely connected with the Girondists Buzot and Louvet? And did he not know that Louvet's proposing the banishment of the entire family of Orleans was but a blind and a trick contrived between them? No, he knew nothing of the sort. His very vote on the trial of his kinsman Louis XVI—a vote which we believe to have proceeded from fear—was now brought against him as an unrepudiated crime. Was it not by an artful combination that he, Philippe Egalité, had voted for the death of the tyrant, while his creature, Sillery, had voted against it? He said he knew of no combination, that he, for his part, had voted according to *his soul and conscience*. They asked him, how it was that he, who was at Marseilles all the time of the counter-revolution there, when the federalists were putting to death or imprisoning all true patriots, had been left safe and undisturbed? He replied, that he had not been left undisturbed, that he had been brought before a Marseilles tribunal, but that the court had thought proper to acquit him. "But how was it," cried the president, "that you, in a republic, and in defiance of equality, suffered yourself to be called Prince?" He answered, that he had done everything in his power to prevent it, that he had even put up a placard on the door of his apartment prohibiting the unrepudiated practice, and imposing a fine, to go to the benefit of the poor, upon all such as should use the forbidden word. The immense sums of money he had spent in the early part of the revolution, and which had left him for many months past miserably embarrassed and poor, were also converted into capital offences. "What had you in view," said the president, "in making such grand largesses?" To this he answered, "I made no such largesses. I was only fortunate enough to be able to relieve my indigent fellow-citizens in the midst of a rigorous winter, by selling a portion of my landed property." He was allowed for his counsel Charles Voidel, who had been a member of the

* "C'est que j'en savais que j'étais lié-lé avec le parti de l'opposition et il a agité d'entretenir la paix avec l'Angleterre à cette époque."—Bulletin du Trib. Révol. in Hist. Parlement.

first or constituent assembly, who had long lived with him in the closest intimacy, and who, among other services, had introduced the Duke of Chartres, or Egalité the younger, to the clubs, public dinners, and meetings then in vogue. Voïdel, who had been a great detector of conspiracies during the early stages of the revolution, when the court and family of Louis XVI were to be destroyed, pleaded that there was not the shadow of a proof of his client's being engaged in any conspiracy or unrepudiated schemes, and truly nothing like a proof appears to have been produced against him, while even the presumptive evidence seems to have been infinitely less, and far more loose, than might have been expected. We mean the presumptive evidence of his connexion or understanding with Dumouriez, for as to his complicity with the Girondists and their federalists it was a daring lie and nonsense. Voïdel said that the journey to London of Madame-Égalité was solely intended for the benefit of her health and her improvement in the English language, that the woman Genlis would not undertake the journey unless she were accompanied by two known patriots, and that therefore he himself and Petion, who at that time passed for a good patriot, were chosen by his client to attend them to London; that Dumouriez and the Genlis had been the worst enemies of his client, and the author of all the misfortunes which had befallen his family; that Dumouriez deluded the king and persuaded him to abandon his country to him, the woman Genlis perverted the mind of the sister, &c. He declared that the prisoner at the time did not know for a long time what had become of his daughter, and that it was only the other day he had learned that she was in an hospital in Switzerland (*dans un hôpital en Suisse*). He dwelt upon the celebrated fortune of the prisoner, and upon the odium in which he was held by all the old enemies of the revolution, he represented him as the constant friend of liberty, declaring, with perfect truth, that the royalists regarded him as their mortal enemy, and that, if at any time counter-revolution could have succeeded, these royalists would not have failed to kill him to the last. But Philippe Égalité had rendered himself either odious or contemptible to all parties, and he could no longer be of any use to the Jacobins except as a victim for the guillotine, whose royal birth would attract more attention to the vigour and impartiality of the revolutionary government than a commoner sacrifice. It was thought too that his death would give the lie to the reports which had once been so prevalent, that the leading Jacobins were his partisans and fellow-conspirators, and that Robespierre and Danton were driving on the revolution only to place him on the throne. The Tribunal condemned him with the usual forms, and sent him to the scaffold the same afternoon in company with four other victims. On arriving in front of his old dwelling, and the scene of his orgies, the

Palais-Royal, he looked at the building with a dry look (*un regard sec*), and kept his eyes bent upon it until the death-cart turned the angle of another street, but his countenance the while betrayed no emotion whatever, and his whole behaviour appears to have been as firm or indifferent as that of any who preceded or followed him to the guillotine. He perished on the same spot as the king and queen and the twenty-one Girondists.* It is said that he complained neither of his friends nor of his enemies, and that, when he was told he might be respited till the next day, he refused the favour, saying that, as he was to die, the sooner the better. The mob expressed their "lively satisfaction" when Sanson exhibited his head. He was forty-five years old when he died—it not the very worst, then the most defamed man of his bad times.

Next followed Madame Roland. She had been released from the Abbaye on the 27th of June, but had been arrested again on the very same day by order of the commune, and carried to Sainte-Pélagie, a far worse prison. A day or two after the execution of the Girondists she was transferred to the Conciergerie, through which there was now no exit except through the Tribunal Revolutionnaire and the gates of death. Riouffe says that he saw her there, and was much struck by her elegant and graceful person, and her large black eyes full of expression and sweetness, that her conversation was serious without being cold, that she never spoke of the Girondists who had been guillotined but with respect, yet at the same time without any effeminate pity, and sometimes reproaching them for not having adopted more vigorous measures, that her behaviour was dignified and heroic, but that the woman who waited upon her said, "Before you she collects all her strength, but in her own room she will sometimes remain for three hours together leaning on the window, and weeping." She was not permitted to see her young daughter, her only child, who remained with her in Paris when her husband fled. If she really wrote the *last* part of the *Mémoires* which were published under her name (the fact has been doubted, and with some appearance of reason), she consoled herself in her misfortune by comparing her life and conduct to that of the flower of Roman republicans, by vaunting the purity and patriotism of her party and the wisdom of her husband's or her own administration, and by uttering rhapsodies against the Mountain, and Pache, and all the ultra-Jacobins, without expressing any penitence for political or other faults committed, without bestowing one word on the fate of the king or even upon the fate of the queen, a woman and a mother like herself; without, in fact, admitting that her party had committed any fault except that of being over-lenient, and too mild, generous, and confiding. On the 8th of November she was brought to the bar of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and condemned to die as

* Bulletin du Tribunal Revolutionnaire, in Hist. 1^{re} édition.

an accomplice of the Girondists, and a principal in their federation plots. She was executed on the next day.* As she was drawn through the streets she chatted and seemed to joke with Lumarque, an ex-director of assignat-printing, who was in the same cart with her, condemned to the same death, and less bold to meet it. She died with courage, or in the manner that was fashionable, but all the other particulars, such as her address to the statue of Liberty,† her insisting on dying before her companion, and her bon-mot to the executioner, rest upon the authority of Riouffe or upon authority quite as apocryphal. [At least two thirds of these grim guillotine bon-mots or smart dying-speeches may be safely attributed to Riouffe.] Roland, who had found a secure hiding-place with some friends at Rouen, quitted that asylum, and destroyed himself a few days after hearing of his wife's death. On the 16th of November he was found about five leagues from Rouen on the high road to Paris pierced through the heart by a emerald sword, with a paper in his pocket containing the apology of his life and death, a justification of his conduct as minister, &c. The commissioners of the Convention, who had been sent to Rouen some time before, and who required to the spot to examine the corpse in order to be sure that it was the ex-minister of the interior proposed in their letter satisfying the Convention upon this point, that, as they had buried him by the roadside where they had found him, they should erect a pedestal over his grave with an inscription, "to transmit to posterity the tragical end of a perverse minister, who had pursued public opinion, who had bought very dear the reputation of a virtuous man, and who had been the chief of that criminal elite in which endeavoured to save the tyrant and destroy the republic."‡

On the very day on which Madame Roland died, astronomer may Bailly, who had been no friend to her or to her party having condemned a Feuillant and Lafayette was tried and condemned. He was accused of complicity with Lafayette, of having used all the means in his power to favour the flight to Varennes, of having been an aristocrat all the days of his life, infamous as he did to the tyrant, &c., but the head and front of his offence was his conduct on that black Sunday, when the respectability national guards had fired on the peti-

tioners in the Champ de Mars and on the very altar of the country, and this had been embodied in numerous petitions presented to the Convention by the relatives and friends of those who had been killed on that day, and this was a charge which, in the present situation of affairs, allowed no hope of mercy or respite. In pronouncing sentence, the court ordered that he should suffer on the scene of his greatest crime, that he should be executed on the esplanade between the Champ de Mars and the river Seine, and that a red flag which he had used on that black Sunday should be dragged in the dirt behind his cart, and then burned at the place of execution by the headsman. Lafayette's accommodations in the Prussian and Austrian fortresses may not have been of the best kind, but the hero of two worlds was a fortunate man to be where he was, rather than in Paris with his former friend and fellow-idol. On the following day poor Bailly, whose sufferings make us forget his faults and follies, was carted at the Conciergerie. His journey to the distant part of Paris appointed for his execution occupied nearly two hours, and he was hoisted and insulted by the sans-culottes all the way. When he reached the spot where the guillotine had been set up for him, the delicate-minded people mistook that that sacred earth, that holy ground, which had witnessed so many liberty feasts, should not be contaminated by the blood or the presence of so vile a criminal, and, as the sovereign people were sovereigns to do what they chose, they stopped the death cart, took the scarf folding of the guillotine to pieces, and began to erect it in another place, in a ditch or hollow on the bank of the Seine outside of the Champ de Mars, and beyond the esplanade. All these operations, which passed under the eyes of Bailly, occupied a considerable time, forming a novelty in torture. At last the broad blade of the guillotine being suspended just where the sans-culottes wished it, and Bailly, descending into the hollow, saw the red flag burned before him, and then, mounting the scaffold, died. The story about the trembling and the ready reply was never heard of until Riouffe told it in his book a year after the astronomer's death.*

During the two months of November and December one hundred and twenty-six persons were condemned by Louquier Enville's tribunal, and executed by that great revolution-professor, citizen Simon. Not a man or woman was brought before the court but was condemned, and after condemnation not one was pardoned or even reprieved. The Parisians' appetite for blood seemed truly to grow with what it fed upon: the place of execution was the commonest place of rendezvous, the executions, as the most exciting, were the most popular exhibitions of the day, women and children, as well as men, ran eagerly

* Riouffe tells us, in his history of the last hours of the Convention, that he saw the cart in which Madame Roland was taken to the guillotine.

Madame Roland was taken to the guillotine in a cart, and she was seen by many people. She was seen by many people, and she was seen by many people.

W. J. B. says that he saw the cart in which Madame Roland was taken to the guillotine. He says that he saw the cart in which Madame Roland was taken to the guillotine.

† This curious letter, which was found in the cart, was written by her to the Convention, and it was found in the cart.

* Bailly's trembling, said one of the crowd, was with old then, and Bailly, in the same paragraph Riouffe compares the death of Bailly to that of Jesus Christ!

to them, and, unless the weather was exceedingly cold or exceedingly rainy, the Place de la Revolution, which continued for many months to be the principal slaughter-house, was constantly crowded. Nor was this crowd composed solely of the rabble and faubourg sans-culottes, Manuel, who had been procureur-general of the commune at the time of the revolution of the 10th of August, and during the September massacres, to both of which events he was suspected of having contributed—after escaping assassination at Montargis, his native place, whither, upon the fall of his chief, Petion, and the Girondists, he had retired to hide himself—was guillotined on the 25th of November, and on the same day General Brunet, who had been serving in the army of Nice, was executed for some real or imaginary military mistake—the principle being now laid down and acted upon, that every military error or misfortune was a state crime, and that every commander who did not achieve in the field *all* that the legislators and committee-men sitting in the Tuileries thought he ought to do, or could have done, merited death, with infamy and confiscation of property. These two executions were followed, on the very next day, by the death of General Houchard, who was guillotined for not having taken the Duke of York prisoner, and destroyed the whole English army at Dunkirk. In rapid succession the son of old General Custine, and Generals Brion, Beauharnais (the husband of Josephine), and Wurmser, were swept away, the important services of the last in storming the Tuileries on the 10th of August being all forgotten. These executions of soldiers were intermixed and varied with the beheading of sundry journalists and men of letters, and lawyers and ex-legalists, heads that had never thought alike meeting in the same sack which received the loppings of the guillotine, and fierce political antagonists, who could scarcely have met in life except to tear each other to pieces, being deposited together in the same grave, with one liver of quick-lime (their common winding-sheet and only shroud) to consume them all together. As the property of all who were condemned was confiscated, the guillotine was an effective instrument even in finance. Thus Barrere is said to have remarked facetiously, that the guillotine was an excellent mint—that they coined money in the Place de la Revolution! Barnave, who had married a rich wife, could scarcely have had a chance of escape even if he had remained quiet at Grenoble, instead of participating in the attempts at a counter-revolution against the Mountain there, and even if the papers found, or said to have been found, in the iron chest had not given him a foremost place among those who had corresponded with the court. He had allowed himself to be seized at Grenoble at a time when he might easily have escaped with his wife into Switzerland or Savoy, and, after lying for a considerable time in the prison of his native town, he was brought by post to Paris and the Conciergerie. Relying on

his eloquence, which had gained him so much fame when he led the opposition in the Constituent Assembly, he commenced a long and very admirable oration before the Revolutionary Tribunal, but, when men will not listen, eloquence is less than powder without shot. Fouquier Tinville interrupted him, the court bade him speak to the point, the mob drowned his voice, and he was condemned even like all the rest—like the illiterate soldier who could only plead his cause with *sacres* and camp oaths, and like those whose only eloquence was silence and astonishment. Duport-Duterte, minister of justice under the monarchic constitution, was tried with him, on the same charge of having conspired against French liberty in concert with the ci-devant court, and they were executed together on the 29th of November. Those who had been ministers under the Gironde were pursued with still more fury than those who had held office under the precious Lafayetteist constitution. Claviere, the Genevese minister of finance whose wife was said to have rallied and recovered from a consumption from her enthusiastic joy at his promotion,* escaped the guillotine by committing suicide in his prison on the 8th of December, his poor wife poisoned herself two days after, and their only child, a daughter, fled penniless to Geneva. The Convention passed a law that the property of those who killed themselves, either before or after trial, should be confiscated to the republic, even as if they had been regularly condemned and executed. Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, with whom the English opposition had been so eager to treat, after wandering from place to place in all manner of disguises, was found at last in a hayloft, dressed as a labouring man, was whisked away to Paris and, without any trial, but in virtue of a decree of outlawry passed on the 22nd of June, he was guillotined on the 27th of December. He had been a printer, and a man of letters and journalist, before he became a revolutionary diplomatist, and he was only thirty years old when he died. Barnave, who had done and gone through so much, was only in his thirty-second or thirty-third year. Among the other victims who perished in this dismal December month were Kersaint, the naval officer who had been a member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Convention, who had been as keen a revolutionist as any of them down to the end of 1792, but who had quitted the Convention upon their barbarous sentence against Louis XVI., Dietrich, ex-mayor of Strasbourg, who had formerly passed for a good patriot and thorough Jacobin, but who was now accused of having been in correspondence with the enemy, and Madame (ex-countess) Dubarry, the last brazen and low-bred mistress of Louis XV. This wretched woman had got safely over to England with considerable property, and there (in safety at least) she might have remained, but she returned to Paris to be presently lodged in the Conciergerie. The Revolutionary Tribunal con-

* Dumont

demned her to death for having given money to some of the emigrants in England, and for having worn in London mourning for the death of the tyrant "She had lived," says the continuator of Marat's journal, "in debauchery and crime, and she died without courage." Historians of the revolution have continued to repeat, one after the other, that of all these victims of the guillotine none but the old soldier Custine and this old courtesan showed any cowardice or weakness. The imputation upon Custine's courage rose, we believe, entirely from his religious feelings in the hour of death. No doubt, we believe, is entertained of the shrieks and screams of the Dubarry, but some of the particulars of her execution have evidently been exaggerated by choice moralists like Riouffe. There is a third victim who has not been named among the pusillanimous or among those who could not make "the scaffold echo with the just," and this was Manuel, who according to the official account, could scarcely stand in the death-cart, and seemed to be dead, or nearly so, before he reached the scaffold. Eye-witnesses might probably have been able to increase very considerably the list of those who fainted in the cart or on the scaffold; but it appears to be indisputable that there was a fashion in dying, and that it did great injury to their doom with the atrial display, or levity, or indifference.

Several of the fugitive Girondists, instead of going from Caen to the south, had, like Valaze, returned to hide in Paris. Among them was Raoul St. Etienne, who took refuge with an old friend, who was received by him, and conveyed to the guillotine. Those who continued their flight to the banks of the Garonne underwent the extremities of human suffering, and most of them perished at last in the hands of the executioners either at Bordeaux or at Paris. Livet, one of the survivors, has left upon record a moving history of the retreat from Caen of the deputies who kept together for a time—a history which would still more moving if it were not written in the style of a romance, and if it did not exhibit, even in its most tragical parts, a weakness of sentiment and a filthy imagination. According to Livet's account they must have passed half of the time in which they were out of imminent danger in dancing the carminole, and singing their republican songs. They began their journey with some battalions of Breton volunteers, who had joined the insurgents in the Calvados, but who were now retreating homeward completely disheartened at the prospects of the counter-revolution. They lurked in the ranks with these Breton like common soldiers, hoping in

this manner to escape observation. At Fougères the battalions separated, each taking its nearest road home. The deputies remained, and continued their march with the battalion of Finistère, both because it seemed more attached to them, or more averse to the Mountain, than the other battalions, and because it was going to Brest, in the neighbourhood of which town they hoped to find some vessel to convey them to the south. [To make that long journey by land and to traverse the Vendée, the scene of the most terrible of wars, and where the royalist people and the armies of the Mountain were alike their enemies, was too desperate an enterprise to be thought of.] The Finistère battalion was only eight hundred strong in number, though through which they had to pass the Jacobins kept the upper hand, and, in spite of their precautions, it got known that a certain number of the Girondists, outlawed by the Convention, were with the battalion. At once a plan was formed to seize the weary deputies in the beds at night and send them to the Mountain or to massacre them. Further on the road at Dol the Jacobin mayor and municipals called the national guards to arms, drew out some old cannon, and sent to St. Malo for reinforcements. The Finistère battalion rushed into the town with bayonets fixed and cannon loaded, and drew up in order of battle in the square of the Hotel de Ville, and in front of the mayor's forces. The mayor protested that he had no intention to stop the march of the battalion, but only wanted to seize the deputies, those traitors to their country, who were concealed in their ranks. The Finistère men, lowering their bayonets and standing by their guns, told the mayor and his national guardsmen to come and seek the deputies, since they were so anxious to seize them. But the mayor declined the invitation and permitted the liberalism and the deputies to dine in the town, and continue their march unmolested. In going through a narrow wooded pass near Dinan, the battalion expected to be attacked by a very superior force, but they got safely through the defile, and the deputies met with a charitable reception at Dinan. In celebrating the prescribed legislators were rescued out of their beds by a terrible uproar among the Finistère volunteers, some of whom were crying that since the authority of the Mountain was acknowledged, it would be factious and treasonable to protect deputies who were outlawed by it, while others cried that it would be most disgraceful for brave Bretons to betray or abandon unfortunate gentlemen, virtuous representatives of the people, who had thrown themselves upon their protection. The disputants, though almost surrounded by enemies, were on the point of falling upon one another, when the deputies announced their intention of quitting the battalion and shifting for themselves. Their friends gave to each of them a good musket, a sword, and a cartouche-box well filled with ball cartridge, and a white mantle to throw over their volunteer uniforms, and, thus

* Bletan li Fybanal Revlyt unnae
† W ear lha div n v tha d l l l l w l l l v en
turned to west w l q al v r m l n l e s M l m e
Rol nd s M m r s an l e d d l l l h r t u r al
lang l k d r m r c l l t t al t l l l l l l l l l
sup. l u l o l t e w k a w l l t l l l m w l l l l
hardw d t t a n l l l a d l l l l l l l l l l l l l l
finical l l l f r r l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l
French flithness l n z m v l e x a r n l s l l l k u l v
all t t h n l n l o l d t t l u s d d l r r l l l l l l l l
a dose of prison abo t h m and he tells a stor sho t h w l
oal d d t at poison and how l e lost and fou d t which is u t
ably disgusting

armed, they struck across the rough mountainous country by cross and bye roads for the port of Quimper at the mouth of the river of that name, not far from Brest. "At this time," says Louvet, "we were Petion, Barbaroux, Salles, Buzot, Cussy, Lesage, Bergoing, Giroust, Mailhan, and myself, then Giry-Duppre, and a worthy young man named Riouffe, who had come to join us at Caen and then six guides. Buzot still kept with him his man servant, who was as well armed as the rest of us. In all, we were nineteen." They had upwards of a hundred miles to march, and few of them were in marching order. Buzot was so fat that he could scarcely get along, even with the help of his man-servant, Cussy was tormented with the gout, Barbaroux had a sprained ankle, and Riouffe, whose occupation had always been sedentary, so he got foot sore and weary. Yet no hind but speed could save them, for the revolutionary committees in the townships were giving the alarm, and all the Jacobin part of the country was rising. Sleeping in barns upon straw, or in the fields under hedges, travelling more by night than by day, and tugging and starving, along the roughest and least frequented roads, and avoiding the towns, they forced onward for the coast. By a mistake of their guides they stumbled into the town of Montmor, and on a market day, when the place was thronged with people. Buzot and Petion were recognised by several persons, but, in which there was a considerable force of gendarmes in the place, they got through the town without molestation. They took a little luncheon, returning home on leave of absence, and the commandant of the Mistrere battalion had given them passes. After getting out of Montmor they concealed themselves in the thick wood till midnight. About midnight after a long march in the dark, they reached a friendly house, where they found supper and beds—or the mattresses and bolster of two beds which they shared among them. Two of the party, worn out by the march, and flattered by the hope that they might be concealed and safe there, remained behind in this district, one of them was Lesage, who actually effected detection, the other was Giroust, who was arrested at the close of the Reign of Terror, was not brought to trial until after the fall of Robespierre, when his life was safe. They both reappeared in the Convention, and afterwards filled several important posts. The rest of the deputies, who continued their route to Quimper, were surprised the next night while sleeping in a barn by a Jacobin magistrate, with half a regiment of national guards at his heels. At first they thought of fighting. "We were all armed to the teeth," says Louvet, "each of us having, besides his musket, good horse pistols, and I had, besides, a blunderbuss capable of vomiting twenty bullets at once. There was Barbaroux, whose high stature and corpulence gave him an air of the most imposing kind, there were in our little troop seven fine grenadiers like him, and, among the six others, the shortest was,

like myself, five feet four inches high." [Sad times for legislators, philosophers, and men of letters, when they are thus obliged to measure themselves by feet and inches!] But, after some talk and some very ingenious acting on their part, they were let go, being told, among other things, that they had been mistaken for a set of refractory priests. As they advanced fresh dangers and hair-breadth escapes attended them. They were told of gendarmes being seen lurking near their road, of a hue-and-cry that was following them, and getting before them. The next night, as they were stealing through the long narrow dark street of the village of Carhaix, situated in the midst of bogs and marshes, a little girl rushed from a dark corner, threw open a door, within which they saw a light burning, and cried out, '*Les uns qui passent*'" (Here they are passing!) They ran with all the speed and strength that was left in them, the lamest forgetting their lameness. They thought they heard horses galloping behind them—horses of gendarmes, a detachment of which, they had been told, was quartered in Carhaix. "It must be confessed," says Louvet, "that the boldest among us was not much at his ease." They lost their road, they wandered among bogs, woods, and mountains (through a country like the rudest parts of Wales), they were afraid of approaching houses lest gendarmes or other enemies might be concealed within, and all the poor country-people they met were afraid of them, they looked so haggard and desperate. At last they reached a forest or wood distant only two leagues from Quimper, and thence sent forward their only remaining guide to seek it some friends they had in that town, as they could not venture to go thither themselves in broad daylight. They lay in the wood all that night exposed to the pelting of a pitiless storm, and half dying with hunger, but the next morning, by early dawn, some of their Quimper friends arrived and found them in the wood, re-animated their fleeting spirits with some eau de vie and black bread, then brought horses for the lame, and in the darkness of the following night smuggled them into Quimper. But, alas! there was no decked vessel in that obscure fishing-port except a small barque, and that not sea-worthy. They separated and took up their lodging in three or four little country-houses in the neighbourhood of the town. The Montagnard commissioners could not as yet venture into the wilds of Lower Brittany, but there was a Jacobin Club in Quimper which gave great uneasiness, compelling each of the fugitives to procure for himself some hiding-place in case of domiciliary visits, some hole-in-the-wall or hollow between walls, into which he might rush in case of surprise. Some of them whiled away the time in writing memoirs. Faublas-Louvet composed his '*Hymn to Death*,' the moral of which was that death was better than the Mountain. After some weeks had been passed in this manner, Cussy, Duchâtel, Salles, Bergoing, and five others put themselves on board the crazy old

* Five feet four French make about five feet 110 English.

barque, which had been repaired at their expense, and set sail for Bordeaux. The rest remained behind waiting for a better vessel, which some friends of Petion and Guadet were preparing for them at Brest. "I had long since resolved," says Louvet, "not to separate my destiny from that of Guadet, Buzot and Petion, and, very fortunately for him, Barbaroux had just caught the small pox, and so could not go in the barque. I say very fortunately, for all those who set foot in that unhappy boat were very soon taken." Seeing the sequel, we may doubt as to this piece of very good fortune of Barbaroux. At last, on the 20th of September, Louvet, Guadet, Buzot, Petion, Barbaroux embarked on board a vessel which was bound for Bordeaux, and which came near to the mouth of the Quimper river to pick them up. On board the vessel they found their brother deputy and friend Valady, and another gentleman "of tall stature and light brown hair," who, although not a member of the Convention, had been proscribed by it. Valady was one of the very few that had displayed great courage in opposing Louis's sentence of death. This had provoked his own proscription in spite of all the services he had rendered to the revolution in its earlier stages, by debauching the grenadiers of the Gardes-Françaises, and by preaching his wild doctrines in other quarters. In former times he had professed himself a Pythagorean philosopher. He was now destined to practise some part of that philosophy—frugality and frequent fasting. At sea there were fresh perils, the least of which certainly was the swarm of English cruisers and privateers that were hovering off the whole coast from Brest to Bordeaux. They were safely landed at the Bec-d'Ambez, near Bordeaux. "Here we were, at last," says Louvet, "in the department of the Gironde, and here we believed ourselves to be not only in safety, but in a condition to combat the oppressors of our country. We almost fell upon our knees to kiss that blessed earth! Oh! blind, unhappy mortals!" Guadet had a relation in the town, whose house was open to him, but the first thing Guadet did was to go with his companions to an inn, and with his usual confidence (*sa confiance ordinaire*) pronounce his name, by which it was easy to understand who were his comrades. Louvet is rather severe upon Guadet, saying that his imprudence was the principal cause of nearly all the dangers which followed, but from his own narrative it should appear that several others of the fugitives were quite as imprudent and confident as Guadet could be. They were scarcely an hour on shore ere sinister reports met their ear—ultra-Jacobin section Franklin had risen against the respectabilities, had beaten and disarmed them five days before, had turned the city of Bordeaux topsy-turvy, had installed a Montagnard municipality, and had thrown into prison Cussey, Duchâtel, and other patriots who had gone in the barque. Guadet would not believe the sad news. He and Petion

went to Bordeaux, and returned on the morrow with the certain intelligence that all that they had heard was true—that the sans-culottes and Montagnards were absolutely masters of Bordeaux, and of all that was in it or near it, that terror was the order of the day, and that Tallien was coming to put the guillotine *en permanence*. In a great town, in the capital of his native province, where Guadet had expected to find numberless devoted friends, he found not one that would venture to harbour him and Petion for the night—he could scarcely find one that had courage enough to show him, at nine o'clock at night, the shortest or safest way back to the Bec-d'Ambez. What was to be done? They could not go to Bordeaux, they could not re-embark, for the friendly vessel which had brought them was gone, they could not long stay where they were, for the keeper of the inn to which Guadet had so rashly conducted them was a rank Maratist. Long and anxious deliberations ended in a resolution that Guadet should hasten to Saint-Emilion, his birth-place, a few leagues off, and that the rest should be concealed in a solitary house until he should return to them. By some friend they caused it to be reported in Bec-d'Ambez that they were all gone from that neighbourhood, but at night the innkeeper was seen, or was thought to be seen, spying near the house, and this led to fresh alarms and desperate resolves. No attack was, however, made upon their quarters. But the next day passed, and the next, without the return of Guadet, or the arrival of any messenger from him. Even another day of agony passed, and no one came. At the beginning of the third night a trusty and secret messenger arrived. Guadet had been again cruelly disappointed. At Saint-Emilion, besides his father and several relations, he had many friends—friends of his childhood, "of whom one always believes oneself sure, until one has tried them." He had gone in the confidence that these friends would receive him with transports, and disjunct with one another the honour of giving refuge to the honourable deputies, the companions of his misfortunes and flight. But panic and terror reigned at Saint-Emilion as at Bordeaux—terror was here, was there, was everywhere, making even generous men cautious, selfish, cowardly. The messenger informed Louvet and his party that Guadet had indeed found an asylum for himself in the house of his relations, and that he had even found a generous friend who would lodge and conceal two of the party. The party thought that where two might be lodged, room might be found for six, at all hazards they determined not to separate, and for any of them to stay longer where they were was impossible, as gendarmes and other troops were marching into Bec-d'Ambez. They all set out together in the dark, Guadet's messenger serving as their guide. They had to cross the river Garonne in a boat, and then the river Dordogne close below the town of Labourne. At this second passage the people of the ferry-boat

kept them waiting and shouting on the bank for three-quarters of an hour, but, fortunately, the sentinels in the town were as difficult to wake as the ferrymen, and they got across the Dordogne without misadventure. More hair-breadth escapes on the road, and they reached Guadet's birth-place. He could only receive them in a stone quarry, his relations and townfolk, more terrified than ever, would not now lodge even two of the proscribed. Guadet was confounded, for it was chiefly on his representations that the fugitives had come to this cradle and home of Girondism, and he had expected that his presence would not merely secure a most hospitable reception for them all, but would also bring armies into the field to fight their battles against the Mountain. "Poor Guadet!" says Louvet—"how many times had he protested to us that, if all honourable and generous sentiments were banished from the rest of France, they would take refuge in the department of the Gironde!" A charitable cure (and they found several such in the course of their wanderings) offered them an asylum for two or three days in his lonely house near Saint-Emilion. At the end of that time Valady's friend, the gentleman of tall stature and light brown hair, would be gone, for he had friends and relatives not far off, and he thought he might reach them in safety by taking cross roads. But the tall gentleman was arrested *en route*, and consigned to a local revolutionary tribunal. The rest remained two days longer with the cure, who was then obliged to turn them over to a poor farmer, who hid them in his hayloft, but who at times forgot, or was unable, to furnish them with any victuals. Here they were terribly alarmed one night, and thought of killing themselves, but did not. Guadet, who was still on the search for some noble but that would redeem the character of the department, at length found an heroic lady, who received, fed, and clothed the miserable refugees, lodged them in a secret cellar thirty feet underground. "Observe," says Louvet, "that this was the time when the guillotine was every day striking off heads, and when the brigands of the Mountain were committing all kinds of horrors in this part of the country, threatening to burn the houses, to burn the towns, wherein any of the proscribed had taken refuge. At length the fugitive deputies, who had scarcely any money left among them, thought it better to separate. Barbaroux, Buzot, and Petion went some leagues off towards the sea to seek an uncertain asylum among rocks and caverns. Guadet, Louvet, Salles, and Valady, who kept together a little while longer, took another direction in search of another hole in a rock—each party to its Patmos. Their separation was sad as sad could be. Barbaroux spoke of his mother, Salles "had death in his eyes." Guadet, who knew the country well, found a cavern where he and those who remained with him stayed for a time.* But they could not stay there long, for

the cave was near a village, there was no procuring provisions without risk of being detected, and, as the month of November was far advanced, it was cold even in that southern climate. Guadet had yet an unfriended friend, a lady with a good house over her head, and luxuries and money to spare. He thought his claims upon her were great, for in earlier times, when an advocate practising at Bordeaux, he had saved her from a criminal prosecution, in which her *hymour* and the character of her family were gravely committed, and since that important service she had a hundred times assured him of her eternal gratitude. On the night of the 14th of November, in a storm of wind and rain, Guadet and his three desperate friends presented themselves at this lady's door. After Guadet had knocked for half an hour, the door was half-opened by a man-servant, who had seen him a hundred times, but who would not recognise him now. The fallen deputy, who not long ago had fancied he was controlling the destinies of nations, told his name and his wants. The lacquey said, Madame was in bed and asleep, but he would wake her. He shut the door in their faces, and did not return until another half hour had passed, and then only to announce that they could have no food, shelter, or succour of any kind there, that it was *impossible* for Madame to do anything for them, as there was a *Jacobin committee of surveillance* in the village hard by. Guadet implored to be admitted alone, to speak for one moment with Madame, but he was told it was impossible, and the door was again closed and made fast, not to be re-opened that night, or as long as such contagious neighbours were in its vicinity. Drenched to the skin by a cold rain, lame in the feet, famishing, spent, Louvet dropped to the earth, and there lay all but senseless. Guadet ran back to the door, and, speaking through the key hole, intreated for shelter and a fire, if only for two hours. The servant answered nothing save "*Cela est impossible*." "Then a little vinegar and a glass of water, for a friend is fainting!" "*Cela est impossible*." Poor Guadet, whose philosophy was wondrously changed by bitter experience, burst out into imprecations against the baseness of human nature. These details will go far in explaining what the Reign of Terror really was. Rendred frantic by Madame's inhospitality, Louvet, as soon as he recovered a little strength, swore that he would go to Paris and die there in the Place de la Revolution, rather than linger and starve any longer in this asylum of all the generous virtues, the Gironde. And, on the very next day, the author of Faublas put a Jacobin-cut wig on his head, a great-coat of a national guardman on his back, forged some signatures to an old passport, and took the road to Pandemonium.* Valady went southward for Perigueux, where he hoped to find friends among the relations and connections of his quondam companion, the gentleman

* Of this cavern and of what passed at Louvet's was a description as disgusting as his story about the poison.

* Louvet *Memoires* or *Quelques Notices* sur l'Histoire de la Révolution de mai 1793, depuis le 31 Mai 1793.

of tall stature and light brown hair, who had been intercepted on his way thither. Guadet and Salles kept still together in the neighbourhood of Guadet's native place, hiding wherever they could, and continually changing their protectors and their asylum. But, though their fate was delayed, it could not be avoided. The poor Pythagorean, Valady, was captured in the neighbourhood of Périgueux, and guillotined in that town at the beginning of December*. Guadet and Salles, nine months after their first arrival at Bec-d'Ambez, when they were living concealed, and fancying themselves forgotten in a barn attached to the house of Guadet's own father, were heard of by some of the Jacobin clubs of the district. Guadet himself was said to have been seen one day lurking between Labourne and Saint-Emilion. It was immediately suspected that all the deputies who had landed at Bec-d'Ambez were hidden in the extensive caves behind Saint-Emilion, where they might be supplied with provisions by Guadet's family. These suspicions were immediately communicated to a commissioner of the committee of *Salut Public*, who concerted measures with the local committees for blocking up with armed men, and at the same moment, all the mouths of these caverns, which were very numerous, and for sending in herds and kennel-scented dogs to track or drive out any persons that might be hidden in the intricacies of the caves. The committees enjoined the closest secrecy until the blow could be struck. One night, in the middle of June (1794), Lagarde, an agent of the Convention, set out from Libourne with ten patriots "decided, and proof to everything" who were only told that they were to go in search of some enemies of the country. Among these chosen ten was one Marcon, "who had some dogs." At the proper point Lagarde was joined by a battalion of national guards from Bec-d'Ambez, who were left ignorant of the object of this night march until they arrived at the caves of Saint-Emilion. By break of day, the military force being aided by some peasants of the district, every mouth and issue of any kind was blockaded, and the youngest and most adventurous of the national guardsmen went into those subterranean places with Marcon and his dogs. "If," said the Jacobin clubmen, who reported these exploits of their fellow-townsmen to the Convention,—“If Providence had not watched over their preservation, these young men must all have died, for they were in a violent perspiration from the rapidity of their march, and when, after making the longest and most exact search, they came out of those dark cold caverns, they were almost frozen, and could hardly speak!” As neither dogs nor men could find anybody in the caves, Lagarde led his detachment into the village, and surrounded all the suspected houses. They searched several of the houses very minutely, they even searched old Guadet's barn, and they were going away without having made any discovery, when Marcon (the

master of the dogs) detected a double wall at one end of the barn. They could not discover any door or entrance of any kind to the narrow chamber or space between the two walls. Some of the nimblest got to the roof of the barn and commenced untiling it at the hollow end. The click of a pistol that missed fire was now heard. The patriots, on the barn-top, cried out, "Here they are!"—and in the next instant Guadet and Salles cried out themselves that they were indeed there and ready to surrender. "They were instantly seized," says the report, "together with all the people of the house that might be able to give explanations: the whole lot of them (*à tout*) was carried off to Bordeaux where Guadet and Salles were executed the next day." From the guillotine scaffold Salles, and the more eloquent Guadet, attempted to address the people, but a Bordeaux Sans-culotte cried "Lamburs!" and their voices were drowned by a loud drumming. The reports of the discovery and execution of these two Girondists did not officially reach the Convention, or the committee of *Salut Public*, to which such matters were generally addressed, until the 24th of June. Dumais (Robespierre's Dumas), however, announced the facts in the Jacobin Club at Paris on the night of the 24th of June, and, little thinking how very soon he would be seized and guillotined himself, he spoke of their fate with much glee. "They have at last," said he, "paid with their heads for their crimes against the republic. They were found in Father Guadet's barn. Salles was busied in writing a comedy, the principal characters of which were the members of the committee of *Salut Public*, who were treated as it is easy to guess. Salles little thought that it was to end in a tragedy in which he was to figure himself!"† But Salles and Guadet did not figure alone in that frightful tragedy. Guadet's father, brother, aunt were brought before the revolutionary commission, condemned as accomplices, and executed on the same scaffold‡.

A few days after the execution of Guadet and Salles at Bordeaux, as some Jacobin volunteers were passing a corn-field, half a league from Castillon, in the district of Labourne, and only a short distance from the caverns of Saint-Emilion, they heard the report of a pistol, and saw two men running into a thicket. They did not attempt to follow the fugitives, but they proceeded to the spot whence the report of the pistol had proceeded, and there found a tall stout man weltering in his blood. They lifted him up and carried him into Castillon. Lagarde, who had been commander-in-chief of the late expedition to the caves and the village of Saint-Emilion, came presently to examine the dying man. Finding his linen marked with the letter B, Lagarde asked if he was not Buzot? He was just speaking, but he signified a negative by a shake of the head. "Then you will be Barbaroux," said Lagarde. The dying man

* Hist. Parliament.

* Report in Hist. Parliament.

† In trials in Hist. Parliament.

‡ Biographie Moderne ou Galerie Historique.

nodded an affirmative—and the handsome Barbaroux it was, bleeding from the mouth, distorted, ghastly, horrible to look upon, and, in a few minutes more, dead. The Jacobins concluded that the two men who had been seen flying into the thicket must be Buzot and Pétion, and that the hapless three had all been driven out together from some house or barn in the neighbourhood in consequence of the alarm spread by the finding of Guadet and Salles, and the carrying off Guadet's family to prison. This was really the case, and Barbaroux, in a fit of despair, or at sight of the volunteers in the corn-field, and in the impression that he and his friends were surrounded, had shot himself, having always declared that the Jacobins should never have him alive. They discovered and arrested a woman who had been in the habit of buying and carrying provisions to the proscribed men, and who had some letters in her house which she confessed were written by Pétion and Buzot. "We shall soon catch these two," said Lagarde, "for the country is all on foot and it is impossible for them to escape." Early in the month of July, or about a week or ten days after the death of Barbaroux, the bodies of Buzot and Pétion were found not far from Saint-Emilion—that fatal neighbourhood where they all seem to have been spell-bound and bewitched, or all of them except Louvet. It was not ascertained whether they had committed suicide by poison or by other means, or whether they had perished of hunger, for their bodies were half devoured by animals, what remained of them was in a rapid process of decomposition, and to the Jacobins who found them it was quite enough to know that they were dead, that the bodies were really those of the ex-mayor of Paris and the great Girondist leader. The Jacobins of Castillon, or, as they signed themselves, "the Sansculottes, comprising the Popular and Republican Society of Castillon," wrote instantly a jubilant letter to the citizen representatives in the Convention. These mild and decent men said: "The punishment which the law reserved for them was too mild, and so it pleased the *Démocratie* to prepare a punishment better suited to their crimes. Their hideous corpses were found half eaten by worms, their scattered members had become the prey of hungry dogs, their sanguinary hearts the food of ferocious wolves. Such has been the horrible end of lives still more horrible! People! contemplate this frightful spectacle, this terrible monument of vengeance." This letter was read in the Convention on the 7th of July (1794), on the 28th of the same month, Robespierre was no more, and the Reign of Terror was at an end counting from their first flight from Paris, these Girondists had struggled, for more than twelve long months, through dangers and horrors uncountable and unutterable, to perish miserably at last so near a time which would have brought safety and more than safety to them all. Guadet, Salles, Barbaroux, Pétion, Buzot, had always calculated that the reign of the

Mountain could not last long, but must come to some sudden termination—yet thus they all perished on the eve of the event! Others besides the sansculottes of Castillon, and from reasons very different from theirs, might conclude that a Divine vengeance pursued them. But their disastrous story ought, nevertheless, not to be read without a tear. Seldom has destruction been so immediate and complete. Rebecqui, the friend of Barbaroux, drowned himself in the harbour of Marseilles. Condorcet, after lying concealed for eight months in the house of a female friend, sought safety elsewhere when a decree of the Convention made it a capital crime to harbour any outlaw. He wandered in wretched attire, like an outcast serving man, about the country round Paris, hiding, it is said, and lodging very generally in the abandoned stone-quarries with which the neighbourhood abounds. Driven by hunger, he one day entered a cabaret, or an obscure inn, in the village of Clamart. His ravenous appetite, his long beard, his anxious countenance, excited the suspicions of a patriot who was in the house, and who left off drinking his sour wine to seize and carry him before the revolutionary committee of the village. The philosophe said his name was *Simon*—his condition that of a valet out of place. But, finding a Horace in his pocket, with marginal notes in Latin, written with a pencil, the committee concluded that he must be rather one of the *ci-devant* who had kept valets, and they sent him off, on foot, weary and lame as he was, under a patriot escort, to the prison of Bourg-la-Reine. On the morrow (the 24th of March, 1794), when the valet opened his door to give him some bread and water, he found him lying dead in his cell. It was known that he always carried poison about him. Of the whole Girondist party, only Louvet, Kervégarin, Lantjumein, Henri Larivière, Lesage, and La Réveillère-Lapaup survived the Reign of Terror.*

On quitting Guadet and Salles in that fatal Saint-Emilion district, Louvet struck boldly along the high road which led to Paris. He stopped at the poorest inns or huts, mixed with none but the very sansculottes, praised Marat and the whole Mountain, and cursed and swore like a true republican in soldier coming from the bloody wars in the Vendée. As this was the part he was obliged to perform all the way from the Garonne to the Seine we may estimate the absurdity of those who have attempted to maintain that out of Paris and a few great towns Robespierre had no party. At the close of 1793, when Louvet made this journey, Robespierre's government was evidently the most popular of any that had existed in France during the last half-century, his cruelties excited no disgust or moral revulsion of any kind among the great body of the people—a people *all* in arms,

* I wrote much to Haller's publisher and asked by his Editor kept short in the Palais Royal. He did not long enjoy this tranquil life, dying in August 1807. He had however recovered his seat in the Convention until and also a member of the next legislative body—the Chamber of Five Hundred.

who might have prevented them at any moment they chose. For a considerable part of the journey Louvet counts his day's marches by the news he receives at one place after the other of executions and deaths—of deaths the most agonizing, and, in many cases, attended by the most revolting circumstances, as personal spite, private interest, treachery of friends—and yet the people read these things in the newspapers, and talked them over, on the road and in chimney-corners, without any emotion of the tender or generous sort. He tells us of espionage, of a hundred lives being offered for any information or denunciation, of the vigilance exercised by the municipalities and the national guards, but nearly everything he says goes to prove that the inferior burghers and common people, who now exclusively and solely constituted the municipal bodies, and filled the ranks of the militia (scarcely a shadow of the respectabilities being now left anywhere) had a spontaneous and ardent zeal for the system of government which Marat had preached, and which Robespierre and his colleagues were practising. The revolution had conferred upon them many imaginary and some very real and substantial benefits—immediately and substantially advantageous, whatever might be the remote effects of the dividing and subdividing system from which they took their rise. The feudal claims and oppressions were all swept away, tithes were abolished, and, if worship and religion were abolished with them, it signified little to the majority, who had no religious belief, the oppressive and partial imposts of the *tulle* and the *corvée* were set aside for ever, and the horrible game-laws of the ancient regime, according to which the king might vest the game of a whole district in whatsoever nobleman he chose, so to honour, conferring a sort of right of free warren over the lands of others, were more. Previously to 1789 the nobility and clergy paid no fixed taxes, and held the greater part of the land, but now all classes were to pay alike in exact proportion to their means, and the landed property, by the processes of emigration, confiscation, liquidation, of forfeiture, and national sales for assignment was sliding all into the hands of the common people. Nearly every farmer was becoming the owner of his farm, nearly every peasant the proprietor of the cottage or hut he inhabited, and of the patch of ground in its rear. The Terror was not made for them, or, if for them, then for their advantage and gratification,—advantage, inasmuch as it lightened their burthens by confiscating the property of the condemned, and throwing it into the revolutionary market, gratification, inasmuch as it brought down those above them to their own level, or beneath it, and, however little they might understand or care about real liberty, they had an undoubted passion for equality. The guillotine had not yet begun to molest them, and, as soon as it did begin to convince an appetite for sansculottic heads, it was stopped and thrown into the dark abyss, and Robespierre and Saint-Just, and all the ministers of the Reign

of Terror, along with it. In all the great central departments, in the huge trunk and mighty heart of France, the revolution was at this time excessively popular, and not a whit the less so on account of the cruelties and other crimes by which it was attended in all its stages, and in its every step. In some of the remoter districts, both south and north, both east and west, there were, indisputably, even among the common people, many who thought its advantages dearly purchased by blood and sin and the sacrifice of the throne and altar, but everywhere these many were, after all, but a minority, except only in the Vendée. There, and in nearly all the western coast of France, from the river Vendée, which falls into the Bay of Biscay not far from La Rochelle and the island of Oleron, to the left bank of the Loire, the people, and all classes of the gentry, nobility and clergy, were, and had been from the beginning, unanimous in their dislike to the great political changes. Beyond the Loire, in Brittany, and behind the river Vendée, there was a somewhat less decided majority who shared in this feeling, and, as the insurrection and war spread in both directions, parting from the Vendée, it was all called the Vendean war, the name, in a military and political sense, being applied to great tracts of country which, geographically, it did not include.

We have already mentioned the enthusiastic attachment of the Vendean peasantry to their church and their priests—their attachment to their seigneurs or nobles was almost equally warm, and was produced and maintained by most powerful and direct causes. The seigneurs lived among them like fathers in the midst of great families, or as our Highland chieftains of old lived among their clans, sprouting and hunting with them, sharing in all their amusements and some of their labours, leaving the doors of their churches always open to them, and the banquet table in the hall spread for them on all festive occasions. On holidays the peasantry danced in the courts of the châteaux, and the ladies and the young people of the family generally joined them. The seigneurs were their own stewards, treating directly with their tenantry, going about the farms, sharing in their losses and gains, attending at their weddings and christenings, and drinking out of the same cup with the other guests. Pride and oppression were but little known, and there was a practical equality and freedom of social intercourse between man and man, which had been for long ages found quite compatible with a respect for rank and high name and ancient descent. When the wild boar, or the stag, or the wolf was to be hunted, the cure gave notice in the parish church, and the country turned out at the time and place appointed, every man with his gun, and this practice served their turn very effectually when those worst of wolves, the troops of the Convention, fell upon them. If the seigneurs had been wealthy, they might have been allured, like the nobility of the rest of France, to the capital, but their properties in general were but

small, and allowed only of a short occasional visit to Paris. These properties were divided into small farms which rarely changed hands, but passed from father to son. The annual rent of one of these farms rarely exceeded 25*l*. of our money, and the proprietor of twenty or thirty of such small farms was considered a very great seigneur indeed, the majority of them not possessing more, on an average, than eight or ten. The land was almost entirely devoted to pasturage and the breeding and rearing of cattle, and the profits were usually divided in certain fixed proportions between the landlord and tenant, or vassal, the latter paying, besides, some trifling feudal dues, either in kind or in personal service, but more commonly in the latter. Litigation was scarcely known among them, they had a proverb very fatal to one of the learned professions—in the list of Christian saints and martyrs there was not one that had been a lawyer—and thus the not very complicated disputes which arise were universally referred to arbitration. Shut out from the rest of the world, strongly attached to their old habits, and living but few towns, and those small and far apart, the Vendéans were considered as backward in civilization, but they were contented and happy as they were, and it may be doubted whether their ignorance was not as good a thing as the superficial civilization spread most thinly over the other provinces, and counted and vanished with the new philosophy. When men speak or write of the high civilization of France, and marvel how it could go hand in hand with such barbarous deeds, they seem to forget how little of real civilization existed out of Paris, and how naturally the popular instruction and philosophy which had been given in a crude form to the people led to the deeds that were committed. The Vendean priests are allowed even by their enemies to have been, in the vast majority of cases, men of an exemplary life and of a patriarchal purity and simplicity of manners. If the farmer or the poorest peasant was sick, the cure was sure to be at his bedside acting in the double capacity of doctor and priest; the cures were the chief arbiters in all their disputes, were the confidants of their misfortunes, the partners of their joys and festivities, and, however diluted by hagiologies and martyrologies and legends and miracles, the doctrines they taught, and the little books they distributed to the few that could read them, cherished a higher hope and nourished a purer morality than any that could be derived from the writings that were solely read in the more civilized parts of the kingdom. There remains to be mentioned what was perhaps the most powerful of all the causes that rendered the Vendéans the men they were, and made the great and palpable difference between them and their neighbours and fellow-subjects, and this was the difference of blood, race, or origin. The Vendéans, whatever they were, were not an almost unmixt Celtic race, like the mass of the French population, and at the same time there was little or no fusion of the better

blood of the Franks in them. They have been considered as descended from the mixed races of the Huns, Vandals, and Pictones, or Pictavi, who conquered these western coasts of France at the breaking up of the Roman empire. In form and feature they differ widely from their neighbours, and in another capital particular the difference is strongly marked—instead of loquacity, they are noted for their taciturnity. Their prevailing vice, too (they are said scarcely to have had any other), is not, speaking of the nation at large, a French vice, for it was a love of drink and of long carousals at certain seasons of the year. When roused they were hot and passionate, when driven to despair and made frantic by the barbarities committed on their women and children, they became ferocious, but they (the peasantry) had none of that horrible mixture of levity and cruelty which distinguished the inhabitants of nearly all the rest of France. Long years of the most bloody and devastating war that was ever waged in modern Europe, seem to prove their exemption from this last characteristic, as also to establish the fact that they were as brave as any of the French, and far more persevering. When the missionaries and apostles of the new doctrines came among these primitive people, they found, to their astonishment, that their eloquence and arguments, which had been so efficacious with the common people everywhere else, were quite thrown away, they found that the Vendéans preferred remaining as they were, with their seigneurs and their cures, and the brilliant traditions of a distant king, to grasping at the benefits held forth in that great bait-hook the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Vendéans were free enough and equal enough already. When the decrees of the revolutionary legislature sitting at Paris prohibited their paying the feudal dues to their seigneurs, they paid them all the same, vowing that they must do as their fathers had done before them, and they kept paying the dues when the Convention made such payment a capital crime. When the Vendéans were bid choose mayors, they everywhere elected their seigneurs, and, when the national guards were formed, they would have none but their seigneurs to command them. Though attached to the tradition of royalty, the king was certainly the last object they considered, and if they afterwards figured as enthusiastic royalists, it was rather because their seigneurs and priests were of that party, than on account of any very decided feeling of their own. They were first induced to take up arms by the decree of the Legislative Assembly, which exacted the civil oath from all priests, and by the severity with which it was attempted to carry that decree into execution. Their cures, who had almost all been born and bred among them, who spoke their curious and difficult dialect as their mother tongue, and who were endeared to them by a thousand other circumstances, were driven away or persecuted, and new men (*novi homines*, in more respects than one), constitutional priests who had sworn to nation,

law, and king, but who were suspected of scarcely believing in a God, were thrust into their places. But these intruders occupied empty churches, and they were shunned by their parishioners as if the plague were upon them. In a parish containing 400 inhabitants, one of these new curés could not obtain fire to light the church tapers. Like the Cameronians of Scotland, the people forsook all their churches, and gathered on the hill-sides and in the fields. There they heard mass and prayers from their old cures, and, as these meetings were liable to interruption, they always carried their muskets and staves and such other arms as they had with them. But in many places they soon drove away the intruders, and reinstated the former incumbents, while in the many more secluded and impracticable parts of the country neither the Legislative Assembly nor its successor the Convention had been able to execute the decrees. Several insurrections took place previously to the 10th of August, 1792. After a short harangue in the patois of the country, delivered outside of one of the churches, a whole parish flew to arms to rescue, as they said, their holy religion and their good priests, and in a very short time more than forty parishes joined them. Some national guards, mixed with gendarmes and other regular troops marched from the neighbouring department against these insurgents and as they were assisted without commanders and with out a plan, easily defeated them and killed about a hundred in the field. Not satisfied with this execution, the republicans proceeded to wreak their vengeance on all the prisoners they could take. The obstinacy or constancy of the vanquished was as great as the cruelty of the victors, though offered life and free pardon if they would only join in the cry of that day *Vive la Nation*! there were but very few who would accept of life upon these terms. The greater number crossed themselves, fell on their knees in prayer to Heaven and braved all that man could do to them. They were pitilessly massacred, and even at this stage of the revolution, or long before the Reign of Terror and the Montagnards began, their wives and children were in many instances butchered with them, and their bleeding members or fragments of their bodies were carried in triumph by the constitutionalists upon the points of their bayonets or on the heads of their pikes. After the murderous affair of the 10th of August, the Marquis de Lescure, and another young Vendean nobleman Count Charles d'Autichamp, who had both served in the army of Louis XVI., and who had narrowly escaped being massacred at the Tuileries with the Swiss, returned to their native province, and took up their abode at Clisson, in a house belonging to Lescure. This house soon became the asylum or rendezvous of many other seigneurs, among whom was Lescure's cousin, Count Henri de la Roche Jaquelin, a gallant young man, then only in the twenty-first year of his age. These nobles, who were all devoted royalists, hoped

that sometimes effort would be made to rescue Louis from his prison, and they kept themselves in readiness to act upon any summons, but no summons



COUNT HENRI DE LA ROCHE JAQUELIN

ever reached them, and after the execution of the king they seem to have lost all hope, and to have resigned themselves to the common fate which overhung all Frenchmen of their condition. Some of them were actually arrested and in prison at Bressuire, when the Convention in the month of March of the present year 1793 by calling for a conscription of 300,000 men, drove all the peasantry of the country into an open and connected insurrection, the young men everywhere refusing to enrol themselves in the service of a government which had persecuted their seigneurs and their priests. These insurgents invited all the priests and nobles to make common cause with them, and absolutely compelled many who were timid or despondent to take up arms and put themselves at their head. The civil war then assumed a royalist character, but the struggle was begun not so much in consequence of any preconcerted scheme or effort of the loyal nobility, as in consequence of a spontaneous movement of the common people. It commenced at various points almost at the same moment, or on the day appointed for drawing lots for the conscription. At Saint Florent, close upon the bank of the Loire, the republican commandant brought out a piece of artillery to intimidate the young men who refused to draw, and even fired it upon them, but the young men rushed upon the gun, got possession of it, put the commandant and his gendarmes to flight, burned all his lists and papers, and passed the rest of the day in joviality. The most respectable and moderate peasant in that district was Jacques Cathelineau, a wool dealer and waggoner, who was well aware of the terrible vengeance which the republicans would attempt to take for the insult offered to their commandant. Cathelineau called the villagers about him, told them what they had to expect, and advised them to take up arms and anticipate the republicans by proceeding to immediate action. The tocsin was rung in the parish church, and repeated by a church or

two within hearing, about a hundred men collected presently, and, putting himself at the head of them, Cathelineau marched to attack a party of about eighty republicans, who were posted at Jallars with a piece of artillery. On his road he was joined by some more peasants, capital marksmen all, for the country abounded with game, and they had been accustomed to shoot it with their seigneurs and without them, for there were no game-laws in the Vendée, but many of these bold fellows had no guns of their own, and went to the attack with nothing in their hands but clubs or staves. Armed as they were, they beat the republicans and captured their gun. This, the first piece of artillery they possessed, they named "The Missionary." On the next day Cathelineau, with an increased force, drove 200 republicans out of Chemille, and took three pieces of artillery. In another district a young man, who killed a gendarme who was attempting to arrest him, ran to his parish church, sounded the tocan, and collected another band. A third band was raised by Nicolas Stofflet, a man of German descent, who had been sixteen years a soldier, and who was now living as chasseur or huntsman to the Marquis de Maulevrier. Both these bands joined Cathelineau, who thereupon marched upon Chollet, the most important town in that part of the country, and garrisoned by 500 republicans. Victory still sat upon the crest of the wool-dealer, he took Chollet, killed a good many of his enemies, and possessed himself of many stands of arms, which were much wanted, together with a considerable quantity of ammunition and some money. After these successes the insurgents separated, and returned to their homes to keep Easter with the usual solemnity and festivity. Before they took the field again they invited, and more than half forced, M d'Elbée and M Artus de Bonchamp to put themselves at their head to fight in the cause of their God and king. Both these gentlemen had served in the army before the revolution with some distinction, and Bonchamp's military talents were of no common order. In another direction the odious conscription had already produced, or very soon did produce, similar risings of the people. A barber, who bore the ancient and aristocratic name of Gaston, killed a republican officer, put on his uniform, headed a band of young men, stormed Challans and Machecoul, and committed a terrible slaughter on the republicans in retaliation for the cruelties they had perpetrated at Paimbeuf, Pornic, and other places. The name of the barber, however, soon disappears from the history of this war, he having been killed by a republican bullet or bayonet. The insurgents in these parts then called upon M Charette de la Conterrie to take the command. Charette, descended from a noble family in Brittany, had served for six years in the French navy, but, having married a rich widow, he had settled upon her estate in the neighbourhood of Machecoul. It seems agreed on all hands that, though a determined royalist and devout Catholic, he required something very like com-

pulsion to induce him to accept the command or embark in the desperate war. He was, or he had been, notwithstanding his devotion, an effeminate, self-indulging, dissolute man, but he knew the country well, and the country-people had a high



CHARETTE

and not mistaken notion of his sagacity, ability, and bravery. From the time he took the command the insurgents in these parts became vindictive and cruel. It is said that instead of checking these evil passions, he encouraged them, in order that they should feel the impossibility of ever treating with the republicans or capitulating with the Convention. The republican general Quétineau had now seized M de Lescure, with several of his friends and inmates at Clisson, and had conducted them as prisoners to Breasuire, but Lescure's cousin, Henri de la Roche Jaquelein, had escaped to his own estate near Chatillon, and all the neighbouring parishes were flying to the white banner of the Bourbons which he had raised. By a rapid movement the young Henri not only drove Quétineau from Breasuire, but also compelled him to liberate Lescure and the other gentlemen he had arrested. Then Lescure for the first time put himself at the head of one of the insurgent bodies, and marched with his cousin de la Roche Jaquelein, d'Elbée, Bonchamps, Cathelineau, and Stofflet in the direction of Thouars, into which town Quétineau had thrown himself. The forces united under all these commanders amounted to 25,000 or 30,000 men, and between them and Charette, who soon collected from 15,000 to 20,000 men, there was another body in the very centre of the almost impenetrable country called the Bocage, under the command of M de Royrand, a brave old seigneur and knight of Saint Louis who had already obtained several important advantages over the republicans. The forces thus enumerated could not be kept in the field for any length of time, but for a defensive war they could always be collected again in a very few hours. Quétineau attempted to defend the passage of the river Thoué, which almost surrounds Thouars, but he was beaten back into the town and there reduced almost immediately to the hard necessity of sur-

rendering Here the Vendéans were generous, mild, and merciful, destroying nothing but the tree of liberty which the republicans had set up in the town, and the registers and papers of the administrations, against which the peasantry always showed a terrible animosity. The central administration of the Lower Loire sent a circular letter to the adjoining departments, calling upon all republicans to hasten to their succour, as the country was in flames, and the insurrection universal and terrible—as the tocsin was sounding in all directions, and the republican cause everywhere filling before the fury of these demons of royalists. The Convention passed the most tremendous decrees, and hurried off such troops as they could spare, but detachment after detachment, army after army, was beaten, or was brought to a pause by the natural difficulties of the country. The Bocage, which included about seven-ninths of the Vendean country, consists of low hills and narrow valleys, the valleys being traversed by innumerable brooks flowing in different directions, some towards the Loire, some more directly towards the sea. Along the Sèvre towards Nantes the country is hilly and wild, but generally the hills are not lofty, nor are the woods to be called forests. Hills, however there are everywhere and the whole country as its name (Bocage) denotes, is thickly dotted with trees and underwood, woods and groves. The inclosures like the farms, are small and always surrounded with quick hedges in which trees grow thickly. These very strong hedges exist everywhere, if the republicans cut their way through one, it was only to find dozens beyond it. Every estate great or small, was surrounded by a principal hedge, and then divided and subdivided by other hedges, by deep ditches, or by natural rivulets, every field had its enclosure, and the fields communicated with one another only by means of small wickets made of the same material as the hedges, and covered and concealed by leaves and briars. The inhabitants of the country could discover these openings, called *châlières*, and, if pursued, they could raise a wicket and replace it so as to render the spot where they passed imperceptible to their pursuers. Only one great road, that leading from Nantes to La Rochelle, then traversed the country, the other roads were cross-roads of the worst description—narrow passes sunk deep in a soft soil, between high hedges and the hedge trees which sometimes met overhead, and, where they were thickest, shut out the sun. Many of these passes served both for roads and for beds of brooks, or as water-courses in the seasons of heavy rains. One of these ways was like another, at the end of every field, or at least at the end of every estate, there was a cross-road, and the inhabitants themselves were bewildered in this endless labyrinth if they went a few miles from their own homes without a friendly guide. On the southern border of the Bocage is the ship of country called the Plain, where the brooks collect and form rivers

not easy to pass, and to the west, between the Bocage and the sea, is the Marais, or Marsh, intersected by innumerable ditches and canals. In this last direction there also lies, close in to the coast, the island of Noirmoutier, which the insurgents under Charette seized, and occupied for many months.

A veteran of the French army, who had served the republic in the war of the Vendée in 1793 and 1794, and who has since saved Louis Philippe in the same country in 1831 and 1832, has written or dictated an excellent account of the manner in which the Vendéans made war and availed themselves of the advantages their country presented.—“The Vendéans folded every strategic calculation of the military art. As for the army, which you expect every instant to encounter, it wishes like smoke, for in truth it has no existence. When a day is fixed on to strike a blow, it daybreak or even during the night the tocsin is sounded in the village designated as the point of union. The neighbouring villages reply in the same manner, and the villagers quit their cottages, if it be in the night or their ploughs if it be in the day, throwing upon their shoulder the gun which they scarcely ever quit. Having stuffed their belt with cartridges, they tie their handkerchief round a broad-brimmed hat which shades their sun burnt countenance, stop at their church to utter a short prayer, then inspired with a twofold faith in God and in the justice of their cause, they wend their way from all parts of the country to the common centre. Their chiefs soon arrive, who acquaint them with the cause of their being assembled, and, if the object be to attack some principal column these chiefs state the road which the column will pursue and the hour it will pass. Then when this information is well understood by all the chief in command gives them the plan of the battle in the following words, “*Ej arpilléz vous mes gens!*—Scatter yourselves, my fine fellows!” Immediately each breaks, not from the ranks, but from the group, marches off his own way, proceeds onward with precaution and in silence, and in a short time every tree, every bush, every tuft of furze bordering either side of the high road, conceals a peasant with a gun in one hand and supporting himself with the other, crouched like a wild beast, without motion and scarcely breathing. Meanwhile, the patriot column uneasy at the thought of some unknown danger, advances towards the defile, preceded by scouts, who pass without seeing, touch without feeling, and are allowed to go by scathless. But the moment the detachment is in the middle of the pass, jammed in between two sloping banks, as if it were in an immense rut, and unable to deploy either to the right or to the left, a cry, sometimes an imitation of that of an owl, issues from one extremity, and is repeated along the whole line of ambuscade. This indicates that each is at his

* *Quartier Général*, No. XXIX.—Mémoires de Madame la Marquise de La Roche-Jaquelin.

post. A human cry succeeds, one of war and of death. In an instant each bush, each tuft of furze, glares with a sudden flash, and a shower of balls strike whole files of soldiers to the earth without their being able to perceive the enemies who slaughter them. The dead and wounded lie piled upon each other on the road, and if the column is not thrown into disorder, and the voices of the officers are heard above the firing—if, in short, the troops attempt to grapple body to body with their assailants, who strike without showing themselves—if they climb the slope like a glacier, and scale the hedge like a wall the peasants have already had time to retire behind a second inclosure, whence the invisible firing recommences, as murderous as before. Should this second hedge be stormed in the same manner, ten, twenty, nay, a hundred similar intrichments offer successive shelters to this destructive retreat for the country is thus divided for the security of the children of the soil which seems to show a maternal solicitude for their preservation, by offering them a shelter everywhere, and their enemies everywhere a grave. What we have just stated explains how the Convention, which had conquered fourteen armies commanded by kings and princes, could never pacify La Vendee, kept in a state of rebellion by a few peasants, and how Napoleon who dictated his will to the whole of Europe, could never succeed in getting his orders executed in three of the departments of France.”*

We can only briefly mention the operations of the campaign of 1793 the details of which would fill a very large volume. For some time the "Blues," as they called the republican troops, were defeated with terrible loss in every encounter. Lescure and his brave young cousin, Henri de la Roche Jaquelein, captured the town of Fontenay, drove the two republican generals Sandos

[illegible]

and Chalbos into Niort, taking muskets, artillery ammunition, and other materials of war, which were greatly needed by the insurgents. Nearly at the same time Charette drove the republican general Boulard before him. Berruyer, the commander-in-chief of the whole country, was recalled by the Convention, and replaced by Biron, but Biron was as unsuccessful as his predecessor, and found himself still more embarrassed by the arrogant, insolent, and, for the most part, ignorant commissioners and political agents dispatched to the theatre of the war by the Convention and the Jacobin Club. Some of Biron's columns stopped short and refused to enter the labyrinths which had already been the graves of so many of their comrades. His generals of division, Coustard and Berthier, were both beaten with terrible loss, and were obliged to abandon the town of Saumur and a fortified camp, and to retire to Angers. In some of these affairs the Vendéans, now well armed, and furnished with artillery which they had taken from the enemy, fought admirably in the open field they were well commanded by some of their chiefs, and especially la Roche-Jaquelein and Cathelineau the wool-dealer, abounding in resources and military genius. Many of the peasantry had refused to cross the Loire or to go beyond the limits of their own country, many were compelled to return home to attend to the harvest and to their cattle, but still when "the Royal and Catholic army" quitted Saumur and marched down the right bank of the Loire to lay siege to the important city of Nantes, it was said to be nearly 30,000 strong. The chief command of it was now given to Cathelineau. The republicans, who had abandoned Angers at their approach, gathered in great strength within the walls of Nantes, where there was a strong Girondist party, but apparently no royalist party, or one so weak and timid that it ventured to do nothing. Charette came up to the left bank of the Loire with his insurgents, and on the 29th of June a bold attempt was made to storm Nantes, Charette attacking by the bridge which crosses the Loire, and Cathelineau falling on from the other side of the river. These united attacks



ATTACK ON NANTES. From *Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française*

lasted altogether for eighteen hours. Cathelineau had got well advanced into one of the faubourgs, when he fell mortally wounded. His people, his friends, carried off his body on their shoulders, and immediately after they all rushed to boats and rafts, crossed the Loire and retreated towards the interior of the Bocage. Westermann, who was detached to pursue them, could not follow far, but wherever he penetrated he set fire to the villages and châteaux, and massacred all he could find, men, women, and children, even as the Convention had decreed and ordered. But Westermann had scarcely done writing his boasting, extravagant dispatches to Paris ere he was surprised, surrounded, and thoroughly beaten by avenging bands, who cut his infantry to pieces, took all his artillery and ammunition and let nothing escape except himself and some 300 horse. The gentleness of the Vendéans had now given place to fury, and on the spots where the republicans had butchered their friends, wives, and children, and burned their homes and their cattle in their stalls, they massacred the Blues in heaps, giving hardly any quarter. Another attempt made by the republicans to penetrate into the Bocage by a route different from that which Westermann had followed was scarcely more successful, for, although they gained an unprofitable victory, they were defeated three days after near Vihiers, and with terrific loss. The troops never rallied until they reached Chiuon, fifteen leagues off, many of them did not think themselves safe until they got back to Paris, and three days after the battle only 4000 men could be collected out of an army of 10,000 or 12,000. Brewer Santerre got here that bitter taste of Vendean warfare which sent him back to the capital, where his exploits had been attended with so very little personal danger. The peasants knew he was in the battle, and they made the most desperate efforts to take him, having the intention of chaining him in an iron cage, as a punishment for his conduct to the king. The brewer owed his safety to his good horsemanship, and to his strong jumping horse which cleared a wall said to be six feet high, but which was more probably only four. At the end of July the Vendéans were masters of every inch of their own country, and the republicans gathered round it and, standing on the defensive, were frequently harassed and at times made to suffer great loss. Some royalist officers from the army of Condé on the Rhine joined the brave insurgents but they came in much smaller numbers than might have been expected. Perhaps, however, this was not to be very seriously regretted, for those who arrived did not agree very well with the Vendean chiefs, and with professional pedantry they wanted to make war according to old rules and systems, which were altogether inapplicable to the nature of the country and the condition and habits of the people. For the same reasons the co-operation of a regular army of any kind would have been of little or no avail: no such force could have acted conjointly with the

insurgents, and what made the strength of one description of force would have constituted the weakness of the other. In the month of August the Vendéans, having ventured out into the open country, were defeated at Laçon by the republican general Tuncq. A few days after they fought another battle precisely on the same ground, but with still worse success, for this time they were mowed down by an immense number of field-pieces, and they lost nearly all their own artillery. Partial successes were, however, making up for these losses, when the 20,000 regular troops who had capitulated to the King of Prussia at Mÿence, and a strong garrison which had capitulated to the Duke of York at Valenciennes, began to arrive on the borders of the Vendée with other columns of choice republicans. Seventy thousand troops of the line were thus collected round the devoted country and to these were joined upwards of 100,000 republican volunteers, national guardsmen, and armed men of all descriptions, every man between eighteen and fifty, in all the districts and departments round about, being compelled to march, under pain of being thrown into prison as *suspect*. These columns, which merited now the name given at a later period of "*Colonnes Infernales*," burned the country before them, and butchered all they could reach, not sparing so much as the infant sucking at its mother's breast. But still some of them met the fate they gave. One particular column, which had taken the name of "*Ils Vengeurs*" (The Avengers), were destroyed to a man, the women and children of the insurgents assisting in the massacre of the wounded and prisoners. There entered calculation as well as revenge into this Vendean cruelty. At the beginning of their war, being too poor to keep and feed the many prisoners they made, they liberated them all, after exacting from them a solemn oath not to serve against them in any future campaign, but the republicans were beginning to despise all such obligations the Convention, even during the supremacy of the virtuous Gironde, had decreed every man to be a traitor to his country that hesitated to break such an oath, and the prisoners returned to the Vendée to burn and lay waste the short ears of royalists as they did. The loss of human life in these regions exceeded that which the republicans sustained this year in all their other wars on nearly every side of France with foreign enemies, that being possible between Frenchmen which was scarcely possible between them and the European armies—absolutely no quarter being given or received. La Roche-Jaquelin and Lescure appear to have been the only Vendean chiefs that now attempted to moderate the fury of the peasants, and to preach mercy for the vanquished and prisoners. Charette is accused, by those who were at least as bloody as himself, of having been invariably cruel, and there is no evidence to disprove the charge. Charette was, indeed, the very man from whom cruelty might be expected. The

chiefs would not allow the contracting circle to gather around them and close upon them without making an effort to break the chain. After consultation and a midnight mass, they hoisted a white flag which had been embroidered for them by the Marchioness of la Roche-Jaquelein, and which had been blessed and consecrated by the priests, and followed by 40,000 men they advanced against the army of Mayence. This army, under the command of Kléber, reputed one of the very best of the republican generals, was stationed at Chollet, behind a river it enjoyed other local advantages it had thrown up some intrenchments, and it was supplied with artillery in that great profusion which was now becoming so common in French armies. Nevertheless, it was attacked and defeated, in spite of all the skill and bravery of Kléber. The day after this victory the Vendéans surprised and defeated a division commanded by Beyezer, wounded that general, and captured all his artillery and baggage. But Kléber had made a skilful retreat, several republican columns, scattered along a long line or portion of a circle, were concentrated on one point, the insurgents were checked in their advance, and then harassed in their retreat, and in one disastrous action Lescure was shot through the head by a musket-ball and nearly every chief who had not been wounded before was either killed or desperately wounded. Jealousies and quarrels broke out among the survivors, and Charette some time before this had separated from the main army to pursue some plan of his own, and finally to seek shelter in Isle Noirmoutier. Though fighting for every step, and losing great numbers of men in every day's march, the republicans were getting into the very heart of the Bocage, and the peasants, with their wives and children, and their herds, were flying from the wilderness they were making. Among the royalists who had come to join them was the Prince of Talmont, seigneur of Laval and Vitre who had formerly owned immense estates in Brittany, beyond the Loire, and who still possessed great influence among the Bretons of those parts. The prince is said to have been the first to suggest that the Vendéans should abandon their homes and their country, and throw themselves into Brittany, and it is further said that Bonchamp, who agreed with him, flattered himself with the hope of English assistance. Talmont marched away to occupy Varades, which commanded a passage of the Loire. The Vendean chiefs, however, determined to try the chances of another battle before they crossed the river, and wheeling round they fought Kléber once more at Chollet, the scene of their former victory. The battle, the fiercest of all that had been yet fought, lasted from noon till dark night, Bonchamp and d'Elbée were both mortally wounded, some thousands of men were destroyed, rather by the artillery than by any other arm, and then all the rest fled precipitately to the Loire, and commenced crossing that river. Eighty thousand fugitives, soldiers, women, children, the

sick, the aged, the wounded, crowded on the left bank, waiting, in an agony of impatience, the passing and re-passing of a few boats and rafts, which were all the means they had of getting across into Brittany. Behind them rose the smoke and flames of their burning villages, and every minute that passed was bringing the merciless republicans nearer to them. The Marchioness of La Roche-Jaquelein, who was among the fugitives with an infant of nine months old in her arms, compares the scene to the horrors of the Day of Judgment. The hapless fugitives, however, crossed the broad river with little loss, marched straight upon the town of Laval, defeated a commissioner of the Convention who tried to defend the town, and were received by the townspeople with open arms. They halted at Laval and in the neighbouring villages. Westermann, who was heading the pursuit after them, when near Laval, was met and defeated in the dark. On the next day the republican general Lecelle fell upon them with an army of 25,000 men, chiefly composed of regular troops, but by this time 6000 or 7000 Bretons had joined the royal standard, and once more the republicans were thoroughly defeated with frightful loss. No quarter was given—an entire corps who had laid down their arms were fusiladed. Young Henri de la Roche-Jaquelein was the commander-in-chief of the royalists on this occasion. Lecelle died of vexation and of fear of the guillotine; his second in command, rallying the flying republicans and endeavouring to make a stand, was defeated and slain. For a time the royalists seemed masters of the greater part of Brittany, but, instead of marching against Rennes, the capital of the province, the capture of which would have greatly encouraged the Bretons, while it would have given them the means of commanding a great extent of coast, and thereby of receiving succours from England, which our government was ready to send if they could have kept their ground in Brittany, after some idle talk about marching to Paris they put themselves under the guidance of a Norman who had taken part in the feeble Girondist insurrection in the Calvados, and, quitting Brittany altogether, they advanced into Normandy to lay siege to the town of Granville. The Bretons, who saw republican armies gathering fast in their own country, would not follow them into Normandy, and the Vendéans, after sustaining a repulse at Granville, fell back into Brittany with the desperate intention of cutting their way through that province, re-crossing the Loire, and returning into the Bocage. Fighting or skirmishing every day, and seeing their wives and children drop and die on the road from want and fatigue, they got back again to Laval. Even now they might have struck aside to the capture of Rennes, which was full of royalists, but they preferred continuing their retreat homewards and attacking Angers, which was full of determined republicans. Being completely foiled in this attempt upon Angers, they rushed to the right bank of the Loire in search of some bridge or passage.

In this disorderly retreat or headlong flight, an aunt of the Marquise de la Roche Jaquelein, the lady abbess of a monastery, fell into the hands of the republicans: she was eighty years old, but this did not prevent them from putting her to death—she was shot two days afterwards, with *seven hundred* other prisoners. Finding the main stream of the Loire guarded by republican columns, the fugitives fell back again, fought their way across one of its tributary streams, got to Mans, and there halted, to be attacked in a day or two by the republicans in great force. In a cold and dark December night they were driven out of Mans. Most of their women, unable to move any farther, concealed themselves in different houses in the town, but they were presently dragged forth into the market-place, and there fusilladed by the Blues, who are said to have laughed and joked as they fired upon them by platoons. The rout of Mans was very fatal, for there was a hot pursuit, and between the fire and sword of the enemy, and sickness and excess of fatigue, the road was strewed for miles with dead bodies. Those who were only dying were either dispatched by the soldiers on the spot, or carried into the towns to be guillotined or fusilladed there. The total loss was estimated at 15,000. After wandering for some days in the country between Mans and Laval, and between Laval and Chateaubriant, the fugitives made a rush to Ancenis, in the hopes of recrossing the Loire there. This was the spot where they had crossed the river two months before when flying from their homes. The enemy had lined the opposite banks with troops, and had brought a gun-boat up the river. La Roche-Jaquelein and Stofflet crossed the river and got separated from their men, who could not follow them, and who were thus left without any commander they trusted. They however, chose one Fleuriot to be their general. This choice is said to have offended Prince d'Almont, who now quitted the Vendéans. The prince was soon caught, was carried into Laval and shot at the gate of his own chateau. Fleuriot not knowing what course to take, hit upon the worst that could be taken. He retreated from Ancenis to Savenay, where he had the Loire on one hand, the river Vilain on the other, the sea close before him, and the reinforced republican armies behind him. The bridges over the rivers were all broken down, and all the boats and rafts were in the hands of the enemy. Surrender or capitulation was not to be thought of, as it could only lead to a worse death than that to be found in battle. They fought Kleber and his army during three successive days, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of December, but on Christmas-eve their column was broken, was driven into some marshes and destroyed by grape-shot and the bayonet. Between 5000 and 6000 perished with arms in their hands, all those that were disarmed and taken prisoners were fusilladed at Savenay. Some hundreds, however, escaped the pursuit of Westermann and his cavalry, got across the Loire, and joined Charette at Isle Noir-

moutier. Among these were d'Elbee, who was dangerously wounded, and many other officers who were in the same plight. The republican generals and the commissioners of the Convention wrote triumphantly to Paris that the Vendee was no more (*la grande Vendee n'est plus*) we shall find in the course of a few months that they were mistaken. Torrents of republican as well as royalist blood remained to be shed before the surviving Vendéans gave up the struggle.

In the mean time Carrier, *en mission* from the Convention, had established himself at Nantes, where he was committing atrocities which far surpassed those of Collot d'Herbois at Lyons. On entering the town he said, "We will turn all France into a cemetery rather than fail in regenerating it in our own way!" His first victims were not Vendéans, or royalists of any other kind, but republicans of the respectability order who had favoured the Girondists and betrayed with a half intention of joining them. With his guillotine *en permanence* he made their heads fly



off by scores, by fifties, and at last by hundreds in a day. When some of the constituted authorities of the place ventured to remonstrate he called them fools, that did not know their business, and threatened to guillotine every man of them. But in his blind extremities he was evidently supported and applauded by the sans culottes of the city, without whom, indeed he could have done but little, as there were never many troops in the town, and at times none at all except the national guards. The populace of Nantes must therefore share in the "deep damnation" of his guilt. The chief executioner, who had had work enough to kill him, died instantly a great number of candidates for his place presented themselves it was given by public trial to the man that could manage the guillotine and cut off heads with most dexterity, and the successful candidate was carried in triumph by the people of Nantes, and was then entertained at a public dinner, where he sat at the same table with Carrier and one or two other deputies and commissioners of the Convention. When the great re-

verses of the Vendéans began, when many were made prisoners, and others, trusting to promises of amnesty, went into Nantes and laid down their arms, Carrier's business and his pleasure were wonderfully increased. Leaving the guillotine for those who would have been republicans à la Gironde, he employed musketry and artillery upon the Vendéans. By his orders a grave was dug capable of holding eight thousand victims. But the united action of guillotine, cannon, musket, and bayonet was not quick enough for this representative of the regenerate French people, and still the Vendean prisoners came in in greater and greater numbers. The terrible proconsul, who had been a poor little lawyer in an obscure town among the mountains of Auvergne, is generally represented as a very ignorant fellow, but he had probably read Mazarin, and recollected that historian's account of the noyades or drownings at Paris in the fourteenth century.* Carrier, however, made improvements in the process, substituting for sacks great barges and other vessels, which were towed out to the mid stream of the Loire loaded with victims tied hand and foot. The experiment was first tried on fifty-eight Vendean priests, who were told that they were only going across the Loire to another prison, the prisons of Nantes being so crowded. The gabare in which they embarked had a *supper*, or moveable bottom, which dropped the bound priests into the river without admitting water enough to sink the craft. A few nights after, on the 14th of December, Carrier embarked 138 persons in the same manner, and, proud of his improvement in the work of destruction, he wrote a joyous report to the Convention, ending with the words, 'What a revolutionary torrent is this Loire!' *The Convention made honorable mention of his infernal letter.* Thus encouraged, Carrier and his numerous accomplices and coadjutors persevered in their labours and made new inventions in cruelty. Considering that time was lost in preparing the vessels *à son usage*, they embarked men, women, and children in a larger craft, drove them over its sides at the point of the bayonet, and kept up a fire of musketry on all that were long in sinking, or that rose to the surface of the water yet struggling for their wretched lives. After a time the cover of night was no longer considered necessary, the victims were flung into the river by broad daylight and in the most horrible manner. Women and girls were stripped stark naked in order that their beastly executioners might have their clothes young men and young women in this state of nudity were tied together hand to hand and foot to foot, and thus the monsters facetiously called making republican marriages — *marriages republicains*. Fifteen thousand individuals of all ages perished at Nantes by the guillotine, the fusillades and noyades, or by cold and hunger, or by the diseases

engendered in the crowded prisons. These horrors lasted for nearly four months, for Carrier arrived early in October, and was not recalled till the end of January.† He surpassed all these proconsuls in the amount of the mischief he did, being favoured by the circumstances and feelings of the place to which he was sent, but Lebon at Arras, Maignet at Orange, Tallien at Bordeaux, and other commissioners of the Convention sent to other towns and departments, showed that they were about equally indifferent to blood and human suffering.

Before the year ended the legislators of Paris voted that there was no God, and destroyed or altered nearly everything that had any reference to Christianity. Robespierre, who would have stopped short at deism, and who would have preserved the external decencies, was overruled and intimidated by Hebert and his frowzy crew, who had either crept into the governing committees or had otherwise made themselves a power in the state. The way, however, was made plain and easy to Hebert by the preceding labours of the philosophers, by the rapidly growing unbelief of the Parisians and the majority of town-dwelling Frenchmen, by the contempt for a long time cast upon everything that was old, and by the cool and deliberate proceedings of the Convention itself. All popular journalists, patriots, and public bodies had begun dating *First Year of Liberty*, or *First Year of the Republic*, and the old calendar had come to be considered as superstitious and slavish, as an abomination in the highest degree disgraceful to free and enlightened Frenchmen. Various petitions for a change had been presented, and at length the Convention had employed the mathematicians Romme and Monge, and the astronomer Laplace, to make a new republican calendar for the new era. These three philosophers, aided by Fabre d'Églantine, who, as a poet, furnished the names, soon finished their work, which was sanctioned by the Convention and decreed into universal use as early as the 5th of October. It divided the year into four equal seasons and twelve equal months of thirty days each. The five odd days which remained were to be festivals, and to bear the name of *Sansculottides*. Thiers calls this national festival of five days at the end of the year a beautiful idea, and says that the name of Sansculottides, which belongs to the times, is not more absurd than many other names which have been adopted by different peoples. The term scarcely needs translation. Mr Carlyle renders it into English by "Days without Breeches," and it means that, or the Days of the Breechless. One of these five days was to be consecrated to Genius, one to Industry, the third to Fine Actions, the fourth to Rewards, the fifth to Opinion. "Thus last fête," quotes Thiers, "thoroughly original and perfectly adapted to the French character, was to be a species of political carnival of twenty-four

* See Historical History of England vol. ii p. 338.
† But here Lebon, who had been a sailor for 12 years, recommended to the Convention long, before this method of *noyading* refractory priests.

* De Barante, Mémoires Historiques, &c. Art. Carrier — Reports and debates in Hist. Parlement.

hours, during which it would be permitted to say and write with impunity about every public man whatsoever the people might choose or writers might imagine. It was for opinion to do justice on opinion, and for all magistrates to defend themselves by their virtues against the truths and the calumnies of that day. Nothing was greater and more moral than this idea. We must not, because a stronger destiny has swept away the thoughts and institutions of this epoch, strike with ridicule its vast and bold conceptions." In leap-years, when there would be six days to dispose of, the last of those days or *Sanaculottides* was to be consecrated to the Revolution, and to be observed in all times with all possible solemnity. The months were divided into three decades, or portions of ten days each, and, instead of the Christian sabbath, once in seven days, the *decadi*, or tenth day, was to be the day of rest—which Thiers, who admires, or pretends to admire, every part of the new calendar, thinks a very excellent arrangement. The decimal method of calculation, which had been found so convenient in money and in weights and measures, was to preside over all divisions: thus, instead of our twenty-four hours to the day and sixty minutes to the hour, the day was divided into ten parts and the tenth was to be subdivided by tens and again by tens to the minutest division of time. New dials were ordered to mark the time in this new way, but, before they were finished, it was found that the people were puzzled and perplexed by this last alteration, and therefore this part of the calendar was adjourned for a year, and the hours, minutes, and seconds were left as they were. As the republic commenced on the 21st of September, close on the vernal equinox, the republican year was made to commence at that season. The first month in the year (Fabre d'Églantine being godfather to them all) was called *Vendémiaire*, or the vintage month, the second *Brumaire*, or the foggy month, the third *Frimaire*, or the frosty month. These were the three autumn months. *Nivose*, *Pluviose*, and *Ventose*, or the snowy, rainy, and windy, were the three winter months. *Germinal*, *Floreil*, and *Prarial*, or the bud month, the flower month, and the meadow month formed the spring season. *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, and *Fructidor*, or reaping month, heat month, and fruit month, made the summer, and completed the republican year. In more ways than one all this was calculated for the meridian of Paris, and could suit no other physical or moral climate. As for universality these enlightened philosophers had committed mistakes as gross as those of Mahomed. But the strangest thing about this republican calendar was its duration. It lasted till the 1st of January, 1806.

In the abolition of religious workshops (*abolition des cultes*) Hebert was potently assisted by his official superior Chaumette, procureur of the commune, by l'Huilier, procureur of the department, by nearly all the notables of the commune and present leaders of the Cordelier club, by the majority of journalists and pamphleteers, and by the

orator of mankind, Anacharsis Clootz, whose madness had not diminished in the midst of the increasing insanity of others. But the fierce atheism of these men (it was fiercer, more intolerant and persecuting, than any religious bigotry) must, like the cruelty of the pro-consuls or commissioners in the departments, have been powerless and ineffectual, or only effectual in bringing about their immediate overthrow and destruction, if there had not been in the dogmas they taught something very acceptable and captivating to the French people, or if that people had not been prepared for the reception of their doctrines. It is in attempting to throw the bloody crimes and monster us folk of the revolution upon a few scapegoats, the crimes and follies were *national*, and the great body of the people must bear the weight of them. Another great labourer in the vineyard of atheism was Fouché, of whom we have caught a glimpse at Lyons. This man was a native of Nantes, and had there been educated for a priest. While *en mission* in the department of L'Allier, he took it upon himself to regulate and reform the public burying-grounds, which he and his guillotine man were filling at a rapid rate, and, knocking down the cross and the text from Scripture which stood over the gate of a cemetery, he set up a statue of Sleep, to intimate that death was but an everlasting sleep. Fouché's device was considered pretty and poetic, and, before the Convention, or the commune of Paris, which was the great active agent in this new reformation, legislated or decreed upon the subject, the example was followed in various parts of the country. Where they could not readily obtain statues in stone or wood, the people satisfied themselves with inscriptions, painted in large black letters, such as "Death is Sleep," "Hic sunt dormientes," "Death is an eternal sleep," &c.* Chaumette, who took in hand all the ceremonies of Paris, and entirely changed their appearance, was a sentimental atheist, who was wont to say that he should like to inhale the soul of his father in the sweet breath of flowers. Anacharsis Clootz was a political atheist, who considered religion as the only obstacle to the establishment of a universal republic and of the worship of pure reason all over the earth. In his eyes deism was as detestable as catholicism, and a God was as much out of place in a republic as a king. There was, he said, no God but the people, the God People could not kneel before its divine self—could only worship pure and immortal Reason. Therefore, as he told the Convention (not without applauses from House and gallery), the sooner they put their God among the *ci-devans*, among the things which had been, but were no more, the better for France, the better for all mankind. Clootz put himself in close communication and fellowship with Gobel, the constitutional

* At the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 traces of these inscriptions were visible in many parts of France. Who the bigoted aristocrats were who did they had been merely covered with a little plaster or whitewash and this covering had fallen off and had left the letters bare and visible.

bishop of Paris and primate of the revolutionary Gallican church, whose previous antics proved him to be a performer that would take any cue or dance to any tune. While this Gobel was hesitating about the expediency and profitableness of abandoning his church, efforts were made among the constitutional clergy in other directions, and, apparently without any prompting from the central committee of atheism at Paris, one Parens, a curé in the province, addressed a letter to the Convention, in which he stated that he was ashamed of preaching a lie, and would preach Christianity no more, that he resigned his stipend, and only hoped that a generous nation would provide for his subsistence by giving him a pension. This letter, which further declared all priests to be charlatans, was honourably received in the august Areopagus. Thus an imitation was given to other renegades. Cloutz, aided by Chaumette, Hebert, Momoro, a printer, Grammont, an actor, Ronsin, who had been a writer of plays, but who was now general of that Parisian army called *par excellence* the Revolutionary, Vincent a clerk in the war office Burdon de l'Oise, and others who had entered into the fanatical league against all religion, prevailed at last over the doubts and misgivings of Gobel, and arranged the dramatic scene in which that unprelatical primate was to resign his mitre. The letter from the curé Parens had already been handed over to the secretaries for insertion in the journals, when Gobel, with his Chapter, or the greater part of it, attended by Mayor Pache, the municipality, and the council of the department went in procession to the Convention. Printer Momoro opened the business by telling the citizen president and the citizens legislators that the bishop of Paris and many other priests, conducted by Reason, were come to strip themselves, in the bosom of the Convention, of the character and attributes imposed on them by Superstition. Then Gobel, with the red nightcap of liberty on his head, his crozier in his hand, and his mitre under his arm, stepped forward and said that he was born a plebeian, and loved liberty and equality, and recognised the sovereignty of the people before the first Assembly published the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that the will of the sovereign people was to him the supreme law, that he knew no duty so sacred as that of submission to the will of the people; that it was the will of the people that had placed him in the see of Paris, that now, as the revolution was advancing to its happy end, and bringing all opinions round one political centre, he thought there could be no public and national worship but that of Liberty and Holy Equality, because the sovereign people so willed it—*pari que le souverain le veut ainsi*—and that, true to his principles, and submissive to the will of the people, he from this moment and for ever renounced his rank and dignity and the exercise of his functions. And, having so said, he deposited his mitre and his crozier and his episcopal ring on the table of the House. Then the vicars and canons and other priests who had

followed him thither did the like, resigning their clerical titles and insignia, and declaring that henceforth they would worship only Liberty and Equality and Reason. Those of them who had come to the House with caps or bonnets or broad-brimmed hats, threw them away and put on the red worsted nightcaps. The president of the Convention (Lalor, a lawyer from Chaumont) made an ecstatic speech, and gave the accolade, or fraternal embrace, to un-bishoped Gobel. Chaumette, in equal ecstasy, accoladed the canons, vicars, &c., and led them through the hall in their red caps. The constitutional priests who were members of the Convention, determined not to be left behind by priests who were not legislators, instantly began to abjure the old creed and to take on with the new. Protestant ministers joined the Catholic priests, and Julien of Toulouse, a Calvinistic preacher, declared, for himself and his brethren, that Protestantism was not much better than Catholicism, that there ought to be no other church than the sanctuary of the laws, no other idol than Liberty, no other worship than that of the country, no other gospel than the republican constitution which the Convention had given to freed France, no other code of morals than that of equality and universal benevolence. Only Gregoire, constitutional bishop of Blois, who really appears to have united the fanaticism of religion with the fanaticism of republican politics, disturbed the unanimity of these strange churchmen by declaring that he was a Catholic by conviction and by sentiment, a priest by his own choice, and a bishop by the free election of the people. Some members of the Convention cried out that there was no wish to force any one, and Thuriot suggested that Gregoire should be left to consult his conscience, in order to discover whether superstition, which had given birth to despotism, could be useful to the progress of liberty and equality. Gregoire never recanted, but the rest of the constitutional bishops and clergy sent in their renegations, or came to present them in person. It was the 7th of November when Gobel led off the dance. On the 10th Abbé Sieyès, who had long been sitting a silent member in the Convention, ruminating some new constitution which should succeed that of Herault de Sechelles, rose to express his exceeding great joy at the triumph of reason over superstition and fanaticism and to proclaim that no worship but that of reason and liberty and equality suited a republic, or was worthy of the French people. On the same day was celebrated the first Feast of Reason. Chaumette, on the 7th (Gobel's day), had said that Reason merited a place in the brilliant epochs of the French revolution, and he had then and there petitioned the Convention to charge its Committee of Public Instruction to give a place to the Festival of Reason in the new calendar. As neither the Convention nor its education committee attended to Chaumette's petition, he settled the matter himself with the general council of the commune, who ordered that the festival should be

celebrated on the 10th in the ci-devant metropolitan church or cathedral of Notre Dame—that the bands of the national guards and other musicians should meet in that church, and play and sing patriotic hymns before the statue of Liberty, which should be raised in the place where the statue of the ci-devant Holy Virgin had formerly stood. But printer Momoro, to whom the management of the spectacle was mainly intrusted (punter David not being ordonnateur on this occasion), went far beyond the letter of this municipal order. Besides the bands and the singers, Momoro mustered all the opera girls and grisettes of Paris, turned the interior of the old Gothic cathedral into a theatre, got a danseuse of repute to figure as Liberty and made his own wife do the part of the Goddess of Reason. Over the spot where the high altar had stood (for altars, lateral chapels, and crucifixes were already all swept away or concealed by canvas hangings), there was a lofty platform, covered and painted so as to represent a mountain, and on the summit of this mountain there was a temple dedicated to Philosophy, and surrounded by the statues and busts of the philosophers who had most contributed to bring about the revolution and this age of Reason, such as Voltaire, Diderot, &c. While the bands and chorus-singers stationed at the foot of the mountain made sweet republican music, two troops of young women (the opera girls, and grisettes, and other denizens of the Palais-Royal) thinly clad in white, crowned with oak leaves, and carrying torches in their hands (torches of Truth), traversed the mountain, descended, and re-ascended it, then Liberty (a premiere danseuse of the opera) came out of the temple of Philosophy, and set herself down upon a green canvas hillock, to receive the adorations, or homages, of the republicans and republicanesses, who sung a hymn in her honour, the words by Chemier, the music by Gossec. When the hymn was over, Liberty rose from her green seat, walked back to the temple of Philosophy, paused at the threshold, cast a fond glance upon her worshippers, and disappeared within the temple, in the midst of shouts of joy and enthusiasm, and oaths of eternal fidelity to her. Thus far we follow the account which Momoro himself gave of the affair in the newspapers. The printer may possibly have exaggerated the effect produced by his own spectacle; yet it really appears that the Parisians enjoyed the sight exceedingly. Of his own wife and her doings, and her dress or undress, as the goddess of Reason, he modestly says nothing, but there are accounts of her appearance from other pens. The commune, the council of the department, and all the constituted authorities, attended this morning in Notre Dame, or now Temple of Reason, except the National Convention, which was busy in preparing decrees for the abolition of the old religion, the seizure of church utensils, &c. In consequence of the absence of the legislature, it was resolved that the performance should be repeated in the evening,

when the deputies might have more leisure, and that they should be invited to the spectacle by the goddess of Reason in person, and by her orator, Chaumette, procureur of the commune. As evening approached, an immense procession, the sections of Paris and the magistrates of that city, marched to the Convention with the living statue, the flesh-and-blood goddess of Reason. They were admitted into the hall with beating of drums and flourishes of trumpets, and cries of "Long live the republic! Long live Reason! Down with fanaticism!" The goddess (Mrs Momoro), seated on a classical chair carried on the shoulders of four tall citizens in Roman costume, wore a white dress, pure and transparent, a sky blue mantle, a red cap of liberty, her hair flowed loosely about her neck and shoulders (which the mantle was not meant to cover), and she carried in her right hand a pike, the tip of which was not of iron, but of ebony. She was surrounded by the young women in thin white dresses (the opera girls and grisettes). The citizens who bore her halted right in front of the president's chair, and then the citizenesses in white, and the citizens in black, blue, and brown, sang a hymn to her honour. This done, Chaumette told the legislators that Fanaticism had lost his hold on men's minds, that his squinting eyes could not bear the dazzling light, that the ancient temples were now purified and regenerated, that to-day an immense people had gathered under the Gothic roofs, which for the first time had been made to echo with truth, that there the French had performed the only true worship. "Yes," he continued, "we have abandoned our inanimate idols for Reason, for this anmate image, this masterpiece of nature!" He pointed to the goddess on the citizens' shoulders, and the goddess of Reason, *alias* Mrs Momoro, smiled, as opera divinites smile or smirk. Chaumette then demanded that the ci-devant church of Notre Dame should be henceforward consecrated solely to the worship of Reason. La-capuchin Chabot put the demand into a motion, the Convention hurried to vote it: it was voted by acclamation and the legislators were thanked with signs and kisses—with kisses from the goddess herself, whose only ungratified wish now was to see them all in the temple they had consecrated to her. And after kissing and accolading the goddess, the conscript fathers formed in processional order, followed her to Notre Dame, and joined the commune and all the magistrates in singing chorus to the hymn in her praise. "Now," said the 'Journal of Paris,' "we may safely say that we have got rid of superstition, that the republican decades have killed the Christian Sabbath!"*

Celebrations of the like kind soon followed in other churches in Paris, and in nearly all the departments. In some of the churches the installation of the goddess of Reason was accompanied by the most revolting obscenity—by feasting, drinking, smoking, carmagnole dancing in the

* Newspapers of the day in Hist. Parliament.

naves, and orgies beyond the pillars and in the side chapels behind the canvas, which can be imagined, but may not be described. Under the diligent care of Hébert, Chaumette, and their crew, the new worship, which was to be solemnised on every decade, or tenth day, was nicely regulated. The mayor (Pache still held that office in Paris, and continued to hold it till the month of May, 1794), the municipal officers, the public functionaries of various orders, were the officiating priests: they read and expounded the Rights of Man, the constitutional acts, and the laws that were made by the Convention to keep the republic standing and going, and they also gave an analysis of the news from the armies, with oratorical accounts of all the brave deeds that had been done or made known between one decade and the other. In imitation of the terrible Lion's Mouth of the old Venetian republic, there was a strong box called Truth's Mouth placed in the temple of Reason, to receive denunciations, informations, or advice useful to the republic. Every decade the receptacle was opened, and the letters and papers found within it were read. Generally some orator pronounced what they called a moral discourse, and always the ceremonies ended with music and republican songs. Two galleries were appropriated, one to old people and one to citizenesses in the family way, the first gallery bearing the inscription, *Inspecta la matrisse*—the other, *Respect et soins aux femmes enceintes*.*

The pillage, mutilation, and desecration which had been going on in nearly all the churches ever since 1790 now became wholesale plunder and open destruction. Chaumette led the van by demolishing on the 11th of November, the day after the first festival of Reason, the demolition of the statues of saints. Hébert wanted to knock down all church towers and steeples: as things contrary to the line and principles of equality. Before this most of the church bells had been seized and melted, and now there went forth a decree that no village or country-town was to keep more than one bell, which was to serve for sounding the tocsin. The sacred vessels, the reliquaries, the rich shrines, all the costly ornaments and furniture of churches, abbeys, and religious houses were seized by mobs of the people, who generally professed to carry every fraction of the property to the Convention or to the local authorities, to be offered up on the altar of the country, but who, in most cases, appear to have appropriated no small portion of the spoil to their own use and profit. Sculptures, and paintings, and carvings, beautiful and valuable as works of art, or interesting from their antiquity, were mutilated or destroyed (if of bronze or the more precious metals, they were melted), hardly anything was spared, the graves of the dead were not respected. The decree of the Convention, which ordered leaden coffins to be turned into bullets, had led to some rummaging in cemeteries and church-vaults, but now the sanc-

* Thiers

tity of the grave was violated for spleen, spite, or mere sport, or in the hope of finding valuable relics, or out of a beastly fanaticism which could not tolerate the decencies of Christian interment, or the distinctions which wealth and affection, or the gratitude of sovereigns and governments, and popular communities, had made in former days between the remains—in themselves equal enough!—of different individuals. This war on tombs raged all over France, but it was nowhere else so fierce as at the abbey of Saint-Denis, the burying-place of kings, the Westminster Abbey of the kingdom. There the dead were dragged out of their tombs with shouts, with laughter, with infernal pranks, which no people but the French could have committed, and which no writer of any other nation can describe. The best and the worst of their kings were exposed to equal indignities. No distinction was made as to sex, or virtue, or valour, or even military fame: if the embalmed remains or the mouldering bones were those of an aristocrat, they were cast forth, kicked about, or humiliated and examined, and exhibited with an apish curiosity scarcely less disgusting than the tiger ferocity, that other element of the national character. Marshal Turenne and Laura de Sade, in very different parts of France, were subjected to the same treatment: the great warrior, who lay in Saint Denis, near the tomb of the Constable du Guesclin, was thrown out among kings and princes, warriors, and state-men, the fair lady whom Petrarch has immortalised lay at Avignon, near the church where the poet had first seen her, and her embalmed body was dragged out, was stripped, and exhibited in the streets with the most brutal indignities.

The long processions of the sans-culottes, with the spoils of the abbey of Saint-Denis carried in eighteen carts, the deputations to the Convention of market-women and prostitutes dressed in priests' garments, the carmagnole dances that were danced, and the frothy songs that were sung in the hall of the legislature, and the thousand other farces that were played during this heyday of Hébertism and Atheism, must all pass without further notice. If the outraged dead—even the dead who had been but a very short time in their graves—could have opened their eyes and ears, they must have felt that they were in a new world. By this time everything seemed revolutionised and changed—dress, language, manners, names of things, places and persons. In the niches at the corners of streets, which had once been occupied by statues or pictures of the Madona, stood the hideous busts of Marat, the names of the streets and squares, palaces, and other public buildings, nay, of half of the towns and villages, were altered, and as for the people, they had abolished the use of Christian names, and had all become Brutuses, Catos, Mutus-Scævolas, Anaxagorases, &c. &c.

A.D. 1794. On the 21st of January, when the British parliament met, the speech from the throne

and the arguments of ministers urged the necessity of continuing the war with an increase of vigour, inasmuch as the wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, which the French had adopted, had displayed itself fully to the world, and made it more than ever impossible to think of treating with such an enemy. On the other side the opposition urged that the constant failures of the armies of the coalition, and the victories and triumphs of the French republicans, rendered the prosecution of the war hopeless and ruinous, and that, as we must recognise their government and negotiate with it at last, the best thing we could do would be to acknowledge it and treat with it at once, leaving the other powers of Europe to follow their own course. Amendments to the address, requesting his majesty to take the earliest opportunity of concluding peace with France, were moved in both Houses, but the failures on the continent had not yet brought about any popular discouragement, the successes of the French had not increased the number of the Foxite party, who had always predicted those successes as certain and inevitable, and in the Commons the amendment was rejected by 277 to 59, in the Lords by 97 to 12. Although sure of exhibiting their numerical weakness at every division, Fox and his friends lost no opportunity of attacking the war measures of government. Only on the vote for augmenting the navy to 85,000 men they agreed with ministers. When it was proposed to raise the regular army to 60,000 men (far too small a force), they renewed their opposition on both all their vigour or eloquence, and they were unfortunately furnished with strong facts and arguments wherewith to throw opprobrium and contempt on the way in which the war had been managed. There was, however, the usual unfairness of party—and, whatever may be said of the spirit and motives of some of the members of this opposition, or of the good services they did in many instances in checking a certain tendency to despotic measures, we believe it is now pretty generally admitted by the candid and well informed, that there never was a set of men more thoroughly imbued with the mere spirit of party, or more personally animated against a ministry. In all their proceedings their eyes seemed fixed rather upon William Pitt than upon the fate of Europe. When that minister said in one of his speeches that France had been converted into an armed nation, they laboured to show that it was to him and his policy that this conversion was owing, overlooking the facts (or hoping to make the world overlook them) that France was one great camp or drill ground before any war with foreign powers began, that the French had declared war against all established governments whatsoever, and had, wherever they could reach them, preached insurrection and revolution to the subjects of those governments, and finally, that an armed democracy like the French, even though less addicted by temperament and old habit to war and conquest, must inevitably spread itself, and seek not merely

aggrandisement, but employment and food among its neighbours.

On the 2nd of February the minister laid before the House of Commons an estimate of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war. He stated that the interior strength of the kingdom, including regulars, militia, fencibles, and some volunteer corps which had been raised, amounted to about 140,000 men, and that there were 60,000 German troops in the pay of Great Britain. The total of the supply requisite for this force he calculated at 19,939,000, and among his ways and means he proposed some new taxes, and a loan of 11,000,000. On this occasion he moved that the double taxation to which the Roman Catholics had been liable in times of war should be abolished, and this, with all his other propositions, was voted forthwith. On the 17th of February the Marquess of Lansdowne moved in the Lords, "That his majesty should be earnestly requested to declare, without delay, his consent to enter into a negotiation for peace with France, upon such equitable terms as would evidently tend to secure its duration, and that he would signify his determination to his allies, to the intent of putting an immediate stop to hostilities." There was little new in the debate which followed, except a lamentation from the noble marquess, that, while we and our allies were involving ourselves in a hopeless contest, Russia, left to herself, was pursuing her schemes of aggrandisement, and was daily becoming more formidable to the independence of Europe. The motion was finally negatived by 103 against 13. On the 6th of March Pitt moved for an augmentation of the militia, and for the levy of a volunteer force of horse and foot in every county, intimating that the chances of war possibly might expose the coast of Great Britain to invasion. The motion was carried, but not without vehement opposition, Fox and Mr Grey asserting that all that we had got by the war and the coalition was the chance of being invaded. Strong objections were taken to a requisition circulated by ministers, and to a subscription entered into by country gentlemen and others for the purpose of providing arms and other necessities for the volunteer corps. Sheridan moved, "That it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan of money to the crown without consent of parliament." He spoke of the feeling which had led to the subscription as an infatuation, and yet said that the list of subscribers was chiefly composed of the servants, dependents, and emsaries of the ministry. The previous question was carried by a large majority. The small minority, and more especially Sheridan, continued to palliate the massacres and atrocities committed in France, and, as they had urged in the preceding session that we might very decently and honourably negotiate with Lebrun, Brissot, and the Girondists, so they maintained that we might now negotiate with Robespierre, Hebert, and the Jacobin executive. The minister brought a bill

into the House of Commons to enable French royalists and emigrants to enlist in the service of the king of Great Britain on the continent of Europe, and to employ French officers as engineers, under certain restrictions. Two amendments were offered—one by the attorney-general, to exact the oath of allegiance from such as enlisted, the other by Sheridan, to limit the number of such French troops at any time stationed in the kingdom to 5000, and both were adopted by the House. Nevertheless Pitt's bill was violently opposed in its after-stages by Sheridan, Fox, and others of that party. While it was under debate, Burke made one of his passionate and splendid harangues against the nature and tendency of the whole French system, insisting that it was better to submit to any cost, sacrifice, and hazard, than to allow the lawless career of men who, under pretext of asserting the liberties of mankind, were seeking the extension of their dominions, the increase of their influence and power the propagation and enforcement of their destructive principles. In the end, the minister's proposition was carried in the Commons by the usual majority. When the bill came to be debated in the upper House, the Marquess of Lansdowne declared that the common people of France had benefited by the revolution—which was true and in the manner we have explained—and Lord Stanhope expressed dissatisfaction and anger at some persons of elevated rank in this country who had spoken disparagingly of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The subsidiary treaties concluded with some of the powers of the coalition, who were too poor to maintain the expenses of the war without English money, were criticised and condemned by the opposition in an unsparring manner, and this censure became the most violent when parliament was informed by royal message that a large subsidy had been granted to the King of Prussia. Every ministerial motion on these subjects was, however, carried by an undiminished majority. On the 30th of May the Duke of Bedford produced a series of resolutions binding the government to terminate the war, and on the same day Fox moved similar resolutions in the Commons. The arguments used were precisely the same as those which had been refuted by Burke in the preceding session—his grace was defeated by 113 against 12, and Fox by 208 against 55. Before this time the news of many fresh reverses and monstrous blunders on the part of the coalesced powers had reached England, but the intelligence which came at the same time of the augmented and still augmenting atrocities in France encouraged the belief that such a system could not possibly sustain itself much longer. Fresh efforts were made to get up popular petitions for a peace, but the vast majority of the people had conceived a horror and loathing of the French republicans—in many places an extravagant fear that there were men in England capable of imitating their bloody and sa-

crilegious deeds—and, except among some political clubs, the members of which were at open enmity with the church or the state, or with both, no progress was made in this petitioning.

The heat of some of these political societies (a scarcely visible minority), and the panic-dread inspired in the immense majority of all classes and conditions of the nation, led to strong measures on the part of government, and to some extreme proceedings, the political wisdom of which was questioned at the time, and will perhaps remain for ever doubtful. Of the madness and perilous tendency of some of these political clubs there can indeed be little doubt, but there may be a rational difference of opinion as to their power or capability of doing mischief in England or Scotland. The heat and violence of both parties was, for very obvious reasons, greater in Scotland than in England, although some of the English societies had certainly gone to great lengths, first in corresponding with the Jacobins, and afterwards in holding them up as models to their countrymen.

Proceedings against some of these over-hot reformers had been commenced before the High Court of Justiciary sitting at Edinburgh in the beginning of 1793, the indictments charging sedition and seditious libel, but not high treason. The first person tried was one James Tytler, a chemist, residing in King's Park in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, who had written and published an inflammatory address "To the People and their Friends," and a paragraph besides, in which he asserted that all the unrepresented classes were robbed and enslaved, and recommended them to pay no more taxes until universal suffrage were established. Not appearing in court, he was outlawed, or, in Scotch legal phraseology, he was adjudged "to be an outlaw and fugitive from his majesty's laws," and ordained "to be put to his highness's horn, and all his moveable goods and gear to be escheat." His bail, two Edinburgh bookbellers, were made to pay the amount of their bond and penalty, being the insignificant sum of 600 merks Scots. Three days after this (on the 8th of January, 1793) John Morton, a printer's apprentice, James Anderson and Malcolm Craig, both journeyman printers in Edinburgh, were put upon their trial, charged with sedition, for having come into the castle of Edinburgh with intention to seduce a corporal and some soldiers, for having, in the said castle, drunk as a toast "George the Third and *la t*, and damnation to all crowned heads," for having told the soldiers that their pay was much too small, and held out to them the prospect of higher pay if they would only join a certain description of men whom they styled "The Friends of the People," or a "Club for Equality and Freedom." The trial lasted three days, and ended in sentencing the three young men to nine months' imprisonment, after which they were to give security in 1000 merks Scots each, for their good behaviour for three years.

The next trial was that of John Elder, bookseller of Edinburgh, and William Stewart, merchant in Leith, who were charged with writing and printing a seditious libel, entitled "Rights of Man Delineated, and the Origin of Government." The merchant, who had fled, was outlawed, but proceedings were dropped against the bookseller. There followed in rapid succession the trials of James Smith, gunsmith of Glasgow, and John Menning, printer of the same town, who had got up a club called "The Sons of Liberty and Friends of Man," which was to co-operate with another society in Glasgow, called "The Friends of the People," and "with the innumerable host of reform associations in Scotland, England, and Ireland, for the glorious purpose of vindicating the native rights of man, liberty, a fair, full, free, and equal representation of all the people in parliament," &c., and who had taken for their guide—"the whole works of the immortal author of the Rights of Man, Thomas Paine," and then those of James Callender, Walter Berry, and James Robertson, booksellers of Edinburgh, for writing and publishing various libels against the constitution, &c., in one of which libels it was said that our most excellent constitution was in practice altogether a conspiracy of the rich against the poor. One or two absented themselves and were outlawed, the others were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and no more attention was paid to these Scots trials than to others of a like kind which had taken place in England, until proceedings were commenced against Thomas Muir, Esq., and the Rev. Thomas Fisher Palmer Muir, a member of the faculty of advocates—a young member, for he was only twenty-eight years old—was tried at Edinburgh on the 30th and 31st of August (1793). The general offences imputed were, the formation of political clubs holding extreme views, the expressing a constant and warm admiration of the French revolution, with joy for all the successes of the republican arms, and sorrow for their reverses, the writing or circulating pamphlets and papers of a revolutionary or ultra democratic tendency, the corresponding with clubs of the same sort in various parts of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and the assembling a *convention*, or an assembly of delegates from all the societies of the friends of the people. A great meeting of this kind had actually been held at Edinburgh on the 11th of December, 1792, where Muir had been president, and the language and proceedings had rather closely resembled those of the French National Convention and Jacobin Clubs, which clubs continued to style themselves "Friends of the People." These mere titles or denominations now filled the majority of the country with horror and alarm. There was in Edinburgh a loyal association of the most intemperate and flaming kind, seemingly ready to go as far in the opposite extreme, there were similar associations and societies got up in other towns to check what were now commonly termed the Scots Jacobin Clubs, and these societies and

the general sentiment heated the lawyers of the crown, who were hot and impetuous enough without this excitement and encouragement. Violence had begotten violence, and to that degree, that there was a chance of seeing the renewal of the days of Duke Lauderdale or of Judge Jeffries. In the indictment Muir was more especially charged with seditiously advising and exhorting persons to purchase and peruse seditious and wicked publications, and writings calculated to produce a spirit of disloyalty and disaffection to the king and government, with getting up public meetings in various parts of the kingdom, with advising and exhorting John Muir sen, late hatter in Glasgow, Thomas Wilsen, barber in Glasgow, and John Barclay of Cilder, to read Paine's "Rights of Man," and to purchase the same, with distributing himself Thomas Paine's works, "a Declaration of Rights,"* a "Dialogue between the Governor and the Governed,"† and other inflammatory publications, and with having caused to be received, read, and answered by the Convention of Delegates, "An Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the Delegates for Promoting a Reform in Scotland," which address was described—and certainly not incorrectly—as a paper of a most inflammatory and seditious tendency, representing the Irish and Scotch nations as in a state of downright oppression, and exciting the people to rise up against the government. Muir had been brought before the sheriff depute of the county of Edinburgh on the 21d of January, 1793, shortly after the meeting of this Convention, and had signed a declaration, but immediately afterwards he disappeared. His trial had been fixed for the 11th of February, and time had been given him till the 25th of that month, when, on his non-appearance the Court of Justiciary had declared him "fugitive." In the month of July he had been discovered and apprehended at Port Patrick, when there had been found up in him a copy of Paine's works, a copy of the Address from the Society of United Irishmen, and other papers held to be highly suspicious. These facts were inserted in the indictment, where it was declared that, conscious of his guilt, he had absconded from his own country, and that he had lately, in a private and clandestine manner, come back, by way of Ireland. On the trial it appeared, and vastly to the disadvantage of the prisoner, that he had been in France, as well as in Ireland, and that he had remained in France a considerable time after the declaration of war, living in friendly and intimate terms with some of the most conspicuous men of the revolution. Muir declared, and in good part proved, that he had not gone off in a secret manner, that he had publicly announced his journey in a numerous meeting of

* This "Declaration of Rights" proceeded from a society calling themselves "The Friends of Reform in Paisley." The members were chiefly working men.

† This dialogue, which contained the essence of Paine's system of politics and religion, was an extract from M. Volney's "Règles de l'Empire."

citizens at Edinburgh; that he had first gone to London, where he had appeared in public and had attended the meeting of a distinguished society, the Society of the Friends of the People; that by the advice of some friends he had proceeded to Paris some days before the execution of Louis XVI., in order to attempt to mitigate the fate of that unfortunate prince, whose death, it was thought, might afford a pretext for plunging Great Britain into war, and for denying or retarding that parliamentary reform which good men held to be necessary to our salvation,* that while in Paris he had pleaded the cause of mercy, of individual and of general humanity, that the sudden declaration of hostilities, the embargo laid on all vessels, &c., had prevented his quitting France earlier than the month of May, that he had gone to Ireland because he had found at Håvre a neutral American vessel that was to touch at Belfast, that, if inaccuracies had happened in Ireland during his stay in that country, he had had nothing to do with them, that he had indeed associated with Mr Hamilton Rowan, a leader of the United Irishmen, but that Rowan was a patriot and a gentleman of whose acquaintance he could ever feel proud, and, finally, that he had not returned to Scotland in a clandestine manner, but openly and with the object of demanding justice and a fair trial to wipe away the imputations which had been cast upon him. Muir, who defended himself with great ability and considerable eloquence, maintained that the societies to which he belonged had never entertained any other plan or notion than that of reforming a part of the constitution—the House of Commons—by strictly constitutional means, such as representations and petitions. The witnesses in his favour seem to have been on the whole of a more respectable kind than those produced by the prosecution against him: among them they swore that Muir had frequently moderated the too great warmth of other reformers in the clubs and meetings, that he had repeatedly declared that the monarchical part of our constitution was good, and to be preserved, and that many of the principles of Paine's book were altogether impracticable, while others were applicable to these countries, that he had reprobated the doctrine of equality, as it implied violation of property, and asserted that a lasting equal division of property was a chimaera which never could exist: that he had said that there was no compromise to be instituted between Great Britain and France, that in France they had sought a revolution, and had brought it about, but that in Britain we wanted no revolution, but only a moderate reform, that in his addresses to the people, in the *republican societies*, he constantly endeavoured to impress upon their minds the necessity

of good order, and that, before they attempted public reformation, they should begin by reforming themselves, that he had endeavoured to promote the self-education of the people, recommending good and constitutional books, histories and works of general literature, and assisting in the formation of societies for the purchasing and reading such works. The most valuable witness, on the part of the crown, was a woman-servant that had lived in his father's house, where Muir himself usually resided. She deposed that Muir used to be much busied about reading and writing, but she could not tell the subject that he had frequently told country-people and others that Paine's 'Rights of Man' was a very good book, that at his desire she had frequently brought copies of the said book for sundry persons, that Muir, in her hearing, had advised his landlady to buy a copy and keep it in his shop to enlighten the people, as it confuted Mr. Burke entirely, and as a barber's shop was a good place for reading in, that Mr. Muir had a great many books and pamphlets, and among them, 'Flower on the French Constitution,' the 'Declaration of Rights,' the 'Dialogue betwixt the Govern'd and the Govern'd,' which last he used to read to his mother, sisters and others, saying it was very clever, and written by a Volney, one of the first wits in France, that Mr. Muir frequently read French law-books, and had a good many copies of Paine's 'Rights of Man' upstairs, that she recollected hearing him say, that if everybody had a vote he would be a member of parliament for Calder, that members of parliament would then have thirty or forty shillings a-day, that none would be members but honest men who would keep the constitution clean, and give new councillors to the king, such as would govern the nation with justice, that she had heard it said by him that France was the most flourishing nation in the world, since they had abolished tyranny and got a free government, but that she had also heard him say that the constitution of this country was very good, but that many abuses had crept in, which required a thorough reform—that he was for a monarchy under proper restrictions, and a parliament that knew what they were about—that a republican form of government was the best, but that the monarchy had been so long established in this country, that it would be improper to alter it, and, finally, she deposed that she herself had been sent by Mr. Muir to a grinding organist in the streets of Glasgow to desire him to play *Ca Ira*. The evidence for the prosecution failed completely in proving any intention on the part of the prisoner, or any society with which he was connected, of having recourse to insurrection, or riot, or any act of violence—and much less of seeking for any French assistance—all that it established was, that Muir had proposed in the Convention the receiving and answering of the violent address of the United Irishmen; that during his stay in Paris, and even after the execution of the king, he had professed great friendship for many

* That the crown lawyers endeavoured to show that Muir had gone to Paris to promote a violent English Society of the Friends of the People, but they evidently failed in proving the fact. Thomas Paine had numerous correspondents, and as he was so anxious to prevent the execution of Louis he very possibly suggested the sending over of some British liberal or liberals to plead the cause of mercy with the deputies of the Convention. But the idea may have occurred without any suggestion from Paine.

of the French leaders, that before and since he had expressed exultation at the trial and victories of the French republicans over the armies of the coalition, or over his majesty's allies and his majesty's own troops, that during his stay in Ireland he had given the pledge and had been admitted a member of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin, that his reformers and clubbists consisted almost entirely of weavers and mechanics, villagers, and small manufacturers, and it also seemed proved by some letters from the prisoner's father, found upon him when he was arrested at Port Patrick, that Muir had seriously thought of flying from Ireland to America, instead of returning to Scotland. Upon these points the lord-advocate and the judges dwelt at rare length and with rare violence. Morally, Muir, with hundreds of others who were never molested, had been guilty of imprudence, and in his continued admiration of the French revolutionists he had shown himself wanting both in intellectual and moral discrimination: even legally he might be guilty of conduct not strictly justifiable in all respects, but the court and the public prosecutor maintained that his offences fill but little short of high treason. The lord-advocate called him 'that unfortuniate wretch at the bar,' 'that denon of mischief,' 'that pest of Scotland,' who had intended to revolutionise these countries in the manner of France, who had gone to Paris in furtherance of that object, &c. The lord-justice clerk in summing up took several things for granted, which assuredly were not proved. Not being quite bold enough to give the lie to the witnesses who had sworn that Muir had always discountenanced violent proceeding (a fact as plainly and as largely admitted by the witnesses for the prosecution as by the witnesses for the defence), he turned that very moderation against him, saying, "Mr Muir's plan of discouraging revolt, and all sort of tumult, was certainly political, for, until everything was ripe for a general insurrection, any tumult or disorder could only tend, as he himself said, to ruin his cause: he was, in the mean time, however, evidently poisoning the minds of the common people, and preparing them for rebellion." The jury (though unanimity is not necessary in a Scots jury), 'all in one voice' found the prisoner guilty of sedition or of the crimes imputed to him. It seems to have been expected by Muir and his friends that his punishment would not exceed in severity that already allotted by the same court to the printers and other persons who had been convicted under similar charges. But their lordships, after saying that they had their choice of banishment, fine, whipping, imprisonment, and transportation, agreed that the proper punishment for Muir was *transportation for fourteen years*. We have said that the prisoner defended himself with ability and eloquence, but in some respects his eloquence did him dis-service with the jury, for it carried him away into useless and unseasonable declamations about the virtues of the common

people and the vices of the aristocracy, about the patriotism of the United Irishmen and the patriotism and virtue of reformers in general—and this at a moment when, right or wrong, the word reform, more especially in Scotland, had come to be considered as a synonyme for revolution. His friends and admirers, too, did him no good: they loudly cheered him when he finished his speech, and the court, not satisfied with improving this irregularity, construed it into an exaggeration and proof of the prisoner's guilt, or of the perilous and disaffected state of a part of the country. The ministerial influence was indeed great and disproportionate in Scotland in those days, but it should appear that the spontaneous feeling of the majority of the people was cause enough to account for precipitate conclusions and harsh judgments in trials of this nature.

Palmer was not a Scotsman, but an Englishman, settled in the country. He was descended from an ancient and wealthy family in Bedfordshire. He was educated at Eton, and was afterwards entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he took the several degrees of B A, A M, and B D, and obtained a Fellowship. He was for some time curate at Leatherhead, in Surrey. But a short time after taking his last degree at Cambridge, which was in the year 1782, when he was in his thirty-fifth year, he abandoned the Church of England and embraced the doctrines of the Unitarians. The sincerity of his conversion, attributed to the perusal and study of the controversial writings of Dr Priestley and Mr Lindsey, seemed to be tested by the sacrifices he made, sacrifices which included an estrangement from his family and friends. Shortly afterwards he went to Montrose, in Scotland, where a Unitarian chapel had then recently been opened by Mr W Christie. He resided some twenty months in this town and then removed to Dundee to take charge of another Unitarian chapel there. He preached very frequently in some neighbouring towns where there were small Unitarian congregations, and at Forfar and in Edinburgh he delivered a series of discourses in vindication of the religious principles he had adopted. However acceptable these proceedings may have been to those who entertained the same opinions as himself, they were little likely to propitiate the rigid Calvinists of Scotland, who were indeed somewhat slow in learning the lessons of religious toleration. His theological creed alone was enough to crush him. His trial came on before the circuit court of judicature at Perth on the 12th of September. He was simply charged with writing and publishing an 'Address to the People,' which had proceeded from the Society of the Friends of Liberty at Dundee. In his case there had been no evasion or appearance of evasion, no residence in France or in Ireland, no voting upon the extreme principles of the Society of United Irishmen, but he had been the friend or political correspondent of Muir, and on the trial of that gentleman the court had artfully endeavoured to

link them or their offences together Palmer, whose enthusiasm appears to have been, on some points, nearly allied to insanity, may very possibly have delivered from the pulpit, or in club-meetings, or in private society, extravagant, and, as they were then considered, dangerous political opinions, but on the trial this was neither proved nor attempted to be proved, the prosecution confining itself to the writing and publishing the Dundee Club Address to the People The fact of publication was distinctly proved against him, but with the drawing up of the Address he appeared to have had little to do one of the witnesses for the crown, George Mealmaker, a raw youth and weaver of Dundee, avowed that he himself had written the Address It appeared that Palmer had revised it for the press, amending the spelling and the grammar, but it further appeared that in so doing he had struck out some strong passages altogether, and had softened the language of others His counsel delicately hinted at the touch of insanity, speaking of "certain peculiarities in the character of Mr Palmer," and of the extravagance of some pamphlets he had published to vindicate his principles as a Unitarian He was going to read some passages from one of these pamphlets, but he stopped himself and said, "No! I cannot read these wild effusions—I am afraid they would be considered as unfit for a public reading I shall only say that no one upon reading the pamphlet (if, indeed it can be read) would think the mind of the author perfectly rational"* But what his counsel might wish to represent as madness, the jurymen might take for deliberate wickedness and horrible impiety, without any attention to this plea they brought in their verdict, "all in one voice," of Guilty, and their lordships ordered and adjudged that the prisoner should be transported beyond the seas for seven years

The result of these trials did not check the ardour of the reformers and the clubbiats, and the so-called Convention, instead of dissolving itself, extended its connexions and proceeded to much more questionable acts On the 29th of October the Convention assembled at Edinburgh under the presidency of Mr John McIntyre, and delegations were received from other political societies in London, Sheffield, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Perth, Lunithgow, Hamilton, and a score of other towns Letters were presented from some English clubs signed by Thomas Hardy and others Mr William Skirving, a friend of Muir and Palmer, and secretary to the Convention, read several papers which were certainly of a very inflammatory kind, and among them was one, setting forth the necessity of applying for universal suffrage and annual parliaments, to the king, and not to the British Parliament,

* Palmer had published various pamphlets and theological tracts Among them are enumerated—1. An Attempt to refute a Sermon by H. J. J. on the Ordination of Jesus Christ and to restore the long lost First Commandment 2. An Attempt to prove the Bible ought to have been only the Sons of men 3. An Attempt to show that the Cock-crowing which Peter heard was the Sound of a Trumpet

and another, proposing an address to the distressed and out-of-work weavers, mechanics, &c The Convention continued sitting for several days, making nearer and nearer approaches to the proceedings and prepotency of the great Mother Society of Paris There was, however, one very notable difference,—the Scotsmen generally opened and closed their sittings with a prayer Fresh deputations continued to arrive from other affiliated or corresponding societies, and with this seeming accession of strength the Convention became bolder and hotter The evidence on his trial had failed to prove that Muir had ever gone these lengths, but now from his prison in the Tolbooth he communicated with these assembled delegates, and seemed to identify his opinions and principles with theirs If he could not be tried again, neither was this the way for obtaining a revision of his sentence or a mitigation of his punishment Subscriptions were set on foot for defraying the public charges of the Convention, and some notion may be conveyed of the condition of these national delegates by the sum total of their first subscription—3/ 11s 6d The delegates were of one mind on the capital question of universal suffrage

On the 6th of November *Citizens* Hamilton Rowan and Simon Butler appeared in the Convention in the name of the United Irishmen, and *Citizens* Margarott and Gerald presented themselves as delegates from London and were all introduced and received with acclamations Citizen Margarott stated that he had escaped from five hundred constables, who had beset a popular meeting at London in order to prevent the sending of delegates to Edinburgh, that he trusted the Convention would strike terror in their enemies, that the political societies in London were very numerous, though sometimes fluctuating, that in some parts of England whole towns were reformers, that in Sheffield and its environs there were 50,000, that, if they could only get a convention of England and Scotland united, they might represent six or seven hundred thousand males, which would be a majority of all the adult males in the kingdom, and constitute such a force that ministry would not dare to refuse their rights—universal suffrage, annual parliaments, &c Citizen Gerald, speaking for England, said that he came armed with a full power of delegation everything the people had gained had been through conventions, and what was the great revolution of 1688 but the consequence of a convention? Citizen Butler said he would give an account of Ireland there the executive part of the government was almost omnipotent, the landed interest was almost wholly aristocratic, the manufacturer was idle Last parliament was expected to have given Ireland emancipation, but that prospect had been overcast An infamous coalition had taken place between the Irish opposition and ministry The Catholics had retired with what they had got, and, no longer opposed by them, the government had turned their

oppressive measures against the friends of reform. The United Irishmen were persecuted; he himself had experienced six months' imprisonment. But freed and dwelt in almost every heart and must triumph. In Scotland he was happy to see the delegates of the people still met in convention, but in Ireland the parliament had enacted laws against it. It was agreed that the thanks of the Convention should be sent to the societies in England and Ireland, that Citizens Hamilton Rowan, Simon Butler, Margarott, &c., should be admitted as members of the Convention, and that the juries of the delegates of this Convention should continue until another Convention was called. As far as we can discover, no plan and direct mention was made by any of them of an appeal to arms, but a sense of them spoke of striking terror into their enemies by their numbers and strength. They seemed indeed, to have a very clear notion of what Parisians had meant by an insurrection *à tout ou rien*. There were several mud gentlemen sitting as delegates, and among them no miller in the midst of them all. This was Lord Dacre (son of the Earl of Selkirk) who had passed a considerable time in Paris, and who had been thoroughly initiated by Brissot, Thomas Paine, and other prophets. It was his bidding that recommended the organization after the fashion of the first Jacobin Club in the Republic of Rome, but in this he was much assisted by Margarott. They divided the Convention into sections and committees, the committees to meet and form on and the Convention at five in the afternoon they had their committees of organization, of correspondence, of finance, of secrecy, then named their places of meeting after the French—there was 'Liberty Hall,' 'Liberty Square,' &c. They made "honourable mention," and gave the "honours of the sitting," even as in France. They proceeded to institute primary and provincial assemblies, and the division of the country into departments. Margarott on the 19th of November, moved that a committee should be appointed "to consider and draw up a proper plan of union between the two nations, according to the resolution passed yesterday by the Convention." They named their gazettes and official journals, and agreed that a committee of five should be appointed for the purpose of drawing up weekly an abstract of the debates and proceedings of the Convention in order that the same might be printed, and a copy sent to every affiliated society. Great anxiety was expressed about the Highland clans, who were now as remarkable for their loyalty to the House of Brunswick as they had once been for their attachment to the unhappy race of the Stuarts, and it was unanimously resolved that the Convention should take means to convert all the Macs to its own way of thinking or, as it was expressed in the minutes, "should take some method of enlightening the Highlands of Scotland." It was moved and carried that a fund should be raised by a subscription for defraying the expense

of small patriotic publications to be distributed in the Highlands, that every publication should bear the figure of a Highlandman in full dress, with target and broadsword, to attract the attention of Highlandmen, and that none of these publications should cost more than one halfpenny. Citizen Skirving insisted that all the members, both of the Convention and of the primary assemblies, ought to subscribe a solemn league and covenant, as the Scots had done when preparing to make war against Charles I., but this was considered unnecessary, as all the members were already bound. Several of the Conventionists now expressed their contempt for the revolution of 1688. Citizen Gerald compared the constitution we got by it to a dead horse. The same citizen was very indignant not only at titles, like lord, marquis, or duke, but at the use of the word gentleman, he thought no designation ought to be used among freemen except that of citizen—and citizens they all called themselves and one another, from my Lord Dacre down to the weaver's apprentice. A Citizen Brown delegate from Sheffield, thought it would be proper to determine whether the next Convention should not meet south of the Tweed, in the free town of Sheffield or some other English town abounding in political reformers. Citizen Hastic said—"The spot of ground on which we meet is of little moment. Englishmen and Scotsmen have declared for universal suffrage and annual parliaments, to obtain these objects they are united, they will persevere until they are secured, or yield the pursuit only with their lives." For his part he thought the best place for the next meeting would be on the borders of England and Scotland. Another delegate spoke as if York were a proper place, but this proposition was very unpalatable to Citizen Gerald, one of the London delegates, who said—"The city of York has been proposed as a proper and central place, but I can assure you that city is the seat of a proud aristocracy, the seat of an archbishop! However, I would not altogether object to going thither as the Saviour of the world was often found in the company of sinners, let us go there for the same gracious purpose, to convert to repentance! But certainly I should prefer some place on the borders." Citizen Newton, who had probably some Cameronian blood in him, moved that the committee of regulations should appoint a day of solemn fasting, prayer, and humiliation to be kept by all the friends of reform in Great Britain and Ireland. This motion occasioned a very warm debate [The violent differences in religious opinions would soon have set these reformers by the ears if they had been left to themselves.] But Citizen Gerald moved the following amendment, which, in a great measure, conciliating opinions, was agreed to—"That it be recommended to the individual members of this Convention, and to all the friends of liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, to invoke the assistance of God Almighty, the common father of all, in the cause in which

we are engaged." The Convention had gone these lengths, and further, when (on the 4th of December) it was announced that the Edinburgh magistrates intended to break it up and disperse its members. Hereupon it was voted that the moment of any illegal dispersion should be considered as a summons to the delegates to repair to the place of meeting to be appointed for the *Convention of Emergency*, and that the *secret committee* should be directed to proceed without delay to fix the place of meeting. On the next day the president announced that he had been arrested, that Margarott had been arrested, that several other delegates had been arrested, but that they had all been admitted to bail, their several papers, which had been seized and sealed, remaining in the hands of the sheriff. He had scarcely finished this announcement when the lord provost, properly attended, presented himself, and insisted upon their immediate departure thence, telling them that they might meet in any private houses. Skirving told his lordship that that was a private house—that he had taken it for a time certain for the use of the *British Convention*—that it was a Free mason's lodge and nothing could be more private than a mason's lodge. The lord provost said that he looked upon their meeting and proceedings as illegal and unconstitutional, that it was his duty to disperse them and that he was determined to do it. The delegates said that their meeting was strictly legal and constitutional, and that they were determined to remain. Citizen Paterson, however, vacated the president's chair. The Convention instantly elected another president, and Citizen Brown took the chair in defiance of the provost. After some altercation, the lord provost said he would act as chief constable, and, stepping up to the chair, he pulled Brown from it by force. The cry of violence was then raised, and a delegate, getting on a table, moved to adjourn to another mason's lodge at the head of the Canongate. This was agreed to, and they met that same evening at the place named, and then and there, under the presidency of the same Citizen Brown, they declared the Convention to be in permanent session. But, on the very next day, as they were in the act of receiving deputations from various parts of the country, the sheriff-substitute, attended by the magistrates of Edinburgh and a little army of constables, invaded this lodge at the head of the Canongate, and intimated that, unless the meeting dissolved quietly, he had orders to dissolve it by force, and, hereupon, after a short unctuous prayer from Citizen Gerald, who prayed the Lord of Hosts to be a pillar of fire to them, as he was to their fathers of old, to enlighten and direct them, and to be to their enemies a pillar of cloud, of darkness, and confusion, the delegates and deputies of this British Convention began to disperse. It appears, however, that actual force was necessary to remove some of them. Four days after this dispersion an 'Address to the Friends of the People,' signed by Skirving, appeared in the

public newspapers, stating that, the British Convention being now constrained to adjourn to the place appointed for its meetings of emergency, the general committee were requested to assemble in a house belonging to Mr Skirving, their secretary, formerly denominated the Cock pit.*

But Citizen Skirving could not rally in any great force the scattered Convention, and on the 6th of January (1794) he was brought before the Court of Justiciary, and condemned on the following day to fourteen years' transportation. On the 13th of the same month Citizen Margarott, the London delegate, who styled himself 'a merchant residing in *Marylebone*,' was put upon his trial before the same court, and was sentenced on the next day to the same term of transportation as Skirving and Muir. In the month of March Gerald, another of the English delegates, was tried by the Court of Justiciary, and was also sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.

In the mean time Muir and Palmer were brought from Leith on board a revenue cutter, and on the 19th of December (1793) they were delivered into the custody of Duncan Campbell, the contractor for the hulks at Woolwich who put them on board one of the hulks. Though confined among common felons, and for some time, it is said, in irons, they were treated with much humanity, being allowed all the accommodations which their situation would admit of, and being freely permitted to see their friends. Among those who hastened to visit them in the hulks, and to set up a subscription in their behalf, were *Dr Purvis* and *Mr Lindsey*. By some this punishment was considered as unreasonably severe. Early in the present session Mr Adam moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for making some important alterations in the criminal law of Scotland, and for allowing of appeals from the Court of Justiciary in matters of law. Leave being refused, Mr Adam, on the 14th of February, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for the relief of Messrs Muir and Palmer in another form. In the mean time Sheridan, on the 24th, presented a petition from Palmer, representing that he conceived the sentence passed upon him by the High Court of Justiciary, from which there was no appeal, to be unjust. Pitt objected that the petition could not be received by the House without an improper interposition between the sentence of a competent court and its execution. But it was Dundas that most startled those who were pleading, or about to plead, for the two prisoners. He intimated that the sentence was already executed, that the warrant for the transportation of Mr Palmer was both signed and issued. A motion for adjourning the debate to Thursday, the 27th, having been carried it was moved by Mr Whitbread that his majesty should

* Copy of the Minutes of that assembly, which at first called itself the General Convention of the Friends of the People, and which afterwards took the name of the British Convention of the Deputies of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, in Howell's State Trials.

be requested to prevent Mr Palmer from being sent off before that day; but this proposition was negatived by a large majority. In the end, however, Pitt found himself compelled to allow the reception of Palmer's petition. On March the 10th Adam was allowed to move for a revision of the trials of Muir and Palmer. He said that "leasing making," the crime for which those two men ought to have been indicted, corresponded to that misdemeanour called in England a public libel on government tending to disturb the peace, that the only punishment provided by Scottish law for leasing-making was fine, imprisonment, or banishment, that transportation was consequently illegal, and he further declared that, in his opinion, the trial had been unfair and oppressive, and the sentence altogether illegal, arbitrary, and unwarrantable. The trial had certainly been conducted with improper heat and violence. Fox mentioned that one of the lords of Justiciary had said that no man had a right to speak of the constitution unless he possessed landed property, and that another of those judges had asserted that since the abuse of torture there was no adequate punishment for sedition.* The lord advocate of Scotland, Pitt, and Windham, defended the Scottish court and its sentence. The first of these gentlemen, who was therein supported by Dundas, said that the Scotch laws were better than the English for the punishment of libels and the suppression of seditious practices. The majority of the House seemed to agree with them, and Adam's motion was negatived by 171 against 32. Motions made in favour of the two convicts in the Upper House, by Earls Lauderdale and Stanhope, were not more successful, and there the lord chancellor carried a resolution that there were no grounds for interfering with any of the criminal courts of justice as now established. Skirving and Margarott, having been brought up from Leith, were put on board the same convict-ship, 'the Surprise,' which, being obliged to wait for convoy to a certain latitude, did not set sail for New South Wales until the end of April. Before their departure from the Thames it was discovered that the general character of Margarott did not stand very high: on the voyage he quarrelled with his brother delegates and companions in misfortune, he entered into a most friendly intercourse with the master of the ship, while an accusation was brought against Palmer and Skirving of heading a conspiracy to murder the master and the crew, in order that they might carry the ship into some foreign port, and for this the two accused were closely confined below deck, and otherwise treated with great severity. Muir, who was not included in the accusation, and who was

treated with comparative kindness by the ship-captain and those who had charge of the convicts, bore strong evidence to the injustice and falsehood of the charge, and joined Palmer and Skirving in representing Margarott as an accessory to the wrongs they had suffered, as an instigator of their accusation, and as a man rejected and expelled from their society. They all four arrived at Port Jackson at the end of October, and were not long afterwards joined by Gerald. They were treated with great kindness by the governor and the few respectable inhabitants of the infant and penal colony: houses were allotted to Muir, Skirving, and Palmer, near to each other, but "the merchant of Marylebone" was accommodated with a lodging at some distance from them. Palmer wrote to his friends that they had no cause to complain of any want of civility or attention. He and Skirving employed themselves in cultivating the land allotted to them, and both sent home favourable accounts of the climate, the country, and the fertility of the soil. Muir, shortly after his arrival, effected his escape to South America. He was at San Sebastian, Rio Janeiro, in July, 1794. From South America he took a passage to Spain on board a Spanish ship in 1796, when Spain had made her peace with the French, and declared war against England. During this voyage he was in great jeopardy, for the ship he sailed in was attacked by a British frigate: he received a wound in the head during the action but if he had been captured he would have been hanged. On his arrival in Spain he was cast into prison, where he languished until Talleyrand applied for and obtained his release in the name of the French republic. Muir then repaired to France, and died at Bordeaux. Gerald, who was in very bad health when he left England, died soon after his arrival in New South Wales, and Skirving did not survive him long. Palmer lived nearly two years beyond the term of his transportation, and might very possibly have returned to England if he had not chosen to take a very roundabout adventurous course. At the beginning of 1800 (by the end of which year it was lawful for him to reappear in his own country) he was allowed to embark in a vessel, which he and some others had purchased with the intention of going to New Zealand to take in a cargo of timber for the Cape of Good Hope market. The ship, principally the property of Palmer, was soon found to be a very crazy craft; and, though they had only taken in provision for six months, they spent twenty six weeks at New Zealand, where they could obtain no supplies proper for a long sea-voyage. Famishing, and apparently very deficient in the sciences of geography and navigation, they beat about the great Pacific, wandering in search of provisions from one group of islands to another, and never hitting upon a land of plenty, until they got to the island of Gorae, where they ran their crazy vessel on a reef, and well nigh lost her and themselves. Having, by the friendly assistance of the natives, repaired the

* The lord justice-clerk had said soundly and roughly: "A government in every country should be jilted like a corporation, and in this country it is made up of the added interest which all men as a right to be respected for the sake of the constitution, but personal property who hold a pretension of them. They may jack up all their property or their backs and have the country in a twinkling of an eye." It was Lord Westmoreland who had said: "If punishment adequate to the crime of sedition were to be sought for it could not be found in our law now that torture is happily abolished."

craft and obtained some provisions, they resolved to go, not to the Cape of Good Hope, but to China. They shaped their course for Macao, but meeting with contrary winds they made little way, their provisions were soon exhausted, and the ill-repaired vessel began again to open her seams. To escape the double risk of starving and drowning, they ran into the island of Guam, a possession of the Spaniards, who seized their vessel and made them prisoners of war, but otherwise treated them with much kindness and hospitality. After remaining here about eighteen months Palmer died of dysentery in the beginning of June, 1802. The only one of the five who returned to England was Margarott, who is said to have conducted himself throughout with abandoned and shameless profligacy. In the year 1812 he appeared before a committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine the transportation system. By his testimony it appeared that he had remained in New South Wales until the year 1810, and that the expense attending his return to London amounted to 450*l*. He died in 1815, while a subscription was raising for his relief.*

Before the departure of the condemned Scottish reformers from the Thames two political trials were begun and terminated in England. Eaton, a bookseller of Bishopgate-street, was brought before the city court at the Old Bailey, on an indictment for publishing a seditious libel entitled 'Politics for the People, or Hog's-wash'. English juries being much less alarmed and excited than Edinburgh ones, Eaton was acquitted. It soon became apparent that it was as difficult for the crown lawyers to obtain verdicts in England as it was easy for their brethren to obtain them in Scotland. There every political prisoner was brought in guilty,† and here every one was acquitted. On the 2nd of April Mr Thomas Walker, merchant, of Manchester, and a leader of the political societies in that place, was with six others (four labourers or mechanics, one 'gentleman,' and one surgeon) tried at the Lancaster assizes for a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution and government, and to aid and assist the French in case they should invade this kingdom. Walker and his brother Richard (who was not indicted) were both hot-headed men, evidently capable of going great lengths. Walker had signed addresses to the Jacobins, but not since the declaration of war. He had brought himself into such disrepute by his revolutionary politics, that his fellow-townsmen, hot on the other side, had attacked his house and well-nigh destroyed it. The counsel for the prosecution attempted to prove a great deal too much, and some of the witnesses appeared to have been tampered with by the Tory and high-church magistrates, and more than one of them grossly perjured themselves. The jury

acquitted all the prisoners, and one of the witnesses was committed for perjury, and, when tried at the next assizes, this man was found guilty and sentenced to stand once in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for two years. Not deterred by these acquittals, government resolved to pursue some of the principal members of the Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information in London, and in the month of May Thomas Hardy, Daniel Adams, the Rev Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Earl Stanhope, and tutor to his son, Lord Mahon, John Thelwall, a political lecturer, the celebrated Horne Tooke, and three or four others, were seized and committed to the Tower, charged with high treason. Their trials did not commence until the close of the year. On the 12th of May, Dundas went down to the House of Commons with a message from the king, informing the House that seditious practices had been carried on by societies in London in correspondence with other societies for the purpose of assembling a Convention to represent the people, in defiance of and in opposition to parliament, and on principles subversive of our constitution, and calculated to introduce among us the anarchy prevailing in France, that the papers of these societies had been seized, and would be laid before parliament, and that his majesty recommended them carefully to examine the papers, and to adopt such measures as might appear necessary. The papers were produced on the very next day, when Pitt moved an address of thanks to the king, and proposed that the papers should be referred to a committee of secrecy, consisting of twenty-one members, chosen by ballot. This was agreed to. On the 16th of May Pitt produced to the House the report of this committee of secrecy, which, if it had found out, certainly did not reveal anything secret or mysterious—the report merely containing the proceedings of the two London societies from the year 1791, most of which had been already published by the societies themselves in the newspapers. If the extreme measures, amounting to little less than the suspension of English liberty, were really rendered necessary by circumstances, the ministry ought to have explained that necessity and those circumstances, but Pitt rested upon that bag of wind the report of the secret committee, which, if it proved anything, proved that, in England at least, no danger was to be apprehended from these clubs and societies. And upon this foundation he demanded, as necessary to the salvation of the country, the immediate suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Nor did the great majority of the House consider the demand dangerous, irrational, or excessive. Burke maintained that it was the best means of preventing the vast and imminent dangers with which we were menaced, Windham said that, if these evils could not be averted by the laws in being, other laws more stringent must be framed, and the Suspension Bill was carried through all its stages in the shortest time possible, and by overwhelming ma-

* Howell's State Trials.

† On the trial of Muir the lord advocate took occasion to glory in this fact. All of these persons, said he, who have had the courage to come an English trial at this bar have met with the same fate—they have all been found guilty! And I trust that as the evidence has clearly unfolded the diabolical conduct of these persons, he will receive a similar verdict.

juries. In the Lords, Earl Stanhope said that ministers were going to establish a Bastille and to introduce the use of *lettres de cachet*. Lord Lauderdale asserted that, while ministers were talking of innovations and revolutions, they were themselves pursuing a revolutionary system, and establishing that reign of terror which we so much reprobated in France. Lord Thurlow expressed himself very cautiously, saying he acceded to the bill merely on the presumption that its necessity had been proved. The bill was, however, carried through that House also with the greatest haste, though not without a strong protest from the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls Stanhope, Lauderdale, and Albemarle. An address being moved on the 13th of June, by Lord Grenville, to assure the king of their lordships' loyalty and determination to punish the participators in the conspiracy which had been laid before them, and to invest his majesty, if needful, with additional power for the suppression of attempts against government, it was warmly opposed by Lord Lauderdale, but carried and sent to the Commons for their concurrence. In the debate which ensued in the Lower House, Mr Lambton noticed that in the report of the secret committee mention had been made of warlike preparation and arms. But what were these arms? They amounted, according to the specification in the report, to eighteen pike-heads, ten battle-axes, and twenty sword blades. Such were the warlike preparations for encountering and destroying the British government! I do, alluding to the individuals under arrest and to the members of the political societies generally, said they appeared to be men who might co-operate in a revolution, but could never produce one,—that they might have held imprudent and even seditious language, but that was punishable without recurring to suspensions and severities that would terrify the whole community, and without anticipating the declaration of their guilt by a court of justice after regular trial. Such an anticipation parliament could manifestly be charged with if it declared its belief in the accusations brought against these persons. In states where the destruction of a few persons subverted the whole order of things, a small number of obscure individuals might possibly effect a revolution, but in a country like this he thought it unreasonable to fancy that so insignificant and diminutive a set of men could seriously, with any remains of sanity in their minds, have engaged in such an undertaking. He moved to omit that part of the address which expressed the conviction of parliament that a conspiracy had been carrying on against the constitution, but his amendment was rejected, and the House concurred in the address as sent down by the Lords. The reverses of our allies and the triumph of the republicans on the continent, together with the turbulent state of Ireland, certainly kept up in a large part of the community an unreasonable but perfectly sincere dread of invasion, and, taking at their heated idle words men who for the greater part

would have been among the foremost to hurl back the invaders if they could have come, it continued to be believed that there were not merely in Ireland (where, alas! the belief was reasonable), but in England and in Scotland, phalanxes ready to join the French. To judge of the violence of the times, we should place ourselves amid the anxieties, the unceasing apprehensions, and agonizing fears of the times, and thus we can hardly do. The fears seem to us to have been irrational and almost disgraceful, but they appeared not so to great and good men, and to Burke, the greatest man of that day or of any day since. It was the last session the philosophical statesman sat in the House of Commons, and some of his last words there were words of warning to the country to beware of the fate of France. On the 20th of June he received the thanks of the House for the management of the Hastings trial, which only ended now, and a few days after he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

In the course of the session a bill, brought forward by Wilberforce, and supported by Pitt, for the abolition of that branch of the slave trade by which we supplied the islands and territories belonging to foreigners with slaves, was passed by the Commons, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the West India interest, the second reading having been carried on the 25th of February, in a thin House, by 56 against 38. But on the 2nd of May the Lords threw out the bill by a majority of 45 to 4. The king prorogued parliament in person on the 11th of July, congratulating the Lords and Commons on the glorious victory obtained over the French at sea on the 1st of June, and the acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, and exhorting them to firmness, notwithstanding the successes of the French in the Netherlands.

Lord Howe's naval victory was both seasonable and glorious. About the middle of April the ships composing the Channel fleet, commanded by his lordship, had received the requisite repairs, and had assembled at St Helens. It consisted of thirty-two sail of the line and nine frigates, but six of the ships of the line and four of the frigates were detached under Rear-Admiral Mordaunt to escort some outward-bound convoys to the parallel of Cape Finisterre. It was, therefore, with only twenty-six sail of the line and five frigates that Lord Howe proceeded for Ushant to look after the Brest fleet and a great French convoy, known to be expected from America and the West India Islands. The English cruised for a good many days in blowing, foggy weather, and when they were enabled to look into Brest harbour they discovered that the fleet had put to sea. On the 25th of May, after the English had made a fruitless search for the enemy, who had gone somewhere to meet their homeward-bound convoy, two French corvettes, mistaking Lord Howe's fleet for their own, ran close in, and were taken. On the 28th Howe caught sight of the French fleet, and on the evening of that day some of his ships

attacked a part of their line; but it grew dark, and the firing ceased after the 'Révolutionnaire,' a three-decker and the sternmost ship of the enemy, had been beaten out of the line. On the 29th, soon after daybreak, the two fleets were within random-shot distance; at various times in the course of the day there was some heavy and close firing between the English van and the French rear; three of the French ships were much disabled, but the wind and weather, and the indifferent sailing of some of his ships, did not permit Lord Howe to gain the weather gage, and get in proper order for breaking the enemy's line.* During most of the time Howe's own ship, the 'Charlotte,' was engaged, a considerable quantity of water was taken in at the lower-deck ports, and the pumps were at work constantly. On the 30th and 31st there was little wind and a great fog, but on the afternoon of the 1st, the fog clearing off, the enemy were seen—and seen to leeward. But before the English could get up abreast of them the day was too far advanced for bringing them properly to action. Howe watched them closely with his frigates during the night, but the French had no intention of being off; they had fully determined to risk a close action rather than abandon the anxiously expected convoy to be intercepted and captured. They had sent their disabled ships back into Brest, and they had been joined by

* It appears that Lord Howe himself passed through the French line in the day between the fifth and sixth ship in their rear—that the 'Bellifrons' Captain Howe and the 'Leviathan' Captain Boscawen, in company, followed him closely, but that as the ships following him with two conditions, very much disabled, could derive no material advantage from his field manœuvre, as the rest of his ships had passed to leeward of the enemy, and having taken station in the French line, did not rejoin him in time to give any effectual support.

other ships fresh out of dock or port.* Their admiral (Villaret-Joyeuse) who had distinguished himself under Suffren, in the East Indies, during the last war, was both a brave and a skilful officer. Jean Bon Saint-André, the friend or creature of Robespierre, and one of the most terrible members of the Mountain, was on board the fleet as commissioner from the Convention, to remind every officer and man of the guillotine, and of what he owed to the republic.

The dawn of the 1st of June disclosed the French about three or four miles to leeward in order of battle, under an easy sail to the westward. They had twenty-six line-of-battle ships, while the English had but twenty-five, the 'Audacious,' 74, Captain Parker, having separated on the 28th in a shattered condition. In the size of their vessels, in their aggregate number of guns and men, and in their weight of metal, the French had a considerable superiority.† Lord Howe immediately stood towards them. Being abreast of them at about seven in the morning, he wore to the larboard tack, while the French waited his approach in the same position. Having made the necessary arrangements in his line for opposing his large ships to the large ships of the enemy, bethinking himself of a good English proverb, he lay-to, and intimated by signal that there was time for the men to breakfast before going into action. At about half-past eight he made the signal for the

* During the fog the French admiral St. Louis joined Villaret with a reinforcement of four sail of the line and two frigates.

		British		French	
† Number of ships	25	74	25	74	25
Weight of metal	1	1 lb.	5	1 lb.	5
Number of men	1	47	1	47	51
Size in tons	1	48	1	48	51



VICTORY OF THE FIRST OF JUNE.

fleet to close, to pass through the French line and engage them to leeward van to van, rear to rear, every ship engaging her opposite in the enemy's line. His previous orders had been clear and peremptory, and, as he steered for the 'Montagne,' Villaret-Joyeuse's ship, which mounted 120 guns, he kept the signal for close action flying on board his own ship the 'Queen Charlotte.' The ships ahead and astern of the admiral kept away parallel to her, receiving a heavy fire from the French, which they did not return till their closeness to their adversaries made every shot tell. Although there was scarcely space to effect the passage, the 'Queen Charlotte' forced her way between the stern of the 'Montagne' and the head of the 'Jacobin' 84, and was soon so closely engaged to leeward that the ensign of the 'Montagne,' a much loftier ship frequently waved over her quarter-deck. These two ships opened their fire a little after nine o'clock and at nearly the same moment the action became general in the centre. Unfortunately only the 'Defiance' (Captain Gambier), the 'Marlborough' (Hon. G. Berkeley), the 'Royal George' (Donnet), the 'Queen' (Nott), and the 'Brunswick' (J. Harvey), pushed through the enemy's line and engaged them to leeward. The 'Gibraltar' (Mackenzie) omitted to cross the French admiral in order to engage his second ahead, as his station required, and Captain Mullins of the 'Cæsar' backed his main-top-sail and whilst distant from the enemy, though the signal for closer engagement was abroad. The firmer part of the ships, to the infinite mortification of Howe, engaged their respective adversaries to windward, thus allowing the French, when beaten to go off before the wind. But, notwithstanding the failures in the British manoeuvre, it was soon found that the French could not stand the close fighting. After behaving manfully for about an hour Villaret-Joyeuse gave way and stood off to the northward and was followed by all the ships in his van that could carry sail. He left ten of his ships, almost all of them totally dismasted, to the windward, nearly surrounded by the English. But the uninjured state of some of the French ships, which still continued the engagement, and the dispersed and crippled condition of a part of the British squadron (among others Howe's own ship), which had lost her fore-top mast, and then, just as the French admiral sheered off, her main-top mast enabled many of the French to escape, when the only canvas three of them could spread was a small sail raised on the stump of the fore-mast. The retreat of these ships was covered by Villaret-Joyeuse, who, having lain to leeward, and repaired his damages, brought up eleven or twelve of his ships, not disabled by the loss (at least) of any of their masts, to the succour of his dismasted ones. Seven, however—'Le Juste' of 80 guns, the 'Sans Pareil' of 80, 'L'America' of 74, 'L'Achille' of 74, 'Le Northumberland' of 74, 'L'Impetueux' of 74, and 'Le Vengeur,' 74—were abandoned to their fate, struck their flags, and

were immediately taken possession of by the English. The 'Vengeur,' however, had received too many English shots between wind and water to remain a prize: she filled and went down in deep water almost as soon as the English flag was hoisted on her.* After securing his six other prizes, and giving assistance to the most shattered of his own ships, Lord Howe made the signal for his fleet to close round him. This was done with the intention of again attacking Villaret-Joyeuse, if he should attempt to cut off the 'Queen' (one of the five ships which had followed his lordship in breaking the enemy's line and attacking to leeward, but which now, from her disabled state, had drifted to a considerable distance from the English fleet), or it, by trying to weather his captured ships, he should attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day. The French admiral, however, aimed at nothing but securing his own retreat: he attempted neither to cut off the 'Queen' nor to molest the 'Brunswick,' which had lost her mizen mast and had driven to leeward of some of his ships: he collected his nineteen sail of the line and made away for the coast of Brittany. The damage in the mast and rigging of the English ships generally was so considerable that they were obliged to lay-to, and the 2nd and 3rd of June were employed in securing such injured masts as were left, fixing jury-masts where requisite, removing the prisoners, and taking the six prizes in tow. The victory had not been obtained without a considerable loss, for as long as the French remained in action they fought gallantly, and their advances were, as we have stated, not inconsiderable. The number of killed in the British fleet was 279, of wounded 877. Of the officers of rank Captain Montagu of the 'Monaghan' was killed, and Captain Hunt of the 'Queen' and Captain J. Harvey of the 'Brunswick' died of their wounds. Rear Admiral Pasley ('Bellorophon'), Rear Admiral Bower ('Buffleur'), and Admiral Graves ('Souverain'), were badly wounded and mutilated. Captain the Hon. George Berkeley ('Marlborough'), Captain Sir Andrew S. Douglas (second captain of the 'Queen Charlotte') were also wounded severely, and a contusion which Sir Andrew received occasioned his death after the lapse of some years. Three lieutenants of the navy, one captain and one lieutenant of the army, three masters, seven master's mates and midshipmen, were killed; one master, two captains, and one lieutenant of marines, ten lieutenants of the navy (two of whom died) and eighteen midshipmen, were severely wounded. But the carnage on board the more crowded French ships was far more dreadful. In the six captured ships alone the killed were 690, the wounded 580. Above 300 were supposed to have gone down with

* The 'Vengeur' had been so closely engaged with the 'Brunswick' one of the six ships that broke the line that many of their parts were torn away by the collision. The sides of both ships being extremely strong they lay close together, and on the water decks the crews fought hand to hand with the bayonets fixed to the guns with cold shot and with any weapon at chance supplied.

† The 'Queen' had been greatly injured and had fallen into the same critical situation on the 29th of May.

to the memory of her great men Painters and poets seized upon the splendid fiction, and many were the hard pictures and harder verses painted and written upon it and about it. Chénier, the lyricist and laureat of the revolution, put it into his 'Song of Victories,' and, not satisfied with making the heroes of the 'Vengeur' sing '*Vive la République*' while they were sinking, he made them sing on when they were at the bottom of the sea! * The "Pindaric muse" of old republican Lebrun "could not be mute;" and she or he devoted an entire ode to the 'Vengeur.' The story spread far and wide, becoming an article of historical belief, not only in France and all over the continent, but also in England. It had been inserted in hundreds or thousands of respectable books, and no one seemed to doubt its perfect authenticity, when, in 1838, an English veteran, who had been in the battle, distinguished it for ever for all the world, but France, by a plain statement of facts in a homely letter to the newspapers. It was, however, strange that the bubble should not have been burst at least thirty-six years earlier, for Mr William Stewart Rose, who had the best means of information, and who knew personally many of the officers engaged on the 1st of June, exposed Barrere's fiction in the volume of his 'Naval History' which was published in 1802. * Mr Rose then said, in the most distinct manner, that the whole story was an *extraneous fiction*. The following passages from his book ought not to have been allowed to slide out of memory—"Far from challenging certain death, and glorying in their fate, these poor wretches (the crew of the 'Vengeur'), whose gallant defence deserved a better fate, substituted our union-jack for the republican ensign, and spread themselves over the sides and rigging of the ship, stretching out their hands to their enemies, and supplicating their assistance. Part of the crew were saved by the exertions of their enemies, but the crowds which attempted to spring into each boat, threatening these unfortunate men and those who came to their succour with equal destruction, made all further efforts desperate, and checked the compassionate zeal of their conquerors. Two of the French officers, indeed, betrayed no anxiety to avail themselves of any means of safety, and continued walking up and down the stern-gallery apparently engaged in conversation, while the ship, heeling and gradually sinking deeper and deeper, at length admitted the water into her ports, then righted for a moment, and was immediately engulfed. . . . So entirely destitute of foundation is this (Barrere's) account, that there is not an officer who was present at the moment but bears witness to the fact of the French crew having actually hoisted

the British ensign, there is not one who does not testify to the eagerness with which they implored succour, and the generous anxiety with which the English attempted to save them. It is a curious fact, that, while Barrere was expatiating on the noble ardour of republicanism, which thus excited a whole ship's company to prefer death to slavery, several of the crew were actually enrolled in the royalist regiment of Count d'Hervilly." [D'Hervilly's was a regiment composed chiefly of French emigrants, then raising or raised in England.] Yet so it was in spite of these almost official, and thoroughly reliable revelations in 1802, Barrere's story was allowed to pass current, even in this country, until November, 1838, when Rear-Admiral Griffiths checked and finished its career. *

At least nine tenths of the marvellous things told by the French of their exploits in the revolutionary and Bonaparte wars rest on a foundation just as slender as this incident of the 'Vengeur,' but, until some more Griffithses and Carlyles raise up their hands, the unrebuked lies are likely to maintain their credit. So long as our writers take upon trust the inventions or exaggerations of the French, without exercising logic or common sense—without referring to German, Spanish, Italian, and other contemporary authorities (less easy to read than the French accounts)—we must expect no rational history of the last war. We have hinted

* Rear Admiral Griffiths's letter to the 'Sun' newspaper was to this effect:

"Several periods of French victories, on the 1st of June 1794 the story of the 'Vengeur' French ship going down with the British and her crew singing '*Vive la République*'—*Vive la Liberté*—and the further absurdity that they continued firing the main deck gun with her bow deck was immovable. The report of Lord Nelson's very recently asserted by a French officer, it required no doubt on the part of the French in politics and history, to mislead precisely to Bonaparte caused his victory at Trafalgar to be regarded through France. While these reports of the French were confined to our neighbours it was little we thought of them. But now when two French la the the fact—Mr Alison in his History of Europe from 1713 to 1815 and Mr Carlyle in his similar work—has taken the French and English authorities I cannot let right to do this. It is a very ridiculous piece of nonsense. At the time the 'Vengeur' sank it was not even a month. The French fleet consisted of 11 ships, and Captain Renaudin's ship was not nearly half an hour from the shore. The main deck gun was not fired. The ship was not on board the 'Vengeur' but was in the English fleet. The French fleet was commanded by Lieutenant (the late Rear Admiral) Wenne. The 'Vengeur' was taken possession of by the boats of the British fleet. The British fleet was the Allied Lieutenant Deschamps and Captain Renaudin and myself who were by Captain's orders at lunch in his cabin. During the time of the battle the 'Vengeur' was Barrere's masterpiece. The largest, most inspiring, piece of *blague* (hoaxery and rhodomontade) manufactured for some centuries by any man or nation. For which words a black mark has been set upon Mr Carlyle in France, for ever and evermore. We should think his life would scarcely have been in safety if he had ventured to dare shortly after the publication of this his second edition. The French journalists and writing people in general hung and still cling to the exploded fable and were and are furious rabid stars staring mad against all who have dared to doubt it but most of all against Rear Admiral Griffiths and Thomas Carlyle who put doubt out of the question. If Mr Thiers's History should get through fifty editions in his lifetime, Barrere's lies will be found, unredressed, unmitigated, unsoftened in the fiftieth edition.

* *Dou parient ces cris déchirans ?*
Qu'ils sont ces voix unanimés
Les voix des braves expirans
Qui chûent en fond des abîmes

Œuvres de Chénier

† Mr. W. S. Rose, who has since acquired reputation as a poet, traveller, translator, and as a man of exquisite humour, is a son of Pitt's friend and scholar the late Sir George Rose, who was for so many years, treasurer to the navy.

at the absurdity of placing implicit confidence in the stilted casuistical *mémoires* of the Girondists, but what shall we say of the English writer who place the same reliance on Girondist authorities in one page, and on Jacobin authorities in the next or perhaps in the same page, or even in the very same paragraph, making a pot-pourri of contradictions and inconsistencies—who goes on bestowing the same confidence on the Bonaparteans or Imperialists as he had given to the Girondists and Jacobins, and who seems not to be aware of the existence of any other continental authorities whatsoever—who, even when there is good English authority at hand, either overlooks it in ignorance of its existence, or couples it with the French bombast, as if truth and fiction could march together, or, by being blended, prevent a perfect truth?

Lord Howe's Channel fleet was at sea again on the 3rd of September, and then consisted of thirty-seven sail of the line, and seven frigates, to which were added a squadron of four seventy-fours, one sixty-four, and three frigates, furnished by our ally the King of Portugal. The French fleet had not yet come out of Brest, but towards the end of the year, when Howe had returned to port, they ventured out to sea, and began a most unfortunate cruise which ended in the loss of five of their ships of the line by bad weather and accidents. It is impossible to compress in our narrative all the frigate fights, or even the contests between small squadrons, which took place in these first years of the war. There was a variety and inequality in the spirit displayed in some of these numerous engagements, but, in general, the superiority of the English, as sailors and combatants on their own element, was maintained and enhanced, while many of the actions showed a combination of skill, coolness, and bravery, which will never be surpassed. These engagements took place in the Channel, on the coast of France, in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, in the East Indies and in the West, for the French had ships enough to show in all these seas, and in some places they had for a time a decided superiority of force. During the whole of the present year the British lost only one ship of the line, the 'Alexander' 74, and she did not surrender until she had sustained the assault of three French ships of the line for two hours. Nothing was more evident than that the spirit of our officers and men was incomparably higher than it had been during the American war.

In the West Indies, where land forces co-operated with the navy, our success was sufficiently brilliant. Perhaps too much importance was attached to the conquest of some sugar islands, but, if we had not taken them, the French would have taken ours, subjecting the planters and colonists to a horrible fate. The troops under the command of Lieut-General Sir Charles Grey, which had been landed on the coast of Flanders in the preceding autumn, when the Duke of York and his allies were closely pressed by the French, were

soon re-embarked, and continued their voyage to Barbadoes, the place of their original destination; and in the month of February they proceeded, with a squadron of four ships of the line, and fourteen frigates and other vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, to reduce the island of Martinique, against which an unsuccessful attempt had been made in 1793. The French defended themselves in their forts, which were rather numerous and strong, but the British squadron and army were both reinforced during the siege of Fort Louis and Fort Bourbon, and by the 25th of March the island was completely reduced. Saint Lucia surrendered after the mere show of a defence. The rich and well fortified island of Guadaloupe held out for some time, and gave occasion to several sieges and stormings, but by the end of April the garrisons capitulated, five or six thousand men laid down their arms, and the isles of Mariegalante, Desadea, and the Saintes (the dependencies of Guadaloupe) were included in the surrender. Sir Charles Grey then dispatched some of his troops, under General Whyte, to complete the expulsion of the French of the republican party from the island of St Domingo. In the month of May, the republicans having fled in all directions, Port-au Prince, the French capital, was captured by Whyte. In the mean time the yellow fever broke out in Guadaloupe, committed great ravages among the English troops there, and carried off General Dundas, who had been appointed governor of the island, and at this sad moment, and when our ships were engaged elsewhere, a squadron arrived from France, having on board fifteen hundred or two thousand land troops and a commissioner of the Convention—the bloody and terrible Victor Hugues, who, upon the death of the commandant by the fever, took upon himself the entire direction of the troops. Being the bearer of the decrees of the Convention, which gave immediate liberty to all the blacks, he was immediately joined by the negroes and mulattoes. The French royalists of the island, who had joined the English, and invited them thither, in order to be protected from the fury of the sans-culottes, either changed sides or faintly adhered to the English. Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, who were away at St Christopher's, collected a force from the adjoining islands, and attempted to dislodge Victor Hugues, who had made himself master of one or two of the forts. On his side the Conventionist attracted a number of blacks and desperate adventurers of nearly all kinds and nations to his standard, promising the poor the property of the rich, promising the blacks a perfect equality with the whites, assuring to all the Rights of Man, and every blessing and advantage which the

* On the 4th of March 1794 Edward Kent, father of the present Major Kent, arrived at Martinique from Canada and took the command of one of the British brigades. The French commander was General Richemont, son of the officer of that name who had served in America with Lafayette and who was now residing in Paris. In France to escape the guillotine he had disguised himself here as a still more at Guadaloupe where he commanded and led a storming detachment.

revolution had conferred on the common people in France. These motley republicans, who plundered, burned, and murdered the respectable colonists, were well beaten in three encounters, but their number kept increasing, while the English force was thinned by incessant fatigue, the spread of the yellow fever, and the miseries of the rainy season. After some desperate but unfortunate and apparently ill-directed attacks on Point-à-Pitre, the capital of the island, Sir Charles Grey returned to Martinique, which was in danger from fierce insurgents and banditti, the proselytes of Victor Hugues. The weak English force which remained behind in Guadalupe, with some three or four hundred desperate French royalists—men who had nothing to hope from Victor Hugues, but death by the guillotine he had brought with him, or fusilade and massacre at the hands of his emancipated blacks—kept their ground for a long time in a corner of the island. When they were surrounded and reduced almost to extremities, Sir John Jervis, though the hurricane months were not passed, sailed to their assistance. On arriving he found that he could not so much as communicate with them and a day or two after his arrival General Graham, who had been badly wounded, made a very bad capitulation by which the French royalists were given up to Victor Hugues and his black, white, and mulatto republicans. The guillotine was set to work upon them at Point-à-Pitre, the negroes being taught how to manage that bloody instrument, but the greater part of these royalists were fusiladed in heaps by the republicanized negroes. If the same deeds had not been perpetrated in France by scores of the generals and commissioners of the Convention, this Hugues, whose name to this day is never mentioned in the West India Islands without shuddering might pass for a most extraordinary and conspicuous villain: he showed no mercy, the sick and wounded in the hospitals the very dead in their graves, were the objects of his cruelty or outrage. At his command the remains of General Dundas were torn from their sanctuary and thrown into the river. Some British officers, whom the chances of war had made his prisoners, were condemned to the most servile labours. By the end of the year he had entirely recovered the island, but had reduced a great part of it to a frightful waste, having destroyed the plantations and seats of the royalists, and marked his course everywhere with devastation and blood.

A curious triumph attended our arms in the Mediterranean, where Corsica, the native island of the man who was so soon to be the master and despot of France and the arbiter of Europe, annexed itself to the British crown. The cruelties committed by the French, under Louis XV., in their subjugation of the island, were of too recent a date to be forgotten by a very brave but very revengeful people. To the Corsicans the French settlers were aliens in blood, in language, in manners, in interests, in everything, and a very large

part of the population, including all the mountaineers and most of the peasantry, who pretty closely resembled their neighbours, the Sards, who had so mauled Admiral Truguet's fleet last year, were incensed at the changes introduced into the isle, and the disrespect shown to their priests since the revolution. At the dawn of that mighty change which deluded so large a portion of mankind with false and extravagant hopes, many of the better-educated Corsicans fondly believed that their country would be improved and rendered happy by the political reforms in progress at Paris, and by remaining a portion of the French empire, a realized Utopia. In 1789, on the motion of Mirabeau, in the Constituent Assembly, all the Corsican patriots, who had bravely fought against the French twenty years before, for the independence of their country, and who had been living in exile ever since, were recalled with honour and invited to take part in the new order of things. Pasquale Paoli, who had gallantly fought the Genoese for twelve years before they ceded the island



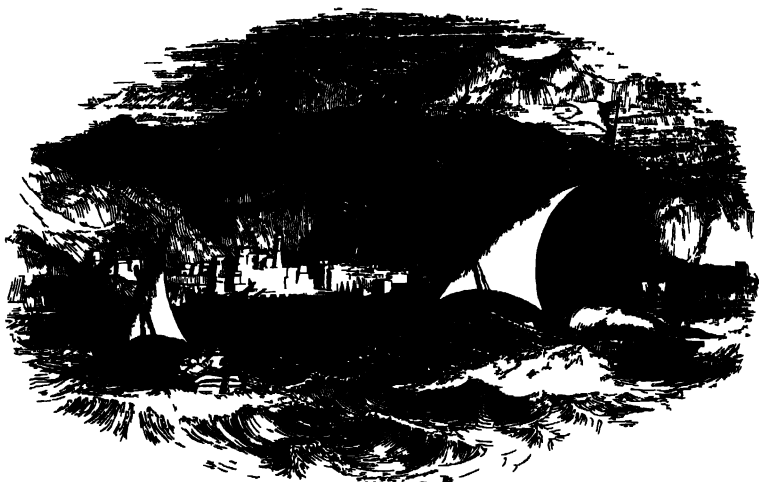
by an iniquitous treaty to Louis XV., who had been a sort of king or president under the title of General of the Kingdom and Chief of the Supreme Magistracy of Corsica, who had afterwards struggled hard with the French, and defeated them in more than one terrible battle, was the most eminent of all these recalled Corsican exiles. He had passed nearly the whole of his exile, from the year 1769 to the year 1789, in England, living in familiar intercourse with the noblest, the most enlightened, and best of our countrymen. Every English reader is acquainted with him as the friend and frequent companion of Doctor Samuel Johnson, who held him in high estimation. With habits almost become English, Paoli repaired to Paris in the autumn of 1789: he was received with acclamations in the Assembly, and in their hall swore fidelity

to France and the new and unfinished *monarchic* constitution. He was presented to Louis XVI, who made him lieutenant general and military commandant in Corsica. After being entertained in Paris by the patriots and popular idols of that day, he proceeded to his native island, where he was received with enthusiasm, and placed at the head of the national guards that were then raised or in process of being raised in Corsica. He acted faithfully towards the constitutional monarchy so long as it existed, but when the Girondists and Jacobins united and destroyed that government, to which equally with himself they had all promised and vowed fidelity, when they had set up an anarchical republic, and destroyed or proscribed all those friends who had brought him back, he separated himself from the French party, and began to concert measures with the old Corsican patriots. He was presently denounced to the Convention, who placed his name on their lists of proscription. He assembled his countrymen, explained his danger and their own, held up to execration the cruelty and impiety of the French, and was forthwith appointed general-in-chief and president of the council of government.* Paoli knew that the island was not strong enough to defend itself against France, his predictions made him look towards England, and, as soon as war broke out between this country and France, he put himself in communication with our government, and with the English commanders cruising in the Mediterranean. Lord Hood, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, instantly gave him some assistance, and at the appearance of a few English ships the insurrection became general, and the French were driven out from all the places they held, with the exception of San Fiorenzo, Calvi and Bastia. This was in the summer and autumn of 1793 when the misfortune of Buonaparte and all of that family who remained in the island fled in sad plight to Marseilles, to call upon the triumphant Jacobins there for succour and for vengeance upon Paoli and the English. Commodore Lunzee, who had only three ships of the line and two frigates with him, was, however, roughly handled and repulsed in making an attempt upon San Fiorenzo Bay, after the evacuation of Toulon. Lord Hood, having received it in information that the Convention intended throwing a very strong French reinforcement into the island, made his preparations for attacking their garrisons there with his whole force. By the 7th of February of the present year he completely blockaded the ports, and landed five regiments under the command of General Dundas—a spiritless, incompetent pedant, who ought never to have been employed beyond the drill ground and the reviewing-field. Dundas invested San Fiorenzo in form, as if it had been a fortress of the first order and defended by a well-appointed garrison. The French, finding the post

untenable, burned one frigate they had in the harbour, scuttled another, evacuated San Fiorenzo, and retreated with proper speed to Bastia—with such speed that the slow and lagging Dundas seems scarcely to have touched their rear during the retreat. This was on the 19th of February. Lord Hood now proposed the immediate reduction of Bastia, then the principal town of the island; but Dundas, after advancing to the heights behind the town, retreated, and declared that he could not co-operate in the undertaking until the arrival of 3000 more land troops who were expected from Gibraltar.† Hood thereupon determined to reduce the place himself with his naval force, and without co-operation or assistance from Dundas. In this resolution his lordship was encouraged by Horatio Nelson, now captain of the ‘*Agamemnon*,’ and the youngest captain in the fleet. “A thousand men,” said Nelson, “would certainly take Bastia with 500 men and the ‘*Agamemnon*.’ I would attempt it. My seamen are now what British seamen ought to be, almost invincible: they really mind shot no more than peas.”‡ General Dundas retained his former opinion, saying that he considered the siege of Bastia, with their present means and force, to be a most visionary and rash enterprise such as no officer would be justified in undertaking. Hood replied, that he would gladly take the whole responsibility upon himself, and attempt the place with the means and force at his own disposal. At this time there was a change in the military command, but General d’Aubant agreed in opinion with his predecessor, and refused to furnish the admiral with a single soldier, cannon, or any stores. Lord Hood, however, obtained a few artillerymen; and, as a part of the troops had been originally embarked as marines, and were borne on the ships’ books, he could call them on board as his own men. “We are but few,” said Nelson, “but of the right sort.” That hero superintended the landing of the besieging force, which consisted of 1183 soldiers, artillerymen, and marines, and 250 sailors. The landing was effected on the 4th of April, and immediately the sailors began to drag the great guns up the faces of almost perpendicular rocks, which had seldom been scaled except by Corsican goats. The soldiers, removed from the benumbing influences of their pedantic, over-cautious leaders, and under the command of “Brigadier” Nelson (for he had now obtained that title from the army), aided with the seamen, and, to the astonishment of the French and Corsicans, artillery, ammunition, and stores were soon lodged on the tops of these precipices, and the ridges of them were seen bristling with batteries that commanded the town and citadel, as well as the outworks of the enemy. Paoli sent a small Corsican force to co-operate on the opposite

* The hymn of the Islanders resounded in every valley and its threatening voice carried alarm even to the ramparts of Ajaccio.—*Let. of Buonaparte, Mémoires de la p. 1. his memoirs*

• Nelson who had landed and was serving on shore with a few sailors and marines was greatly astonished and annoyed. He said, ‘If I had had with me 500 troops to a certainty I should have stormed the town, and I believe it might have been carried. I dream of so little, that seems that they never mean to get forward.’ What the general would have said to me, is a serious mystery, I cannot conjecture.—*Bonaparte’s Life of Nelson*.
† *Id. id.*



I T A

side of the town, but it does not appear that these islanders rendered any essential service: they were probably, destitute of artillery and proper officers. By the 10th Nelson and his brave coadjutor Colonel Villette, had everything ready on the heights and on the morning of the 11th the place was summoned by Lord Hood. The National Convention had sent thither one of their most energetic commissioners, Lacombe-Saint Michel, who had been a captain of artillery, and an officer of high repute before the French revolution began. This functionary replied to his lordship's summons—'I have red-hot shots for your ships, and bayonets for your troops. When two thirds of our men are killed, I will then trust to the generosity of the English.' Nelson, who remained on shore in the batteries, then took up the discourse with five twenty-four pounders, two 13 inch mortars, two 10 inch mortars, and two heavy carronades. The fleet could do little beyond keeping up the blockade, for the port of Bastia is not very safe, nor adapted for vessels of high tonnage.* During the time which had been lost through the hesitation and timidity of the English generals the garrison had erected several new works, and had strengthened the old ones, with the skill and rapidity Frenchmen usually display on these occasions: the place was, therefore,

much stronger now, when it was only attacked by Lord Hood's force, than it had been at the period when it might have been assailed by this force united with that of Dundas, whose five regiments were now lying at San Fiorenzo doing nothing. But, if Nelson and Villette had but few pieces in battery, they fired with such precision that a ball or bomb was rarely thrown away; they cleared the outworks of the enemy, and knocked some of their inner works about their ears. Lacombe-Saint Michel proved not quite so valorous and desperate in deed as he had been in word. As early as the 11th of May, when the siege had lasted a month, he began to speak of negotiation, and on the 19th of May a treaty of capitulation was begun with him. That night some of the troops from San Fiorenzo made their appearance on the neighbouring heights and in the following morning Dundas's successor, General d'Arbant, came up with the whole force to take possession of Bastia, to the reduction of which they had not in the slightest degree contributed. On the 21st the articles of capitulation were signed on board Admiral Hood's ship, the *Victory*: 1000 French regulars, 1500 national guards, and a large party of Corsican troops attached to the French interest, in all between 3000 and 4000 men, laid down their arms, to be shipped off for Toulon.

If our sieges had been more frequently intrusted to seamen, or men who had been trained in the navy, if our routine generals had been put on the shelf, and their old books and systems into the fire, and if a set of post-captains had been draughted from our fleets, there are good grounds for believ-

* The *Proserpina* gun boat had been brought round from San Fiorenzo for the purpose of playing on a part of the town, but on getting under sail she was prevented by a violent swell from taking her proper station, and being exposed to a heavy fire of red balls was so on flames several of the shots striking her between wind and water and lodging amongst the masts in her hull. Her commander, Captain Serres, immediately made the signal for assistance but till boats arrived to carry off the crew, which they fortunately preserved, he never intermitted his fire upon the enemy. The gun boat was of course burned.—*N. S. Rose*

ing that England might have been spared some tremendous expenses, many reverses, and not a few disgraces in the first fourteen years of this long war. Wherever the seamen were landed and left to act under their own officers, they did their work well and rapidly. It was the same in the West India Islands as in Corsica. The French republicans were obtaining rapid victories mainly because they had got rid of the old routines and systems, and were employing commanders who had no other theory than that of moving rapidly, and attacking boldly and suddenly. The loss sustained by the British during the whole of this daring siege amounted only to seven sailors and seven soldiers killed, and thirteen sailors and twenty-one soldiers wounded. There still remained in possession of the republicans the coast town and fortress of Calvi, most strongly situated among rocks and precipices. It was and is by far the strongest place in the whole island and in other respects most important, being the point nearest to France, and with a fresh wind only eight hours' sail from the French port of Antibes. It was resolved that Calvi should be invested, without loss of time, by both army and navy, and, fortunately, at this juncture the command of the land troops was intrusted to General Sir Charles Stuart, an officer of eminent talent, and of almost romantic bravery and enterprise. He suited Nelson, who was to take the chief management of the sailors on shore, as well as the diligent Wolfe had suited Lord Howe in his younger days. Two such men, with adequate means, would have performed miracles if they had been left to act together.

By the middle of June Calvi, in spite of its thundering and commanding batteries, throwing red-hot shot, was invested by sea and land. Nelson, together with Captains Hallowell and Serecoid, served in the batteries on shore, after having helped to make them. Serecoid, who had given proof of the greatest coolness and intrepidity at the siege of Bastia, was killed by grape shot whilst getting the last gun into its place on one of these batteries. "I trust it will not be forgotten," said Nelson to Lord Hood, "that twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance have been dragged to the different batteries, mounted, and all but three fought by seamen, except one artilleryman to point the guns." These heavy guns were all dragged up precipices as steep as, and more lofty than, those at Bastia. This tremendous fatigue was undergone in that scorching, almost African, climate, in the hottest season of the year, or during the reign of the Sol-Leone, or Lion-Sun, as the Italians and Corsicans poetically call what we designate the Dog-days. But worse than fatigue was suffered during the lengthened siege of this strong place. Many of the neighbouring hollows and flats were covered with underwood and stagnating water—were infectious pantani, or maremme, differing only in extent from the pestilential marshes on the Tuscan and Roman coasts, and close under the ships and the encampment of the besiegers there was a great pestiferous

bog or pond, called by the natives *La Vigna del Vescovo* (the Bishop's Vineyard), and from all these points, sweltering and evaporating under the Lion-Sun, there rose malaria enough to poison the air for a considerable distance. Of two thousand men that were landed, above half were sick, and the rest looked like so many phantoms. On the 10th of August, after a siege of fifty-one days, the republican general, Casabianca, surrendered on terms of capitulation. The loss from the fire of the enemy had not been great, amounting only to 31 killed and 60 wounded, but Nelson received a serious injury, a shot struck near him, drove sand and small gravel into one of his eyes, and deprived him of the sight of it.

By the advice of Paoli, a deputation of the Consulta, or Provisionary Council of Government, proceeded to London, to offer the ancient crown of Corsica to the King of Great Britain. The offer was accepted, and most Corsicans, and no doubt Paoli himself, expected that he would have been appointed viceroy. But the British government chose to send in that high capacity Sir Gilbert Eliot (afterwards Lord Minto), whom we have seen as a great parliamentary debater on the side of opposition, and as the bitter and unfair assailant of Sir Elijah Impey. This appointment gave almost universal dissatisfaction to the Corsicans, and certainly both hurt the pride and cooled the patriotism of Paoli—an old man indeed, being in his sixty-eighth year (a year younger than Lord Howe when he achieved the greatest of his victories), but still full of health, vigour, and activity, and with his intellect in better order than at any previous period of his life. Having alienated the affections of the islanders by a step which hurt them all, we set about gratifying them with a constitution, which the great body of the people, unfit and unprepared for any such regimen, neither understood nor cared about. Sir Gilbert Eliot, on the 21st of June, wrote exultingly to his government, "His majesty has acquired a crown, those who bestow it have acquired liberty. The British nation has extended its political and commercial sphere by the accession of Corsica, Corsica has added new securities to her ancient possessions, and has opened fresh fields of prosperity and wealth, by her liberal incorporation with a vast and powerful empire." But there was no chance of durability for these mutual benefits, for that must depend upon mutual good-will and the devotedness of the people to the new system. Even the constitution which Sir Gilbert Eliot helped to make, which he recognised and swore to for his sovereign and for himself, was a most crude and defective thing, containing the monstrous and inexcusable blunder of a parliament of only one house or chamber, the consequence of which must eternally be, that the representative will be in constant collision with the executive. It conferred trial by jury, which, among a people like the Corsicans of that time, can only be a curse, and the cause of murder and perpetual feuds. A remarkable piece

of diplomatic impudence seems to demand a brief notice. The long since fallen and contemptible republic of Genoa not only claimed the restoration of some prizes taken by Corsican cruisers previous to the arrival of the English, but preferred a claim to the possession of the island itself. These demands did not meet with much attention, but orders were given that the Corsican privateers should respect the Genoese flag as that of a neutral state.

The management of the great armies of the coalition on the continent was, by many degrees, worse and more inexcusable than during the preceding year. The rising of the Polish patriots under Kosciuszko distracted more than ever the attention of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and induced his Prussian majesty to send a large army into Poland to secure the territories which had been allotted to him in the last partition, and to set up a pretension to more. Frederick William went into Poland to take the command of his army there, and the Duke of Brunswick, dissatisfied with his conduct, and discouraged by the bad termination of two campaigns, threw up the command of the Prussian army and its contingents on the Rhine. The King of Prussia even authorised some secret negotiations for a separate peace with the National Convention, and, when these manoeuvres became known, he frankly intimated that he would abandon the coalition unless he were returned by a liberal subsidy. A bargain—as had a one as ever was struck—was concluded in the month of April 2,200,000*l.* was to be paid to his Prussian majesty, who was to furnish an army of 62,400 men, the money to be provided by Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces (the only subsidizing powers in Europe), but not in equal proportions, for Great Britain was to pay more than five times as much as the Dutch. A great part of this subsidy went to Poland, where Frederick William remained. As more and more troops were required in that country, his army on the Rhine fell short of the stipulated number, and the gentlest thing that can be said of the conduct of this latter Prussian army in this year's campaign is that it was loose and spiritless.

In the Netherlands, where Austrians, English, Dutch, Hanoverians were to fight together, the campaign scarcely opened under better auspices. A great many of the Dutch, both officers and men, were lukewarm or democratic. The Duke of York quarrelled with the Austrian commanders, and refused to serve under General Clairfait. This ill-timed quarrel has been very generally attributed to the pride, petulance, and jealousy of rank of the young English prince, but it appears that he had better reasons for objecting to the supreme command of the Austrian general, who had evinced on various occasions an indifference to the common interest of the coalition, and even a readiness to sacrifice that interest to the views and objects of his own government. He had, too, in the preceding campaign worn out the patience of the best part of

the English army by the slowness of his movements. The Duke of York was not a military genius, and possibly would never have become a great general under any circumstances, but he was badly matched, sadly hampered in this his brief career his energy and bravery, if they had been allowed full play, might have maintained the war in a better manner than that in which it was carried on by the Austrian formulists. In order to restore harmony (which never was restored), it was agreed between the courts of London and Vienna, that the emperor himself should take the command of the army, that the Duke of York should serve under him, that the campaign should be opened with vigour on the French frontier, and that the heads of the columns should be again turned towards Paris.* It was also agreed, or rather projected, that the army of the King of Prussia should move from the Rhine by the valley of the Moselle, traverse Luxembourg, and join the allies on the Sambre, or co-operate with them in their advance, and England further undertook to send Lord Morris with 10,000 men to the coast of Brittany to back the Vendéens, who seemed determined to make another effort, and to advance with them towards Paris from the west, while the English, Austrians, Prussians, &c. advanced from the north. It appears, too, that something more was expected from the Spaniards and Sardians than a defensive war to cover their own territories—that it was hoped that the Spaniards, who had fought so well during the campaign of 1793, might advance from the Pyrenees, and that the King of Sardinia might hurl back the French from the Alps, recover himself of Siwoy, and once more open the road towards Lyons. Thus, this was still to be a "centrifugal war," and those who had honestly built their hopes upon it seem to have lost sight of the inadequate strength of these five widely-separated armies. The emperor arrived early in April, but Francis II was no soldier, was more mythical than any of his generals, and, though the flattering Imperialists of Brussels told him that the Gauls would tremble now that Cæsar was come, the fact proved otherwise†. As if to demonstrate from the beginning that there was to be no change of system, the emperor went with the main army and laid siege to Landrecies, a second-rate fortress. The republicans made several attempts for its relief, but they were defeated with considerable loss, and the place was obliged to surrender. But, as the allies already possessed on the same frontier Valenciennes, Conde, and Quesnoy, Landrecies was far from being worth the time and trouble it had cost to take it, and, while the emperor was engaged here, Pichegru penetrated into West Flanders, where Clairfait was stationed with a division of the imperial army, and captured Courtrai and Menin before that slow

* The plan for a campaign was drawn up by the Austrian General Mack whose reputation kept increasing.

† The good citizens of Brussels gave the Emperor Francis a triumphal entrance and inscribed over one of their gates,—*Cæsar advenit, tremant Galli.*

general could offer him any interruption. Another republican force, commanded by Jourdan, had entered the country of Luxembourg before the siege of Landrecies was begun, but while the siege continued Jourdan was allowed to increase his army to a prodigious extent. Without counting the Prussians, who were to come, but who never came, the allies, when they opened the campaign from the Netherlands, had not, altogether, above 200,000 effective men in the field, and these were absurdly scattered, divided, and subdivided under a perplexing variety of commands. The French, at the commencement of operations, must have had, at the least, 350,000 men (garrisons included) spread along this frontier, and later in the year, when their successes on or beyond their other frontiers allowed them to reinforce this army of the North, not only were all the losses it had sustained made up, but it was rendered much stronger than it was at the opening of the campaign. The republican generals (and little for the loss of a few thousands of men here and there, for the populous and armed hive was close behind them) whence they could always draw reinforcements. On the other hand, the armies of the allies were recruited with slowness and difficulty. It is extremely difficult to get even to an approximation of the amount of the republican force, for French writers, in applauding the celerity of the central government, which raised them so rapidly, generally exaggerate numbers, and, in eulogising the conduct of these armies in the field, they always diminish numbers, as if calculating on a forgetfulness of their previous numerals and assertions. Taking their own lowest estimate, the *levée en masse* and *la loi sur le recrutement* had given them in the preceding year 1,250,000 men, who were all put under arms to cover the frontiers or to fill the depôts in the interior. Of these troops, 150,000 had been brigaded, two battalions of the new levies being united with one battalion of troops of the line, and 400,000 men mixed in these proportions were on the frontiers or in the frontier fortresses at the beginning of the present year. They state that of these 800,000 men (which left in depôt 500,000) there were stationed under the Alps 100,000, under the Pyrenees 120,000, on the western coast, between Cherbourg and La Rochelle (to keep down the Vendéans and the Bretons) 80,000, on the Rhine 200,000, and along the frontier of the north (including the Ardennes, where there were 40,000 or 50,000) 300,000, but it appears certain that the numbers of four of these armies are overstated, in order to diminish the strength of the fifth, or army of the North, which alone had to sustain an obstinate war with the allies, whose main force and principal attack was in this quarter. The simplest rules of arithmetic ought to have taught the allies the absurdity of their plans and hopes (but some of them had no longer a hope left, and were only idling with the war), and the same simple rules ought to expose the mendacity of the French, who pretend

that, notwithstanding the myriads they had in arms, they gained all their victories with handfuls of men, or with numbers incomparably less than those opposed to them. Jourdan, after being greatly reinforced from the army of the Rhine, fell upon the Austrian general, Beaulieu, who attempted to check his progress in Luxembourg. The Austrians were well placed behind fortified lines, and they fought bravely for two days, but Jourdan, throwing forward column after column, perplexing them with a variety of attacks, and then overwhelming them with numbers, drove them from their lines with great loss. Pichegru, after beating or outmanœuvring Clairfait, wheeled round upon the Duke of York, who, with about 30,000 men, chiefly English and Hanoverians, was stationed at Tournay, but here the republican general was repulsed in every attack he made, and compelled to retreat from a field which he left covered with his dead. The celerity of his movements and the superiority of his numbers were of no avail. Yet, on the very next day, the 11th of May, Pichegru took by surprise Clairfait, who had come up to try to retake Courtray. The Austrians, who had got possession of the suburbs, and who had thrown up some hasty works on the road that led from Bruges to Courtray, made a spirited resistance, driving back their assailants, and at one moment seemed secure of the victory, for the new levies of the French, who very generally fell into panics in their first actions, gave way and swept off some of the veteran troops with them, but the fugitives were rallied, the republican garrison made sorties, and after fighting for twelve hours Clairfait abandoned his ground, falling back into Flanders in good order, and taking up a position which enabled him to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. A few days after this Pichegru, impelled against his better judgment by the fanatical Saint-Just, who was *en mission* with the army, threw his right wing, under Kléber and Marceau, across the Sambre, to attack the Austrian general Kautz, who was lying there to cover some towns. Here the republicans were defeated with terrible loss, were driven back into the river and across it, and must have been utterly annihilated but for the over-caution and slowness of the Austrians and the good generalship of Kléber. The actual loss of the French was estimated at 4000. With spirits revived by this victory the allies came to the determination of waiting no longer for the Prussians, who showed no intention of moving, and whose march along the Moselle would have now been obstructed by Jourdan with an army far superior in numbers to their own. In a grand council of war they determined to envelop the left or chief and victorious part of the French army on the Marne, by moving upon it from the various points they occupied, in five attacking columns. But the success of these combined movements depended upon celerity and a perfect understanding among the leaders of the several columns, and, while quickness could be expected from none except the English column,

there was, apparently, a total want of good understanding, good feeling, and concert among all the commanders. They took no proper measures for ascertaining the movements of the enemy, while all their own movements were promptly and correctly ascertained by the French, who still had a large portion of the population of the Netherlands in their favour. The Duke of York, whose experience of the Austrian slowness ought to have moderated his speed, dashed forward towards the appointed centre, round which all the columns were to meet, but at Turcoing, where he expected to see the head of Clairfait's column, he was enveloped by the republican columns of Souham and Bonnaud, was attacked by a force three times greater than his own, and completely defeated. The duke himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. The other columns of the allies which had moved so slowly, or which had scarcely moved at all, now fell into panic and confusion, and the Emperor I ranca had the mortification of witnessing from the heights of Templeuve the retreat of the entire army of the coalition. He soon returned to Brussels and then to Vienna, taking his great military adviser Muck with him and leaving the Prince of Cobourg to command in his name. His departure was important in this respect—it served as a signal for the generals of different nations to burst out into loud, vehement reproaches against one another. The English and Hanoverian column, though it had suffered a terrible loss in the battle of Turcoing, soon rallied, and even foiled Pichegru in an attempt to seize or invest Tournay. The Austrian general Kaunitz, who had defeated Kleber and Marceau, gained another victory on nearly the same ground, and once more drove the French across the Sambre. But these exploits only retarded the crisis. Jourdan, having nothing to do on the Moselle, brought the greater part of his army towards the Sambre, Pichegru and all the divisions under him were reinforced almost daily, fresh corps d'armee were drawn from the depôts and advanced towards the theatre of war, for, whatever revolution took place in the central government at Paris, and whether power was in the hands of Robespierre and his party, or in the hands of those who overthrew him, there was no relaxation in these efforts, and the people, once in arms and encouraged by victors that never lost anything by quiet or modest reporting, were ready to march without any effort on the part of their strange government. More than ever war was the best and most profitable business for the French, and, if there had been other employment for them, they were losing their taste for it, through that incessant drilling and soldiering which was kept up in every part of the country. At the same time the reinforcements of the allies, which were to be brought from great distances, arrived very slowly and in very small numbers. Austria as well as Prussia had need of a large force on the side of Poland, unless she resigned herself to the loss of her share in another and final partition, and to

the aggrandisement of her neighbour and rival Pichegru, after some manœuvres which perplexed the allies, struck off to the left and laid siege to Ypres. Clairfait, after waiting for reinforcements which never arrived, marched to the relief of the besieged town, and defeated Pichegru in a smart action. But the French general was reinforced immediately after by the brigade of Devanther, and he turned upon Clairfait, who had been left without any support on the ground he had won—Prince Cobourg was coming, but not come. Pichegru recovered the ground he had lost, beat Clairfait, and took Ypres, the strong garrison of that place opening the gates, and piling their arms like traitors or cowards. In the meantime Jourdan marched to the siege of Charleroi, and called in troops, who moved with lighter baggage and a much quicker pace than any of their adversaries, to fall in from various points and join him. The Hereditary Prince of Orange was dispatched with a part of the army of the coalition to cover Charleroi, and the prince performed this duty so well that he defeated Jourdan in a pitched battle, and drove him across the Sambre. This was the third time in the course of the present campaign that the French had been compelled to recross that river. But again the republicans were reinforced, and their assailants not. A proclamation was issued by the Austrian authorities of Brussels exhorting the people of the Austrian Netherlands to rise *en masse*, but, if these people rose at all, it would be for the French and not for the emperor. In a few days Jourdan crossed the Sambre once more, and opened a tremendous bombardment upon Charleroi. When the place was reduced, and actually in the hands of the republicans, Cobourg came up, joined the Prince of Orange and General Baulieu, and risked a general action to save the town. On the 26th of June Cobourg attacked Jourdan on the plains of Fleurus. At first the allies were very successful: the Prince of Orange drove in Jourdan's left, pursued it through the woods of Monceaux, and almost to the banks of the Sambre, but in this advance they were discouraged by learning for the first time that the garrison of Charleroi had capitulated, and Kleber brought some batteries to bear upon them, enveloped them in the wood of Monceaux, and drove them back with great loss. Nearly at the same moment Beaulieu thoroughly defeated on the extreme right of the French the division of Marceau, the greater part of which fled across the Sambre, and appeared no more on the field of battle. Even in the centre the republicans were worsted and driven out of some redoubts. Evening was advancing when Jourdan received a powerful reinforcement, including a great quantity of artillery, which continued to be supplied with still increasing profusion. Marceau, who had thrown himself, with that portion of his division which did not run away, into the village of Lambusart, close on the bank of the Sambre, was joined there by General Lefevre. Beaulieu attacked them both,

and was gaining the village, when Jourdan brought all his corps de reserve to the threatened point. Here, and here only, the allies were at last beaten, but they had fought for thirteen hours in a hot summer day, and could bear up no longer against an enemy whose numbers were increased rather than diminished in the course of the battle, and, as night was setting in, the Prince of Cobourg ordered a general retreat. This was by far the hardest-fought battle of the campaign: the loss on both sides was very great, and all that the French could boast of was that they had repelled an attack. Cobourg retired in good order to Halle, and prepared to fight again for the preservation of what remained to the house of Austria in the Netherlands. But the sans-culottic portion of the Belgians now again declared everywhere for the French. Bruges, having only a weak garrison to resist the popular will, opened its gates to them, Pichegru, aided by General Moreau, compelled the Duke of York to retreat to Oudenarde, from Oudenarde to Tournay, and thence on to Antwerp. The places the English left in their rear followed the example of Bruges, and the English garrison at Ostend was embarked on board of transports, and brought round to the Scheldt. At Antwerp the Duke of York was joined by Lord Moira, with 10,000 British troops, who had been originally intended for the war in the Vendée, but who had not been got ready until some time after the terrible destruction of the Vendéens at Savenay. The duke's communications with Clairfait were re-established, and these two armies occupied the country between Antwerp and Louvain, holding both these towns, and Mechlin, which lay between them. Part of the army of Pichegru invested Valenciennes, Conde, Quesnov, and Landreies, those useless conquests of the allies; the Convention, which had before this ordered that no quarter should be given to any English or Hanoverian troops, sent a fresh decree commanding that the garrisons left in these places should be butchered to a man if they prolonged their defence, and these troops, otherwise disheartened, capitulated almost immediately. A grand junction was made between the armies of Pichegru and Jourdan, and 150,000 men advanced upon Brussels. Cobourg threw himself before them, and formed an entrenched camp in the forest of Sognes, in the hope of covering Brussels. When attacked, the Austrians stood their ground manfully for some time, and with their well served artillery inflicted a severe loss; but the republican columns were precipitated upon them from all sides, masses succeeded to masses, and at last they were driven out of their entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. They retreated to Brussels, retreated through that town during the night, leaving the sans-culottes in it to welcome the French, who entered in triumph on the 9th of July, just as the abundant harvests of the country were ripe for the sickle. The ancient town of Ghent had opened its gates to the republicans on the 5th. The Duke of York

and Lord Moira were attacked by the enemy in great force on the 12th, and compelled to take shelter in Mechlin, but when the French attempted to dislodge them Lord Moira drove them back with loss. Three days after fresh columns of the republicans renewed the attack, and drove the English out of the place, and on the following day Clairfait was overwhelmed near Louvain, and obliged to abandon that city, as also Liege. So wretchedly had all things been managed, and so extensive had been the system of treachery, that not one of the strong fortresses which studded the country had been stored with provisions or ammunition for standing a siege: thus General Beaulieu was compelled to evacuate Namur, so renowned for the sieges it had stood in former days, and to leave it open to the enemy, without its costing them the trouble of firing a gun. The citadel of Antwerp, to which the Duke of York had retreated, was in no better case than Namur: the populace of the town were decided partisans of the French, and after staying there a week, in order to give the Dutch time to prepare for the defence of their own country on the other side of the river, the English crossed the Scheldt, and abandoned citadel and city to the French, who made another triumphal entrance without burning any gunpowder except for a feu de joie, on the 23rd of July. Thus the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant fell under the dominion of the French in one short campaign. The Prince of Cobourg, after some altercations with the Dutch generals, who refused to join him in risking another battle, and after making a powerful appeal to his German brothers and friends on the Rhine and the Moselle, along all the frontier of Germany, to rise and arm themselves for the defence of their altars, their habitations, their emperor, their liberty, and the old Germanic honour, to bring provisions for the use of his army, to coin the treasures of their churches, the utensils and vases of silver, for the pay of their defenders (an appeal which made but little impression), withdrew from the command of the Imperial army. The emperor himself was so discouraged by the events of the war, and so irritated at the conduct of his ally the king of Prussia, that a notion got abroad of his intending to abandon the coalition, and seek a separate peace with the republicans. As Francis had all the old Austrian tenacity, it may be reasonably doubted whether he ever seriously thought of relinquishing his rich Netherland dominions without another struggle for them (to obtain them back from the French by negotiation, or by any peace that he could make with them, must have been an idea too visionary to be entertained), and the report of the secession was, perhaps, circulated only for the purpose of putting himself on a par with Prussia, by obtaining a round sum of money from England. Whatever were his feelings or motives, this was the effect produced. Alarmed at the sinister report, Pitt dispatched Earl Spencer, and his own relative, Mr Thomas Grenville, to Vienna, and the diplomacy

of these two envoys ended in our offering, and the emperor accepting, a very large subsidy, in the shape of a guarantee of a loan of four millions. A new treaty was concluded with the Duke of Brunswick, who engaged to furnish his Britannic majesty with a corps of 2289 men, infantry, light horse, and artillery, and all well trained and disciplined, completely armed and equipped, upon condition of his Britannic majesty's paying these troops on the same liberal scale on which he paid the Hessians in his service, and granting over and above to his serene highness the Duke of Brunswick an annual subsidy of about 16,000*l* sterling. But it was too late in the year for these efforts to be of any use in the present campaign, and we had no security that the emperor would use the money in a proper manner in the campaign to come, while the Brunswick mercenaries were contemptible in number, considered with reference to an enemy who raised levies by half millions at a time, and marched armies of hundreds of thousands.

The Germanic Diet, at the beginning of the year, had agreed to a *conclusum* for a general armament of the people of the empire, of the burghers and peasantry of all the circles, de totius principatibus, and states comprised in the league. But the king of Prussia had declared that if this *conclusum* were not withdrawn and annulled, he would be forced to withdraw his troops, as he could not expose them to the danger which must necessarily result from such a measure. As many parts of his patchwork kingdom were disaffected to the house of Brandenburg, to which they had been united by force and fortune of war, and at very recent dates, he evidently feared that if the population were armed they might assert their independence, or struggle to be restored to the states and provinces to which they had formerly belonged. But these apprehensions were not good to put in a royal declaration, and therefore Frederick William gave other reasons for objecting to the bold and great measure which might have placed Germany in a condition to withstand the armed millions of France. He said that his reasons were—1 That by employing the peasantry against the enemy, agriculture would want hands. 2 That there were not arms sufficient to give to such a mass of people. 3 That it was impossible, in so short a time, to teach the manual exercise to the inhabitants. 4 That it had been found, by the experience of the two last campaigns, that the soldiers exposed to the French must be perfectly exercised to make head against them. 5 That it was infinitely dangerous, at a time like the present, when the French were watching every opportunity to insinuate their principles, to assemble such a mass of men, whose ideas upon forms of government must be various, and among whom, consequently, dissensions might arise, disastrous in their consequences both to the armies and to the constitution of the empire. The example of the French might have shown his Prussian majesty, if he had really wished to look at it, how the first four of his difficulties might

have been overcome, and, as for his fifth objection, it was scarcely applicable to any part of Germany, except the provinces or states on the Rhine—the vast mass of the German people having a strong antipathy to French principles, and a natural incompatibility with the French character. Other electors, however, also shrunk from the execution of the bold project, for they were nearly all jealous and distrustful of one another, and none of them, except the House of Austria in their hereditary states, had an entire confidence in their own subjects. The *conclusum* of the Diet was let drop, twenty years of loss, humiliation, disgrace, were allowed to follow, and then, by acting upon its principle, the German people were armed as *landwehr*, and Germany was freed, and bore honourably her full part in putting down the oppressors of all Europe.

Early in the year, while these German potentates were disputing with each other, and discouraging, in many ways, the army on the Rhine, which stood in need of every encouragement after their unfortunate campaign of 1793, the French advanced, and took the fort of Kaiserslautern, the town of Spire, and several other towns and fortresses. Adhering to the routine of long winter quarters, and to the principle that armies were not to take the field until the season of snow and frost was over, the German commanders had no forces on foot at all equal to contend with the republicans, nor was it until the month of May that they got a field in earnest. The Prussians, who did not exceed 70,000 effective men, were now commanded by Count Marshal Mollendorf. Besides this force there was an Austrian army on the Rhine of about the same strength, some small contingent forces furnished by the lesser circles of the empire, and the emigrant army of Condé, which was still 12,000 strong—*non plus*. Towards the end of May, Mollendorf, taking them by surprise, drove the French out of their entrenchments at Kaiserslautern, with slaughter, and took a good many of their guns. But from this time till the beginning of July, when the republicans were greatly reinforced, the Prussians and their allies did nothing of the least consequence. With a superiority of numbers which gave them the assurance of success, the French, who were moreover cheered by the intelligence of the successes obtained in the Netherlands, and the news of the battle of Fleurus, sought out Mollendorf, and on the 12th of July began a battle which was desperately maintained, at different points, during four whole days. On the night of the 15th, when both sides had suffered tremendous loss, the allies made a hasty retreat. The Imperialists crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired down the left bank of that river to Mayence. Neither of these armies was of any further use during the remainder of this campaign. A territory sixty miles in length was abandoned to the republicans, who marched to the easy reduction of Trèves, and then poured down in great numbers to the Netherlands, to help to

finish the war there, and after that to conquer Holland, for there was no intention of stopping short at the Scheldt and Roer, as Dumouriez had done in 1792.

The Duke of York assisted the Hereditary Prince of Orange in covering the United Provinces, but their force was miserably insufficient: the democratic party was again on tiptoe, corresponding with the French, giving every encouragement and assistance in their power to those liberators, and the Dutch army, infected by the same principles, and disheartened by toilsome retreats and many defeats was, in more senses than the military one, *fini*. In Dutch Flanders, Cadsand and Sluis were reduced by Moreau before the end of August, masses of men were thrown upon the retreating columns of Clairfait, who, after standing another battle, left Juliers and Aix la Chapelle to Jourdan. Clairfait rallied once more, and fought a battle, or a succession of battles, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 3rd of October, but this was the last effort his exhausted army could make, and his continued retreat left Cologne open to the French. He would have attempted to maintain himself in that old town, if he had found proper supplies, and a proper spirit among its inhabitants; but there was nothing of the kind: the people had been proselytized by the Jacobins, and Clairfait was therefore constrained to recross the Rhine with all expedition. The French were so close on his rear that they entered Cologne as the last division of his troops were hurrying over the river, and thus had the opportunity of shouting after them that that was not the road to Paris, Bonn, and other towns on the left bank of the Rhine, north of the fort of Cologne submitted to the conqueror. These places were defenceless or weak, but Coblenz, a dependence of the Electorate of Mayence, had been strongly fortified, and contained a considerable garrison, yet here too scarcely any resistance was made. The Imperialists retired to the other side of the river, and the republicans took possession of the place with exceeding great joy: for it had long been the head quarters of the emigrant princes and nobles—the *foyer* of royalism and counter-revolutionism. Worms and several other towns threw open their gates. With the exception of Mayence the French remained absolute masters of every place on the left bank of the Rhine between Landau and Nimeguen. On the Maastricht fortress of Venloo had been allowed to be taken by a *coup de main*, and Bois-le-Duc, from which an obstinate resistance was expected, was surrendered by its Dutch garrison after a very short siege. The Duke of York, now stationed near Nimeguen, was cut off from all hope of reinforcement from Germany, for if the allies had meant to support him, which they certainly did not, they could not have sent their troops to him without making a circuitous march. He resolved, however, with such force as he had, to cover that important place, the possession of which by the French would greatly facilitate their advance into

the heart of Holland. On their side the republicans resolved to drive him thence, hoping, by a decisive blow, to compel him and his English troops to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. To this end they attacked the Duke on the morning of the 19th of October, with 60,000 men, and compelled him to retreat from his covering positions. As the Duke, however, took up another position which equally prevented their investing Nimeguen, they attacked him again, with still greater numbers and fury, on the 27th of October, and finally compelled him to withdraw entirely, and leave the town to the chances of a siege. As Nimeguen was exceedingly strong by situation, and well garrisoned, it was expected that it would prove an exception to the general rule, and make a vigorous defence, but there were traitors within its walls in intelligence with the French, and the place was allowed to be surprised and carried a very few days after the Duke of York's retreat. Nearly at the same time Kleber, after a siege of only five weeks' duration, obtained possession of the formidable fortress of Maestricht, which was garrisoned by 8000 Dutchmen and Germans in the pay of the States-General, and which was abundantly supplied with provisions, stores, and all things necessary—except fidelity and courage. It is true that the French conducted their sieges upon a new system and with unprecedented numbers and fury: it is true that they astonished, perplexed, and struck with consternation the officers of the old school, but still the ease and rapidity of these operations can hardly be accounted for without admitting a very large amount of disaffection, treachery, and corruption on the part of the Dutch. Their disaffection is notorious, and proved by innumerable facts. With respect to the corruption, the French had the means of it in their hands, for every army had a chest of secret-service money furnished by the Convention. The Duke of York, with the wreck of his army, retreated across the Waal and the Rhine, and stationed himself at Arnhem in the province of Gelderland, with but a faint hope of stopping the progress of Pichegru, who had been appointed by the Convention to complete the conquest of Holland. We have often been assured by one who was in the duke's army, that such was the irritation of both officers and men at the conduct and countenance of the Dutch troops, that they would rather have fallen upon those allies than upon the French.

The Spaniards seemed to have spent their strength and spirit in their Roussillon campaign in the preceding year. Their finances had long been in a ruinous condition, and at present they husbanded such resources as they could command from a belief, which other powers shared in, that the sway of the Jacobins was drawing to a close, that public opinion fermenting in France would soon pronounce itself against the promoters of anarchy, in short, that a reaction was on the point of breaking out, and that the salutary crisis must

be hastened by the least check the French might experience in this campaign.* They have, however, been censured too severely, for, after all, they kept their banners on the soil of the republic some time longer than any other power, and they fought on when the most terrible reverses were befalling the armies of the coalition on the side of Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. The brave Ricardos, who had repeatedly beaten the French in 1793, was carried off by a sudden illness on the 3rd of March. Count O'Reilly, who was appointed to succeed him, died on his journey in the same sudden manner, and thereupon the command of the army of Roussillon fell to the Count de la Union, who had distinguished himself in the preceding campaign under the orders of Ricardos. On the other side Dugommier, a native of Guadalupe, and one of the very bravest and best of the generals of the republic, was sent by the Convention to take the command of the French troops, which had been prodigiously reinforced. The republicans had remained on the defensive ever since the winter. Early in April Dugommier succeeded, by a number of feigned attacks, which his numerical superiority allowed him to make on various points at once, in detaching large forces from the Spanish centre, which lay in a fortified camp at Boulon, and on the 1st of May the French made a general attack on that centre, and carried, after a hot engagement of six hours, the two redoubts of la Trompette and Montsegur, the chief defences of the Spanish camp. As Dugommier had blocked up all other roads, the defeated Spaniards were obliged to retire by the narrow and difficult road of Morales, and to abandon a great part of their artillery. La Union could not rally his men until they were within their own frontiers; he then took up a position in front of Figueras, and covered that important fortress, the key of Catalonia. The Spanish garrisons he had left behind in Roussillon, in the forts of St Elme, Portvendre, and Collioure, though beleaguered by immense forces, made a gallant resistance. The garrison of St Elme made one bold sortie, in the course of which Dugommier, badly wounded, had the greatest difficulty to escape on the shoulders of some of his grenadiers. At last, when a breach was opened, the Spaniards abandoned this fort, and, with the garrison of Portvendre, which was no longer tenable, they threw themselves into Fort Collioure. This place, being assailed by 20,000 men, could not hold out very long, but the Spaniards nobly defended themselves until they found the opportunity of sending off in fishing-boats a corps of French emigrants, the remnant of "the Legion of the Queen," who were serving with them, and who were doomed to death by the laws of the pitiless republic. As soon as these unhappy men were safe the garrison made an honourable capitulation. The Spanish flag still floated over the French fortress of Bellegarde, one of the strongest fortresses at the foot of the

Eastern Pyrenees, and which the Spaniards, who held it for nearly fifteen months, had put in good repair. Even the impetuous Dugommier shrunk from a close siege and assault, and contented himself with closely blockading Bellegarde. La Union made several vigorous attempts to relieve the place, but failed every time. At last, on the 18th of September, after a blockade of four or five months, the garrison of four or five thousand men was fairly starved out of the place and obliged to surrender. Early in October Dugommier poured his columns into Catalonia, and drew them up in front of a long line of posts which the Spaniards had established to check the invasion. About the middle of the month he attacked these posts from three several points, leading on the centre himself; he was killed by a cannon-ball, his left column of attack was repulsed with terrible loss, the centre was not more fortunate, but the right, led on by Augereau, carried everything before it, and obtained possession of a part of La Union's line. Everywhere the loss seems to have been considerable: the attack was not renewed until after two or three days, but then Perignon, who had succeeded Dugommier, drove the Spaniards from all their remaining positions and entrenchments. La Union, fighting on foot like a common soldier, and making every effort to rally his troops, was killed. As he had never contemplated the possibility of a defeat, he had made no arrangements for securing a retreat, and, while he had been engaged in front, a French division had got into his rear, and now actually blocked up the road to Figueras. This increased the panic of the flying army, who took another route, and never rallied till they reached Basora, a position between Figueras and Gerona. Though thus left to itself, Figueras, with 200 pieces of artillery on its ramparts, with a garrison of 10,000 men well supplied with ammunition and provisions, might reasonably have been expected to hold out for a few months through panic, or frenzy, or treachery; it surrendered in a few days, leaving Catalonia open to the invaders, and supplying them with artillery and other abundant means of war. On the Western Pyrenees, on the side of the Biscayan provinces, the Spaniards had gained some trifling advantages at the beginning of the year, but, after standing for some months on the defensive, the reinforced republicans burst into the valley of the Bastan, overwhelmed the Spaniards in two engagements, captured Fuenterrabia, and advanced rapidly towards the commanding fortress of San Sebastian. Not only were the Spanish troops far inferior in number to their assailants, but they were enervated with disaffection and treachery. The never-ending antipathies between the Basques and their fellow-subjects were not overlooked by the French. Pinet, an adroit commissioner of the Convention, persuaded some people of Guipuscoa that they might establish a separate republic altogether independent of Spain in the Biscayan provinces, Michelena, the alcalde of San

* Memoirs of Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace.

Sebastian, with some other notabilities of that place, succeeded in delivering it up to the French republicans, and other madmen, deluded by the same dream of independence under the motherly protection of France, rendered Pinet and the army some important services in other quarters * Tolosa, the capital of Guipuscoa, was abandoned almost immediately afterwards, but this was an open town, little capable of defence. The majority of the people of the province, if they had ever been duped, soon saw their error, and flying to arms they joined their neighbours in Biscay and Navarre, and for every other foot of ground the French had to fight, and to fight desperately. But the invaders had secured, without fighting, a good basis of operations, their commander Muller was replaced by Moncey, an officer of much greater ability, and they were reinforced with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, there being among these new arrivals one of those columns called "the Infernal," which had been seasoned to war and atrocity in the Vendee. In the month of October, when Moncey had sixty-six battalions of infantry, four thousand horse, and three brigades of artillery, he received the peremptory orders of the Convention to overrun the whole of the Basque provinces, occupy Navarre, seize upon Pampeluna, and transfer his camp to the banks of the Ebro. Moncey would have hesitated and remonstrated, but this no general of the republic durst do as yet, and what was still more to his disadvantage was, the not uncommon circumstance of the commissioners or proconsuls with the army insisting upon directing its movements. Under these mischievous agencies the French general led his columns into Roncesvalles, that deep valley formed by the Pyrenees of Navarre, between Pampeluna and Saint-Jean Pie-de-Port on the French frontier—the pass in which, according to poets and romances, Charlemagne and all his paladins had been put to "dolorous rout" by the people of Navarre. He was harassed at every step, and on the 16th and 17th of October he obtained, with the loss of three thousand of his best men, a victory which gave to him nothing but a momentary occupation of the renowned valley, and to the commissioners of the Convention some romantic materials for a dispatch to Paris †. Winter was fast approaching, the tops of the Pyrenees were soon covered with

deep snow, provisions were falling short, and, unless the republicans could force their way to Pampeluna, they must retreat to Saint Jean-Pie-de-Port. It is said that Moncey, who knew the difficulties of his situation, would have returned at once, and that the ignorant commissioners again forced him to act against his better judgment. The Spaniards, after their late reverses, had retreated in good order, and, under the command of General Colomera, they now occupied excellent ground at the head of the pass between Moncey and Pampeluna. The French attacked them there on the 26th of November the French left wing was completely defeated at Ortu, one of their divisions was on the point of being cut off, when Moncey made a skilful diversion, and then ordered an immediate retreat. The republicans poured down Roncesvalles under cover of the night, leaving behind them their sick and wounded, who were very numerous. By the 29th the Spaniards had recovered their old positions, and the French, instead of wintering pleasantly in the city of Pampeluna, on the banks of the Ebro, were obliged to take up their cantonments in the part of Guipuscoa of which they had obtained possession, in the valley of Bastan and at Saint-Jean Pie de Port *.

On the side of the Alps the republicans were indebted for many advantages to the credulity, simplicity, or stupidity of the King of Sardinia, who conceived that they would respect the neutrality (to them a most friendly neutrality) of the republic of Genoa, the territories of which covered on one side the rich plains of Piedmont, and by the Bocchetta and other passes afforded access to Alessandria, and to his capital, Turin. In perfect reliance on this respect for neutrality, Victor Amadeo neglected to fortify himself on that side, collecting nearly all his strength in the passes of the Alps, which led from Nice and from Savoy, countries of his own which had been conquered and occupied, and attached to France. The easy credulity of the court of Turin was the less excusable, as they had before their eyes abundant proofs of the disregard of these new republicans for the old law of nations, as the weakness and venality of the Genoese government, and the existence of a strong French party both in that government and among the Genoese people, were matters of notoriety, and as the French had already treated Genoa in a most insolent and arbitrary manner. The Convention had threatened that proud city with destruction, because the English fleet had seized French ships on the coast and in the harbours of the Genoese republic the government had made the most humiliating excuses, but they had only purchased a temporary pardon by paying four millions of livres, half into the treasury of Paris, and half to the 'Army of Nice' (now called prospectively the 'Army of Italy'), for no other crime than their having permitted what they could not possibly prevent. At one moment they had run a narrow risk of see-

* Alonzo Michielena and his friends met with their proper reward. He was a noble knight of Guetira, an independent of the Convention charged with the high office of constable of the republic. He was seized by Pinet and brought to trial before a French military court. He was condemned to death as a rebel and a traitor. The rest of the French as prisoners.

† Messieurs Baudin and Garant wrote to the Convention— "Cull the army of the Western Pyrenees by Italian, a signal victory over the Spaniards has avenged an old insult inflicted on the French nation. Our negotiations in the days of Charlemagne were defeated in the plain of Roncesvalles. In memory of the traitor at the proud Spaniard had erected a pyramid on the field of battle. Defeat! turn on the same spot by the French republicans! the flames, with a snow cloud effaced all traces of it. Nothing was left but the frail edifice which has been recently demolished. The banner of the republic now waves where floated the standard of kings; pride and the festering tree of liberty has replaced the destructive club of the tyrant. The auguration was followed by affecting and warlike music. The shades of our forefathers have been comforted and the army of the republic has sworn to conquer for the glory of the French nation of all ages and for the happiness of the country."

* Memoires of Don Manuel de Goidy Prince of the Peace—Ann. Regist.

ing their beautiful city bombarded by the British fleet, solely on account of their subserviency to the French. On the 30th of May the three commissioners from the Convention superintending the operations of this army of Italy—Robespierre, the younger, Saliceti, the Corsican and Ricord, another potent Jacobin—printed at Nice, and sent into the contiguous states of the Genoese republic a memorable manifesto, telling the people that the French well knew that the kings and tyrants contemplated taking possession of all the territories belonging to Genoa, to put them under the dominion of their hated neighbour, the despot of Piedmont, in order that he might send his armies through them to attack the territories of the French republic. that, therefore, the French found themselves obliged, out of regard to their own safety, to anticipate the designs of their enemies by marching their army of Italy into the Genoese territories, &c. The manifesto was closely followed by the advance of a part of the army of Italy. On the 2nd or 3rd of April sixteen thousand men, under the command of Dumourbion, marched upon Mentone a town in the little principality of Monaco, close on the western frontier of the Genoese republic, and on the night of the 5th of April they sent forward General Arena, another Corsican to Vintimiglia the first Genoese town beyond that border, to inform the governor of it, that France demanded a free passage, that the army of the republic was in full march, and would presently be under the walls of the town. The governor a rich noble Spinola, whose ancestors had been great in arms, protested against the violation of neutrality, but protests were worse than useless. The handful of Genoese soldiers in the town mounted the trier or cockade and on the following morning Dumourbion's army, with Arena in the van and Massena in the rear, crossed the Genoese frontier and entered Vintimiglia. By this lance they were not only penetrating their way towards the passes of the Apennines but they had actually turned some of the King of Sardinia's positions in the Alps and were opening upon more than one ill defended pass in that chain. One of their columns, leading to the left, took possession of the Marquisate of D'Alceacqua a territory belonging to the King of Sardinia, and drove a weak Piedmontese garrison to the other side of the mountains, another column, ascending lofty and rugged mountains, drove the Piedmontese from the heights of Col delle Forche, and possessed themselves of a direct though narrow and rough pass leading to Saorgio, the most important of all the King of Sardinia's fortresses on this side, the place which had kept the French so long at bay, and which was the key to nearly all the rest, and a third division of Dumourbion's army, keeping towards the sea-coast seized upon the little town and port of San Remo, belonging to the Genoese, and then fell upon Oneglia the only seaport in Italy

that then appertained to the King of Sardinia, and the only place through which he could receive assistance from, or promptly correspond with, the English fleet in the Mediterranean. Since the French bombardment which had nearly reduced Oneglia to a heap of ruins at the end of the year 1792, the town had been partially repaired, and the seaward defences had been strengthened, but as an attack by land, only to be made by violating the Genoese territory, had not been anticipated, no preparations had been made to resist it: there were some Piedmontese troops in the town and neighbourhood, but their total number was small. Being, however, joined by the sailors and people of Oneglia, these troops posted themselves on some heights, and made a gallant effort to defend the approaches to the town. But Massena, who led this division, dislodged these brave men, though not without suffering a frightful loss, and then took possession of Oneglia, which was deserted and silent as the grave, for the inhabitants, on his approach, had all fled to the mountains. Massena next advanced to Loano, whence he soon moved to the bridge of Nava, to which point his late adversaries had retreated. Those Piedmontese soldiers were joined by some fifteen hundred Austrians, but this united force was incapable of resisting the strong columns and superabundant artillery which the French brought against them. After this victory Massena issued terrible manifestos, threatening with destruction all the *states* that should attempt to oppose his progress or enter into a hopeless struggle with the invincible armies of the French republic, but promises, at the same time friendship, favour, honour, liberty, and equality to all such as would throw off the yoke of their king, &c. A greater than Massena was with this army, and is said not only to have directed some of its best movements, but also to have suggested the whole plan of the campaign: this was Napoleon Bonaparte who had been recently raised to the rank of brigadier-general of artillery. From the bridge of Nava the republicans pushed forward to Ormea, Garressio, Bagnasco, preceded by terror, and the most extravagant reports of their audacity and numbers. No further resistance was offered, and, excepting the fortress of Ceva they were now masters of the whole of the valley of the Tanaro, which gives access to the heart of Piedmont.*

In the mean time another strong division of the army of Italy, moving from Nice, had carried a number of Piedmontese outposts on the Col de Tende, had even captured the hill and fort of Raus, where they had been completely defeated the year before, and were now gathering close round Saorgio, to co-operate with the column which had possessed itself of the Col delle Forche, the heights of D'Alceacqua, and the pass that led from that oppo-

* It was on the 6th day of April 1793 that the republican army of France appeared for the first time in Italy in this aspect was squalid and miserable but with that confident appearance which becomes conquerors.—*history of Italy*

* The republican army had not been long in Italy before it was materially improved in its appearance as well as in its discipline. They had seen hunger and had fasted they now found the best of food, good wine abundance of provisions and good cloth to clothe themselves in. In the town of Ormea alone they found provisions enough to last them for months and a great quantity of cloth which they cut up into loose greatcoats without caring for uniformity of colour.

site direction to Saorgio, which place, if found too formidable for an assault, was to be closely blockaded. On a near approach to this formidable place the boldest gave up all notion of assault, and in order to establish a blockade it was necessary to get possession of the upper parts of the Alpine valley in which it was situated, and of the heights of Col Ardente, which the Piedmontese had fortified. But the advance into the Genoese territory had opened another rough road which led across the valley of the Roia to the rear of Col Ardente, and Massena marched in force, and with wonderful rapidity, considering the nature of the ground, by this new route. Before the Piedmontese general Colli could bring up any reinforcements from the plains, he was attacked and defeated, and on the 27th of April the French became masters of Col Ardente, of other crests of the Alps, and of all the valley above Saorgio. The blockade was now completed, and the garrison cut off from Piedmont. The place, however, was well supplied, and a long resistance was expected from it (at least by the King of Sardinia), when, at the beginning of May, Sant Amore, the commandant, capitulated, and thus left another passage to Turin open to the French. Colli had sent this coward or traitor orders to defend Saorgio to the utmost extremity, informing him that he would soon return with his army reinforced to its relief. Upon arriving at Turin, whether he and his garrison were permitted to go, upon condition of not serving any more against the French during this war, Sant Amore was brought to trial before a military tribunal, was condemned and shot, together with the commandant of another fortress who had behaved equally ill. Victor Amedeo and his court were incensed at the numerous acts of treachery which had been committed, but it is doubted whether these executions did their cause any good. After the reduction of Saorgio, the invaders, with comparative ease, made themselves masters of the whole of the Col de Tende, the loftiest point of those maritime Alps. The troops of the king all retired disheartened and in confusion to the plain of Piedmont or to the roots of the Alps, and only the fortresses at the mouths of the passes on the Piedmontese side of the mountains checked the advance of the French to the banks of the Po and the city of Turin. Victor Amedeo had now lost one-half of his states and the principal passes and defences of the Alps (for another French army, advancing from the side of Savoy was climbing Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard), but he did not yet lose heart or think of relinquishing the struggle. He ordered a levy *en masse*, but unfortunately Jacobin clubs had been established in nearly all the towns of Piedmont, active conspiracies against the royal government were in progress, and a very considerable portion of his subjects were either disaffected or despised. He applied to the King of Naples and Sicily, a member of the coalition, for assistance, and Ferdinand was going to send an army of 18,000 men to the

north of Italy, to the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont, when the discovery of a republican conspiracy among his own subjects at Naples, and other critical events, compelled him to delay that project. The other independent Italian states were either powerless or timid: the republic of Venice, which might have made a great effort at this moment, preferred listening to French flatteries, assurances, and promises, and, without the same excuse for its conduct, behaved as pusillanimously as Genoa. At this very moment the Venetian senate received Lallemand, an ambassador appointed by Robespierre and the committee of *Salut Public*, and suspended a levy of troops which had been ordered a short time before for the defence of their continental possessions. The Austrians in Lombardy, who were apprehensive of plots and conspiracies in all their part of Italy, and who thought themselves obliged to strengthen their own garrisons and their own frontier, could not spare many reinforcements to the emperor's army serving with the troops of the King of Sardinia; they, however, afforded some assistance when the danger became imminent, and this was the only succour the Piedmontese at present received. The republican army, called the Army of the Alps, which had moved from Savoy towards the passes of Mount Cenis and St. Bernard, had taken the field earlier and in much greater number than the army of Italy that started from Nice, and it was by inducing the King of Sardinia to collect the mass of his forces in these Graian Alps above Savoy that the Col de Tende and the rest of the maritime Alps had been weakened. While the snow was lying deep, not merely on the lofty mountains, but in the valleys, the army of the Alps gained the crests of the Cenis, the St. Bernard, and the Valaisan, and, taking the Piedmontese and the Austrians by surprise, drove them from their redoubts and gained possession of the heads of some of the valleys, which lead down to Piedmont and open upon Turin at the distance of only twenty-five or thirty miles from it. They were in full march through the Alpine valley of Aosta and within a few miles of the capital town of that province when the king's eldest son, the Duke of Montferrat, advancing up the valley from the Italian side with such volunteers, militia, and regular troops as he could most readily collect, brought the head of their column to a stand, and then beat them back to their less comfortable quarters among the snow and ice. Another division of the republicans, climbing another mighty Alp, captured the Fort Mirabocca, and then, descending on the other side by the valley or pass of Lucerna, they occupied Bobbio and other Alpine towns or villages belonging to the King of Sardinia, and even threatened the strong fortress of Pineroli with assault; but here again the Piedmontese behaved manfully, driving back the invaders to the lofty ridges from which they had descended. It was the middle of May before the main body of this Army of the Alps, led on by General Dumas,

completely cleared the important pass of Mont Cenis, which was defended by forts, batteries, and redoubts, some old, and some recently erected. Dumas, who had studied mountain warfare, and who had all the Savoyard peasantry, who best knew the country, heartily disposed to assist him, found ways for his troops which the Piedmontese and Austrian generals had considered impassable. he marched to his great enterprise by moonlight, and so divided and directed his forces that they fell upon the three principal redoubts at one and the same moment. Though taken by surprise, and thrown into an almost superstitious consternation at seeing the French descending heights which had been considered impracticable, and rising out of hollows and chasms and black abysses, the allies for some time stood properly to their guns but when the broad moonlight disclosed a fresh column of assailants on the edge of a rock which was in the rear of the principal redoubt, and which almost overhung it, the men burst away panic-stricken, leaving their artillery and everything in the redoubt behind them. The troops in the other redoubts abandoned their posts without firing another gun, and the whole host fled with mad haste down the steep valley of Susa. Among the fugitives were some Savoyard royalists, who, to escape the guillotine, which the republicans had established at Chambéry, threw themselves over precipices and were dashed to pieces. A part of the French never ceased the pursuit until they reached the walls of Susa. All the artillery, ammunition, and provisions collected on the summits of the mountain and in the redoubts fell into their hands, together with a large quantity of musketry which the Piedmontese had thrown away in their flight. The short moonlight fight had given the republicans possession of the important pass, of all its defences, with the single exception of Fort la Brunette, which stood upon a detached solid rock, but which did not materially interfere with their possession of the pass. Dumas then spent some months in inactivity not considering himself strong enough to venture through the valley of Susa and into the plain between Rivoli and Turin, where the King of Sardinia, with the main body of his army, and Count Wallis with Austrian troops hastily drawn from Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, Como, Milan, Mantua, and other parts of Lombardy, were stationed, with their flanks well covered by rivers, their fronts by redoubts, and with a fine high-road and all the resources of Turin in their rear. The army of Italy, for somewhat similar causes (as another good army of Piedmontese and Austrians had gradually gathered at the mouths of the passes of the maritime Alps and Apennines), was equally inactive. It appears, too, that some doubts were entertained as to the humour of the Genoese, and, perhaps, a plan was concerted for taking possession of the city of Genoa and all the strong places within the narrow limits of that republic before they crossed the Apennines, and left them in their rear. For, on the 13th of July,

the deputies of the Convention, who were still superintending the operations of the army, gave Bonaparte a commission to proceed to Genoa, with secret instructions to examine the state of the fortifications and to observe the conduct of the Genoese government towards the English and other belligerent powers. At last, however, learning that the Piedmontese and Austrians were projecting an attack along their line of posts, with the hope of compelling them to evacuate the passes and the Genoese territory, they scaled the Apennines, descended into Piedmont by the valley of the Bormida, and, on the 21st of September, attacked the allies at Cairo, where they were strongly intrenched. The republicans were conducted to the assault by Dumourison, Massena, Laharpe, Napoleon Bonaparte, Saliceti, and Albite (the two civilians being now the commissioners from the Convention), and Buonaroti, an enthusiastic Florentine, a descendant from the family of Michael Angelo, who had abandoned his country to become a republican and demagogue at Paris, and what was called a national agent. They attacked in three columns, with their usual impetuosity and assurance of victory, but they were repulsed with the loss of six hundred of their best men, and obliged to retire to the declivities of the Apennines, from which they had moved to begin the battle. Yet, on the very next day, the allies withdrew their artillery and stores, abandoned their strong positions, and retired across the Bormida to Acqui, fearing that the autumnal swelling of the river might interrupt their communications with that town, which they had made their dépôt, or according to another account, retreating upon false intelligence artfully given by some of the many friends of the republicans, that another French army, collected at Savona, was about to strike through another pass of the Apennines and throw itself between Acqui and Cairo. At first the republicans could not believe that they were gone, next they fancied it was a *ruse de guerre* to draw them in pursuit into the plain, where the Austrian cavalry could act with advantage, but at last they ventured forward as far as Cairo and the other possessions which had been abandoned. On the other side of the Apennines, or at least so long as they had been in the Genoese territory, the French had behaved with moderation, but now they gave way to all their wonted excesses, plundering the towns and villages, destroying what they could not carry off burning the vineyards, which there produced a delicious fruit and a generous wine, and subjecting the poor Piedmontese peasantry and their wives to every humiliation, barbarity, and horror. After three days of these practices they crossed the mountains in haste, apprehending an attack from the allies, who were collecting in greater force at Acqui. They returned to their former stations in the Genoese territory, and threw up redoubts to defend themselves in case the allies should cross the Apennines. Their head-quarters were fixed at Vado, a town near the coast, which they strongly forti-

fiend. Nothing more was done this year but the republicans had done much, the bulwarks of the Alps and Apennines were in their hands, the road was opened into Italy, and an excellent basis laid for future operations. It had taken them three years, enormous sums of money, and prodigious sacrifices of life to achieve these great objects, but the work was done at last.*

In Paris, meanwhile, the different factions had waged a fiercer war upon one another than that which the armies had carried on in the field. No sooner were the Girondists exterminated than jealousies and deadly hatreds broke out among the victorious Jacobins themselves. Hebert became the head of a party which put itself in direct opposition to Robespierre. These Hebertists were for some time all powerful in the commune, exceedingly popular in Paris, and with all the extreme sans culottes they shared in the executive power by holding places in the *salut public* and in others of the governing committees: they had the 10 000 men of the *armée révolutionnaire* of Paris completely at their bidding, Ronsin, the general of that army, being one of the chiefs of their party, and in the Convention they for a season could command a majority of votes—a fact which first made Robespierre determine that that legislature should be urged anew, and that the Hebertists should be treated like the Girondists. But, as Hebert and his friends were so powerful, it was necessary to proceed against them slowly and with extreme caution. In installing atheism and the worship of the Goddess of Reason the Hebertists well knew that they were declaring mortal war—a war without quarter—against Robespierre, who by speeches and by writings, by declarations repeatedly made both in the Convention and in the Jacobin Club, had pledged himself to the support of a pure deism, and who (if any one thing is clear in his mysterious character) was really a determined and fanatical deist. With bitterness of soul he had yielded for the moment to the preponderance of Hebert, Chaumette, Clootz, and that atheistical herd, but he believed that a large portion of the French people still retained a respect for Christianity, that a still larger portion, though rejecting all revealed religion, clung to the belief of a God and to the hope of the immortality of the soul, and he nicely calculated that the strength of these opinions would come to his aid in his death strife with Hebert. In a manner it was Robespierre that was now invoking the respectabilities, but what he considered as this class was a body of the people, of better sans culottes, who differed enormously in power as in numbers from the classes of society on which the Feuillants and Girondists had leaned. Hitherto the revolution had been a game in which the man or the parties who went farthest obtained the prize and kept it until some other man or party went still farther, but now Robespierre was to obtain his

supreme power by checking this onward movement, and by destroying the Hebertists, who had already gone beyond his limits in other things besides the promulgation of atheism, and who were bent upon going to still greater extremes. For some time this new system, which was in itself a species of conservatism or counter-revolutionism, seemed, in the Convention at least, but a hopeless business, for the majority, which was only a majority through the fears and cowardice of the Plain or middle party, who had trimmed and shifted on all occasions, voting in one month measures tenfold more iniquitous than measures they had opposed the month before, seemed to support Hebert, to have no preference for deism over atheism, and to be perfectly indifferent to those "moral ideas" and that belief in a God which Robespierre advocated as things essential to the happiness of mankind and the existence of a pure republic. As early, however, as the month of December, 1793, the "Incorruptible" felt sufficient confidence in his own strength in the Jacobin Club to ridicule and denounce Hebert and his new religion or worship of Reason to declare that some belief was necessary to man, and that, "if the Divinity did not exist, a wise legislator would have invented one." And a day or two after delivering this speech which appears to have been applauded by the club Robespierre rose in the Convention to expose the danger and absurdity of atheism, and to connect the ultra revolutionists and their designs with Pitt, and England and all the foreign enemies of France—a trick which could never be played off too often and which hardly ever failed of success, ply it who might. He represented that the banded kings, finding themselves foiled and beaten by the armies of the republic, were labouring more than ever to discredit the revolution, and to render it odious in the eyes of Europe, in all parts of which a God at least was held a necessary part of belief, that these tyrants had still their secret emissaries in France who were labouring to overthrow the republic by means of republicanism, and to spread the flames of civil war by means of philosophy. After insinuating that Clootz the German, Hebert, Chaumette, Ronsin, and the other atheists, were acting in concert with these secret emissaries, he conjured the Convention to exert itself for the prevention of extravagances and follies which coincided with the plans of the foreign conspiracy, and he demanded that the commune of Paris should no longer be permitted to tyrannize over men's consciences, and to serve the enemies of France by inconsiderate acts which gave offence to all religious opinions. He was even enabled to carry a vote prohibiting all acts of violence and measures contrary to the liberty of worship; but the Convention would not at present go farther than this, nor had he the courage to propose the shutting up of the temples of Reason, which had become temples of prostitution and every other debauchery. Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Églantine, Philipeaux, and other Cordeliers

* Carlo Botta Storia d'Italia—Colletta Storia di Napoli—Ann. Regis.—A. Vissieux Life of Napoleon Bonaparte

Jacobins, once at the head of all movements, sided with Robespierre in his present conservatism, and it was Camille Desmoulins, who in earlier days had prided himself in his popular title of "Procureur de la Lanterne," that gave the Hébertists the name of *ultra-revolutionists*. Danton, the sonorous chief of this Cordelier party, though he had become strangely indolent and neglectful, declared himself frankly against Hébert and his gang. Hereupon the Hébertists collected shocking stories—many of them perfectly true and notorious—of Danton's venality, dissipation, and extravagance, and, after assailing him with this light artillery in their newspapers and pamphlets, they attacked him with their heavier guns in the Convention. This brought Danton back to Paris from his luxurious retreat in the country. Not satisfied with exculpating himself, this Mirabeau of the sans-culottes inculpated the Hébertists, accusing them, more openly than Robespierre had done of complicity with the secret emissaries of tyrants, of a bottomless immorality, of a thirst for blood which nothing could satisfy, and, encouraged by his presence and bold oratory, Philippeaux and others, who had held commands in that war, denounced the tremendous atrocities which had been perpetrated, and which were still perpetrating, in the Vendée, attributing them all to orders received from the Hébertists or to a few sanguinary ministers who had been promoted by them and sent into that unhappy country. For the first time for many, a long day cruelty and crimes were called by their proper names, and the walls of the Convention were made to echo with indignant demands for stopping carnage and returning to the paths of moderation and mercy. Camille Desmoulins now began to publish a new journal under the title of "The Old Cordelier," intimating by the name that the new Cordeliers, the Héberts, Chaumettes, Momoro, and all that faction, though now trying to domineer in the club, had departed entirely from the original principles of the society. Camille had married a rich young wife, and Danton had also married a lady described as young, fair, and otherwise interesting, and, if she was not rich, Danton had abundance of money derived chiefly from his first missions in Belgium. In short, both these revolutionary heroes, poor as poor could be in 1789, had now attained to affluence, high consideration, and domestic comfort, and therefore they were anxious that the revolution should go no farther. Danton had never been an enthusiast except in words and orations. Desmoulins's madness seemed really to have been calmed down by his prosperity, and charmed away by his charming young wife. It was well for humanity that both these gentle Benedicts had not got far beyond the happy transports of the honeymoon! The "Vieux Cordelier," with its novel lessons of mercy and gentleness, made a very great impression, more particularly upon those who, like the editor, had gained affluence and consideration during the overthrow of old things, and the re-construction of the political

system, Camille too, though absurdly overpraised, as a Machiavelli in propudity and a Voltaire in wit,* was certainly a vivacious writer by degrees it became quite a fashion, quite a rage, to read what he wrote. Even the lowest and most rabid of the Parisian sans culottes began to think or say that there was more reason and philosophy in the "Vieux Cordelier" than in the "Père Duchêne"—that Hébert's style was *too lou*, &c. There was one particular passage which made a great sensation—it was a picture of the present time in the form of a picture of the past, or of the tyranny and suspicion which deluged Rome with blood under Tiberius, and the other bad or worst of emperors. Drawing his facts from the dark repertory of Tacitus, and placing them in an antithetical and startling manner, he showed that every man of any eminence, or in any place of government, was *suspect*, and that, in all cases, the word *suspect* was equivalent to *death*, that the courts of justice became mere slaughter-houses, that no men flourished except vile informers, who possessed themselves of the property and even the names of the victims they denounced as *suspect*, that even poverty was no security, as poor men might be come desperate, and must therefore be very *suspect*. Danton encouraged Camille, and Robespierre himself not only gave his approbation to the "Vieux Cordelier," but also read and corrected the proofs for the author. But Camille very soon committed great indiscretions in his paper and in conversation, venturing to speak disrespectfully of Robespierre's right hand man Saint-Just, and even to expend some witticisms on the great Incorruptible himself. He described Saint-Just as a solemn youth, puffed up with pride and conceit, who "carried his head as if it were a *Saint Sacrement*"—which provoked from the said Saint-Just the retort that he would make the said Camille carry his own head like Saint Denis, in his hand or under his arm. Forgetting that he was playing with a tiger, Camille joked Robespierre, who had always preserved the dress and manners of a gentleman, upon his aristocratic tastes, and reminded him and the public that, in former times, he had prefixed the feudal particle *de* to his name. But, until he should be able to annihilate the Hébertists by the aid and assistance of this old Cordelier party, Robespierre seemed resolved to betray no animosity either against Camille Desmoulins or against Danton, whom he suspected and feared—as is generally thought, without motive or reason, for Danton was believed to be weary and sick of politics and the turmoil of the revolution, and only desirous of retiring. When the Hébertists impeached Danton, Robespierre took upon himself his defence, recalling the important services which that great orator and energetic man had rendered to the republic, and speaking of him as his own personal as well as political friend. Hébert was violently assailed in the Jacobin Club by Robespierre's brother and Camille Desmoulins, who conjointly accused



him of robbing the money-box of a theatre, of extracting from Bouchotte and other members of the governing committees one hundred and eighty-three thousand livres in payment for the good he had done to the revolution by his "Père Duchêne," and of having occasioned great troubles in some of the departments by defiling the churches, and attacking that liberty of worship which was intended to allow every man in France the free exercise of his religion, be it what it might. Hébert raged and foamed at the mouth, demanding the immediate expulsion from the club of Camille, the younger Robespierre, Philippeaux, and others. In this hurricane, though the elder Robespierre afflicted a rigid impartiality, it was easy to perceive that he encouraged the attacks upon Hébert, and covered Camille with his invisible shield. Yet, soon after, when Camille and his friends had rendered all the services they were capable of in shaking and discrediting the Hébertists, when Camille had overshot his mark by criticising the governing committees as keenly as the commune, and by recommending a *committee of mercy* (a proposition which went to hold up all the existing committees as merciless and bloody), when Couthon, returned from his missions, gave it as his opinion that this *moderantisme* must inevitably ruin the republic, and end in sending to the scaffold all the members of committees, and at last one-half of the deputies of the Convention, Robespierre joined in the outcry against Camille, accused him of political heresies, and even proposed in the Jacobin Club that some number or numbers of the "Vieux Cordelier" should be burned then and there. Camille, quoting from Rousseau, said that burning was not answering Robespierre, rejoining, treated Camille in a sneering, contemptuous manner, calling him the spoiled child of the revolution—a young fellow of a naturally good disposition, but who had been corrupted by the bad company he had kept. He even said that Camille, in some of his numbers, had emitted sentiments and opinions which Brissot and the Girondists themselves would not have dared to utter, and he took occasion to declare that he had had nothing to do with the "Vieux Cordelier"—that he had only seen the two or three first numbers, and that he had abstained from reading the rest or speaking about them through fear of its being said that he had dictated them. Danton seemed to act as a mediator, and Robespierre then intimated that a distinction ought to be drawn between the person of Camille Desmoulins and his writings, and that, though it would be very proper to burn his numbers in the hall, it would be very improper to expel him from the club. The question of Camille's exclusion was postponed. When the club returned to it, Robespierre, seriously alarmed at reports spread by the Hébertists, that he too was a convert to *moderantisme*, inveighed against the pernicious doctrine as something more dangerous even than the ultra-revolutionary system, and the disgusting proceedings of the Hébertists, whom he

once more charged with being in the pay of Pitt and Prince Cobourg! Part of the riddle is dark and perplexing, but we can see that Robespierre was now attempting to kill two birds with one stone—to destroy the old Cordelier party by charging them with *moderantisme*, and the Hébertists by making them *suspects*, and perhaps a regard for appearances, as much as anything else, induced him now to treat Camille and Danton with affected candour and gentleness, or at least to blow in that direction hot and cold. He said that Camille, though spoiled by aristocratic associates, was still a legitimate child of the revolution, and that, though he had promulgated in his journal some maxims of the most pernicious *moderantisme*, there were still, by the very side of these maxims, principles of the most truly revolutionary kind. On the 10th of January the great Incorruptible carried a vote importing that Camille Desmoulins should not be expelled by the Jacobins. The Hébertists, now a majority in the Cordeliers Club, voted a resolution that Camille had lost the confidence of his brother Cordeliers, which was only to be recovered by his recanting his revolutionary heresies, and by his denouncing such traitors as he might know. Printer Momoro, who drew up this resolution, which applied equally to Philippeaux, Bourdon-de-l'Oise, and Fabre d'Eglantine, spoke rather slightly of Robespierre, and exhausted himself in a panegyric on Marat, that great man, who had never been capable of any moderation towards aristocrats and traitors, and who, if living, would put down at once all this execrable *moderantisme*. Hébert followed up this theme, and printed a pamphlet entitled 'Portrait of Marat.' Camille Desmoulins, Danton, and their friends took up the same promising subject, and, in order to show that they were still disciples of that great prophet and teacher, they out Héberted Hébert in eulogiums of Marat. As a more substantial proof of their undiminished revolutionism, all parties, Dantonists, Hébertists, and Robespierrists, concurred in keeping the guillotine going in this month of January, when some of them were talking about the necessity of healing the wounds of the revolution, *eighty-three* victims were sacrificed at Paris alone.

Fabre d'Eglantine, a decided Dantonist, and a bosom friend of Camille Desmoulins, had denounced an Hébertist, named Marnel, as guilty of forgery, the committee of general security, which was composed entirely of Hébertists, released Marnel, and threw Fabre d'Eglantine into prison in his place and under the same charge, whereunto was added the accusation of his being the chief pensioner and prime agent of Pitt. At the same moment the revolutionary committee of one of the Paris sections arrested Camille Desmoulins's father-in-law as *suspect*. On the other side the Dantonists, aided herein by the Robespierrists, threw Roussin, Vincent, and other Hébertists into prison. A few days after, on the recommendation of Danton, the Convention voted the liberation of

Vincent and Ronsin, but Fabre d'Eglantine was left in prison. There was a short suspension of this war and these perplexing manoeuvres, Robespierre occupied the attention of the clubs and the Convention by some long and studied discourses on the British government, on the crimes of Pitt, and the imprescriptible rights of man. He said that appeals to the British people might do some thing towards revolutionizing that wretched country, but that there must be something more than these appeals, that it would be a great mistake to believe that the morality and enlightenment of the English people equalled the morality and enlightenment of the French people, that the English people were certainly ready to rise, because they were oppressed, enslaved, impoverished, ruined, but this revolution could only be successful through the assistance of the armies and *fleets* of France. "Yes," said he, "your ships of the line must make this revolution, and overthrow Pitt, the imbecile minister of a mad king." . . . That minister must be a fool, who abusing the influence he has acquired in a mere island, thrown by chance in the midst of the ocean, would try to struggle with the great French people, without perceiving the explosion that revolution and liberty are going to make in his own country. . . . Pitt's plans are so absurd that they can only have been conceived in a madhouse. The Convention occupied itself for some days with plans of public instruction, with decrees for the making of elementary books, for forming a popular republican library in every district, for improving the manufacture of arms and gunpowder, for totally abolishing negro slavery, &c. On the 5th of February Robespierre delivered a rambling, and yet pedantic discourse upon the 'principles of political morality, which ought to guide the National Convention in the internal administration of the republic.' In this discourse he denounced, in the most open manner, both Dantonists and Hébertists, under their now received names of *Moderates* and *Ultra-Revolutionists*. "Both these factions," said he "march under different banners and by different roads, but they are both marching to the same end, and that end is the disorganization of the popular government, the ruin of the Convention, and the triumph of tyranny. One of these factions would drag us into weakness, the other would drive us into excess." This was a declaration of open war to both parties alike, and it served to prepare the minds of the people for the proscription of the Dantonists as well as Hébertists. Robespierre's victory over the two (though the Hébertists alone had lately seemed so strong in the House and in the committee) was in a manner decided on this very day, for the Convention, without any discussion, decreed that his discourse should be printed and sent to all the constituted authorities, to all the clubs and popular societies, and to all the armies, and further, for the instruction of the world in general, that it should be translated into *all* languages. The sud-

den shiftings and changings which have always distinguished the French in their legislative bodies, and which even at the present day seldom allow of any calculation as to the majorities or minorities, or whether the same question which is rejected to-day may not be carried next week and almost unanimously, may in good part explain Robespierre's triumph. It was followed by immediate and important consequences, denunciations poured in from the Paris sections and from the departments against the chiefs of the revolutionary army, who were all Hébertists, and against the commissioners or proconsuls, some of whom were Hébertists and some Dantonists, those who were Robespierrists, as Saint-Just and Lebas, being for the present, and for obvious reasons, respected.*

Danton, sensible of the danger that threatened him, sought an interview with Robespierre, who consented to receive him and one or two of his friends in his own lodging at the carpenter's in the Rue St. Honoré. Danton complained of the hatred and malice of the governing committees, but said he did not fear them. Robespierre, whose manner was cold and reserved, replied that Danton was under a mistake, that there were no civil intentions against him personally, but that it might be well to enter into some explanations. "Explanations!" cried Danton. "For us to make any explanations there must be *good faith* on both sides." And, seeing that Robespierre's countenance darkened at these words, he added "Without doubt it is necessary to put down royalists, but we ought to strike only such blows as are really useful to the republic: we ought not to confound the innocent with the guilty." "Eh!" rejoined Robespierre, with bitterness, "Who has told you that a single innocent person has perished?" Danton, turning to one of the friends who had accompanied him, said with a bitter smile, "What do you think of that? *Not one innocent person has perished!*" With these words they separated, never to meet again in private, or elsewhere, except as mortal and declared enemies. Robespierre, if he had been as frank and out-spaking as Danton, might have said to him, as Danton had said to the Girondist mediator—"I cannot trust you, and you will not trust me." A coalition between the Dantonists and the Hébertists might have proved strong enough to renew the combat and delay the destruction of the two parties, but Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and others of the moderates had committed themselves as open and irreconcilable foes of Hébert, Chaumette, Vincent, Ronsin, Cloutz, and all that gang, before Robespierre betrayed his intention of guillotining them all, Dantonists and Hébertists, and here again, though even in the presence of a common danger, these two factions could not trust one another. Singly, the Hébertists made an energetic and most daring struggle for their power and their lives, but the Dantonists remained inactive, stupified, paralyzed, without even that degree of courage which is required in

certain circumstances to run away the cowards took Danton's bold words for heroism, and flattered themselves into a half belief that what he so often repeated must prove true—that the Robespierriists, cautious cowards themselves, would not dare touch a hair of the head of a man who had been such a revolutionist as he, and that, so long as he was safe, he would prove a shield to every one of his party.

When the sombre Saint-Just returned to the Convention from a mission, the war of extermination became more active on the 26th of February he presented a terrible report on the *suspects*, under which term were now included men and women of the most opposite parties. Working out Robespierre's axioms and dogmas, and throwing contempt upon Camille Desmoulins and his 'Vieux Cordelier,' Saint-Just proclaimed that the republic could not be too suspicious, that the number of the justly suspected was still infinite including Camille himself and all his party, as well as Hebert and all his frowzy faction. "That which constitutes a republic," said this cold-blooded fanatic, "is the destruction of every man that is opposed to it. Your moderates are as bad as your anarchists or ultra-revolutionists. Every dissident is a traitor." Apostrophising Danton, he told him that he and men like him were guilty, because they took pleasure in frequenting public places to attract the attention of the people, because they were hunting after luxury and fortune, because they were selling themselves to foreign powers, &c. "Your last hour is approaching," cried he, "you shall all perish! I say all! Measures are already taken to secure the guilty, they are all known, watched, surrounded!" He said that it was an illusion to represent the revolution and the French people as inhuman. The revolutionary tribunal had indeed cut off the heads of three hundred scoundrels within a year, but what was this compared with the executions of the Spanish inquisition? And had not the tribunals of England butchered anybody this year? And had not Frenchmen the right to treat the partisans of tyranny as the partisans of liberty were treated elsewhere? Marat had been assassinated in France, the illustrious Margarott, member of the Scotch National Convention assembled at Edinburgh, had just been transported, with confiscation of property, and, while all tyrants were rejoicing at this last judgment, was France to tie the hands of her revolutionary avenging tribunal? Marat was in his grave, and could not be recalled, but the illustrious Margarott must not be left to perish, he must be recalled from Botany Bay by his destiny, which would prove stronger than the government which oppressed him. Marat, he said, had emitted some happy ideas upon representative governments, and the best means of finishing the revolution. He regretted that he was not there to speak them himself, as the holy truths would carry more weight if delivered from his own mouth, but, urged by necessity, he would try what effect these truths might have from his lips. And,

proceeding with his exposition, Saint-Just reproduced the most sanguinary axioms of the friend of the People, mingling them here and there with rhetoric stolen from Danton, who had been, if not the original framer of the plan, the real orator of the audacity and terror system. "If," said he, "you allow yourselves to be duped by moderation and misplaced indulgence, if you shrink from shedding blood, if you spare the aristocracy, you will condemn France to fifty years of trouble. Be bold. Dare! (*Osez!*) That word contains all the policy of our revolution." He presented several decrees, importing that the governing committees should be purged, that poverty and distress were to disappear from the body of the real people, that the committee of General Security alone should be invested with the faculty of examining the petitions and reclamations of political prisoners (there were at this moment five thousand *suspects* in the prisons of Paris alone), and of liberating the said prisoners if their patriotism should be proved, that all such prisoners as should be recognised as enemies to the revolution, or as *suspects*, should be kept in prison till the peace, and then sent into perpetual banishment, that all their property should be confiscated and divided amongst the indigent patriots, of whom regular lists should be drawn up by every commune in France. This last process, Saint-Just observed, would notably strengthen the republic and the reign of liberty and equality, by taking from the criminal rich to give to the virtuous poor, by indemnifying the unfortunate with a division of the spoils and property of the enemies of the revolution, by making comfort and happiness flourish in France—that popular happiness which was a new idea in Europe. "This plan," says Thiers, with his usual placidity, "was the Agrarian law imposed on the *suspects* for the profit of the patriots." Wild as it was, it was adopted without a dissentient voice. The other articles of the decrees, which altogether tended to enlarge the powers of the revolutionary government, and to exclude from it all that were not the friends of Robespierre or of his system, seem to have been passed with the same unanimity. The Hebertists had concluded that it was not in the Convention that they could make any stand. The Dantonists, with the common cowardice of French minorities, had given up their ground in the House, without taking up any other, and had apparently surrendered their weapons; and at this critical moment Camille Desmoulins even left off publishing his 'Vieux Cordelier,' which had certainly been making converts and a party even among the sans-culottes.

In the field of battle which they had chosen the Hebertists were busy enough. Printer Momoro, whose wife had played Goddess of Reason, went among the faubourgs and the most desperate sections, and he got up a striking and telling scene by veiling in black crape the tablet of the Rights of Man in the Cordelier Club. Not being able to win over a majority in the Jacobins, the Cor-

deliers set themselves in a state of open hostility to that club, declaring by manifesto that they were better patriots than the Jacobins, or that the Cordelier-Jacobins were the only true ones, and calling upon the people of Paris, the real people and true sans culottes to testify to their character, and to the truth of these declarations. It was, in fact, a club war, or war of clubs, the Jacobins for Robespierre, the Cordeliers for Hebert. But, besides the Cordelier Club, the Hebertists had good ground to stand upon in the commune, for Chaumette was still procureur-general. Hebert himself was substitute, and mayor Pache, uncertain as to the side for which victory might finally declare, and flattered by their promises to make him a sort of president of the republic, smiled complacently upon their projects. In the revolutionary army of Rome they had an organised force, and, though the greater part of these ruffians had been sent into the Vendée, there remained in Paris and the neighbourhood about 4000 of them. They were favoured too by what had been a potent agent in the first and in most of the later stages of the revolution—a scarcity, approaching, in some parts of France, almost to a famine. They produced pamphlets and placards attributing this dreadful calamity to the vices, the corruptions, and rapacity of the existing executive. At this juncture Robespierre, who was liable to frequent attacks of bilious fever and Couthon, who was never well, fell into serious illness, were obliged to confine themselves to their beds, and were both reported to be at death's door. Other terrible chiefs of that party as Billaud Varennes and Jean-Bon Saint-André, were in the departments. If the blow, the grand coup d'état could be struck now surely it must succeed! Thus thought the Hebertists, who for the first resolved to proceed according to the old approved system, which had been tried so successfully with mayor Pétion and with the present mayor Pache himself. They declared the sections to be in insurrection, they collected a mob (not so great as they expected) marched down to the Hôtel de-Ville, and endeavoured to carry the commune along with them. But here they sustained their first reverse. Sly, cautious Pache had kept out of the way, upon information timely received that in fact only the section of Marat had insurged, his deputy (Lubin) represented to the patriot mob that they were under some illusion that the Convention and governing committees had just adopted and were carrying into execution the best measures possible for making provisions cheap and indigent patriots happy, and even procureur-general Chaumette, though a chief of the Hebertist faction, and one of those whose heads must fall if this insurrection should not succeed, evincing the weakness of the force before him, turned pale and stammered a few words about the respect due to the law and to the National Convention. In the meanwhile Saint Just and Collot d'Herbois acting for Robespierre and Couthon, who were sick, and for the other chiefs that were absent, ran down to the

Convention, where they found such of the deputies as had assembled trembling and doing nothing, but only expecting that this day, the 16th Ventose or Wind month,—or, in 'slaves' style, the 6th of March,—was going to bring forth a hurricane like that which had swept away the Girondists. Saint-Just called them to life and exertion by representing the insurrection as nowise dangerous, and by moving that Fouquier-Tinville should instantly be summoned to the bar. That truculent accuser-general, who was never so happy as when he had a grand wholesale case set before him,—as when (to use his own expression) he had an opportunity to fire in line, *faire un feu de file*,—soon appeared, and received the orders of the House to arrest all agitators and conspirators as soon as might be. This being done, Collot d'Herbois ran to the Jacobin Club to make a moving oration and to claim the support and succour of that society, without which the decrees of the Convention were little worth. Momoro, who, like nearly all the Cordeliers, was a member of the Jacobins, and who had not yet been expelled from that mother society, ascended the Jacobin tribune after Collot, and attempted to prove that there was no insurrection or project of insurrection,—that the section Marat and the Cordeliers were quiet, well-intentioned citizens, &c. Momoro, who was well known to have contributed to the movement, was hooted out of the speaking place, and Collot was charged to go, in the name of the Jacobins, to fraternise with the Cordeliers, and bring back to the true path those friends and brothers who could only have been misled by perfidious men. Collot, however, did not risk his person in the Cordelier Club till the following day, when the insurgents for the most part had separated and gone to their homes, cursing or laughing at the ridiculous parade they had been induced to make, and when the majority of the club itself, who were not personally committed, had come to the conclusion that the wisest course they could pursue would be to give up the Hebertists and make their own peace with the Jacobins. Accordingly, as soon as Collot came to fraternise, it only cost him a short speech to induce the Cordeliers to tear away the black crap from the Rights of Man, and to charge him with an assurance to their brethren the Jacobins that they would always march in the same road with them. The game was now up, for Robespierre's 4000 heroes of the revolutionary army lost heart at the dispersion of the section patriots, protested that they were too few to attempt a *coup-de-main*, and began to desert in troops. Although they must have felt that their case was desperate although they must have known that Fouquier-Tinville was letting loose all his bloodhounds upon them, not one of the Hebertist chiefs attempted to save himself by a prompt flight, some of them tried to conceal themselves in Paris, but concealment there was impossible, for, as Saint-Just had already told them, they were watched, surrounded. So perfectly sure were the Robespierrists of their

game, that they played with it as a cat with a crippled mouse that cannot run away or find a hole to hide in they let several days pass without taking any further steps, and it was not until the 13th of March, by which time Robespierre and Couthon were sufficiently recovered to be at their posts, that Saint-Just presented to the Convention a report which, to keep up the old fiction, was styled "Report on the factions of the foreigners, and on the conspiracy concerted by them in the French republic, to destroy the republican government by corruption, and to starve Paris." In a speech still more terrible, and more coldly and systematically atrocious, than any he had yet delivered, Saint-Just not only fell upon the Hébertists, as plotters, incendiaries, robbers, cut-purses, vile atheists, but also attacked another party, at the head of which stood ex-capuchin Chabot, as agents of corruption, stock-jobbers, gamblers, forgers that to a man merited the guillotine. Nor were the Dantonists, who had in a manner commenced the war upon the Hébertists, treated with more leniency. — Saint-Just wanted the blood of all of them, and of a vast number of individuals who were connected neither with Danton nor with Camille Desmoulins, neither with Hébert nor with Chabot — men, in short, who had avoided linking themselves with any party whatsoever in the vain hope of keeping their heads on their shoulders. These neutrals were all declared to be *suspects*. And Saint-Just demanded, and the Convention instantly voted, a further exterminating decree, beginning "Are declared traitors to the country and shall be punished as such," and ending with a wide spread universal category, which might enfold in its gigantic and deadly embrace every man in France that Robespierre or Fouquier-Tinville might choose to designate. On the evening of the same day, Robespierre and Couthon reappeared in the Jacobin Club, where they were received with acclamations, and promises and vows that that society would stand by them now and for ever. In the course of the night Fouquier-Tinville got into his death grip Hébert, Ronsin, Vincent, Momoro and all the chiefs of that party, including a Dutch banker and stock jobber named Kook, a democrat and ultra revolutionist of the first water, at whose pleasant country-residence at Passy the Hébertists had been accustomed to dine sumptuously and in dining to settle their plots and plans. In all there were nineteen men, of whom not one made the slightest resistance. And during the same dark hours Fouquier-Tinville seized Chabot, Bazire, Julien, and the whole batch of those who had been denounced as agents of corruption, stock-jobbers, &c., and with them was included another foreign banker, the Baron de Batz. The last-named individual had not been so intimate with Chabot and Bazire and their friends as the Dutchman Kook had been with the Hébertists, but he was arrested in order to make the people believe that both factions had been in the pay of foreign powers and that each had its foreign banker. They were all

safely lodged in the Luxembourg, a palace converted into a state prison, and which, spacious as it was, was crowded before the arrival of these unexpected guests — crowded chiefly through the denunciations and arrests made by the Hébertists themselves in their brief but busy day of power and triumph. As the new prisoners were handed in, the old prisoners crowded to see them to mock them, to rejoice at their fall. Scenes took place worthy of a Pandemonium of gibing, mocking devils. Those whom Hébert had sent thither vainly fancied that their hour of deliverance must be now at hand, the Hébertists, upon a surer calculation, knew that for themselves "the holy guillotine" (they had so named it when they had the direction of its knife) awaited them within a few short days or hours, General Ronsin continued to play the bravo, all the rest were dejected — Hébert was fainting, Vincent in convulsive fits.

On the morrow all Paris seemed in a transport of joy. At the call of Robespierre the Jacobins assembled in extraordinary session, and agreed that the arrests were not yet sufficiently numerous, that the commune must be purged, reformed, reconstructed, that Hébert's official superior, Chaumette, who had been left undisturbed in his office at the Hôtel de Ville, must go to the Luxembourg, together with other magistrates and municipals, chosen and appointed, indeed, by the sovereign people, but traitors nevertheless, that Anacharsis Clootz, who had always been preaching atheism, and sworn constitutional bishop Gobel, who had led off in the aljuration farce, should be sent to the same prison, together with other traitors and conspirators (all in the pay of Pitt), who had been connected with foul Hébert or greedy Chabot. And forthwith, by another easy cast of the net, all these fry were caught. Fresh scenes of Memphis mirth and mockery as they entered the Luxembourg! One of the old prisoners, howing to Chaumette, who had taken to himself the name of Anaxagoras, and who arrested all manner of people as *suspects*, said — "Oh, philosopher Anaxagoras! I am *suspect*, thou art *suspect*, he is *suspect*, we are *suspects*, you are *suspects*, they are *suspects* — all are *suspects*." Chaumette reeled to his cell, and never showed himself again until he walked out with gendarmes to go before Fouquier-Tinville. On the 1st Germinal, or the 20th of March, twenty of them went through the tragical farce of a trial. Some changes were made in the distribution of persons, Clootz, who ought to have figured with Chaumette, was placed with Ronsin and Hébert and Proly, Chaumette was put aside with Gobel, to be tried a little later. Hébert and his nineteen companions (Clootz having raised the number of this party to twenty) were all accused of being the agents of foreign powers, and they were all found guilty except one, who in the whole business had acted as a spy for Robespierre and his party. On the 24th of March (the trial had lasted for three days, and then the jury, as in the case of the Girondists, had cut the matter short by

declaring their consciences to be satisfied) the nineteen were led to that scaffold to which they had sent so many victims. The crowd was immense, the richer or more curious of the spectators paid for places in carts and waggons, that were so arranged as to command a near view of the guillotine, every window and house top in the streets through which the death-carts passed were crowded with spectators, and the Parisians hooted and jested, laughed and blasphemed, and showed by other parts of their conduct that in ferocity, obscenity, atrocity, they were nearly of a kin with the crouching, shivering monsters and madmen that were on their way to death. Hébert fainted several times in the cart; only Ronsin and mad Clootz kept up the bravado to the last. Momoro, the Goddess of Reason's husband, was as chip-fallen as Hébert, Vincent was again in his old convulsions. It seems to be universally allowed that this was the most spiritless batch that perished during all the Reign of Terror. Ronsin consoled himself with saying, and no doubt believing, that Robespierre and his friends, who were now sentencing him and his party to die, would march the same road in their turn, and that before long Ronsin is rated as a vulgar, unphilosophical mind, but his political force still seems to have been as good as that of the best of them.* Clootz acted as atheist chaplain, for it is said he was a religious atheist, but some of them might through weakness, die believing in a God: he endeavoured to keep up the spirits of Hébert by preaching comfortable "doctrines of materialism," and he is said to have requested to be executed the last of them all, in order that he might have time to establish "certain principles" while their heads were falling. It is, however, also said that, when in the cart, he doubted whether it were not all a dream—whether it could be true that mankind were so blind and cruel as to think of immolating their champion and orator—and that when on the scaffold he appealed from the sentence of the wicked Revolutionary Tribunal to all mankind (*au genre humain*).

Madame Momoro had been arrested and thrown into the Conciergerie before her husband was put upon his trial for fear that she might raise their session—for Momoro and the goddess had their admirers and friends. According to a fellow-prisoner, this Goddess of Reason, this ethereal essence, was very terrestrial, having only passable features, shockingly bad teeth (*des dents effrayantes*), the voice of a fish-fag, and *une tournure gauche*. But this is a portrait painted by an enemy—one of the old prisoners who had been subject to the Hébertists,—and we lose faith in his candour, and can only include him with the rest of the rabid beasts, when we find him in the sequel laughing at Madame Momoro's anxiety and agony for the fate of her husband while it was as yet undecided, or

rather while it was not yet finished by the click and drop of the guillotine (wretches as the pair might have been, there was affection and love between them, and this would have made the feelings, at least of the woman, respected, sacred, everywhere but here), and when, on the receipt of the news that Momoro and Hébert and all their band had perished, we find him punning upon the Goddess of Reason, "who was not reasonable that day," making jests of the wretched woman's woe, and describing the exultation of all the rest of his fellow-prisoners, who had evidently no feeling but for themselves.*

Nineteen heads had fallen in one day—in the course of one afternoon, for the execution did not commence until some time after mid-day—yet the Dantonists who had been so clearly threatened with the same fate as the Hébertists, remained in their despairing inertia. The herd looked to their leader, and their leader, who had never been anything more than an oratorical hero or a bully, had nothing to offer them but sonorous phrases, and found hope for himself in his vast self-conceit—the trip which, in various ways, proved fatal to every one of these revolutionary chiefs. We believe the hope was of that kind which is called a half hope: but flight was extremely difficult, and, although Salles and Guadet, Barbaroux, Pétion, and Buzot had not yet come to their miserable end, a sufficient number of the fugitive Girondists had perished to warn Danton of the perils that would await him in the departments, even if he could get clear of Paris, where his burly person and rough peculiar physiognomy were known to nearly every man, woman and child. To those who kept representing to him the danger which threatened his party he kept replying, "They would not dare" (*Il n'osent*). Between the arrest and trial of the Hébertists (on the 16th of March), when a deputation came to the Convention to congratulate it on the fall of those conspirators, and when one of this said deputation sang a song written for the occasion, Danton was in his seat, and, expressing his indignation at the singing (though he had often heard the like thing, and had even encouraged it, in the same place), he obtained a decree that henceforward no one should be allowed to sing songs at the bar of the House, and this, as has been observed, was the great and terrible Danton's last act†. It appears that he never presented himself in the tribune, or even in the House, again, though incessantly urged to do so by his friends or partisans, who conceived that his loud roar might produce a reaction, with wonders and miracles, and who would not see the fact that the roar of the bull is nothing but a loud sound in the air when his horns have been cut off and his legs gyoed. The Robespierrists, who now saw nowhere the shadow of an opposition to their sovereign will, which was held to be, and which for

* It is said that Ronsin kept up his courage well drunk—(4) as he got drunk nightly with the keeper of the Luxembourg; 1. later or prison life.

* 3. turn 1 of a Prisoner in Collection of Nougaret as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

† Quarterly Review Art. on Memoirs of Robespierre.

the time in reality was, the representation of the will of the sovereign people, arrested Herault de Sechelles, the great showman of the republic, the great author of the existing (upon paper, locked up and hidden) republican constitution of 1793, the familiar associate of Camille-Desmoulins and Danton "You will be the next," said Danton's friends, but Danton still responded, "*Il n'oseraient*!" His wife entreated him to fly, his personal friends—and the man had many—joined in the prayer. If he had spoken unheroically, he would have said that, being already in the toils, it was idle to think of flight—that flight would expose him to a worse risk than any he ran in staying where he was—but being eternally a rhetor, and great and sublime in words, Danton said, "I am weary of this—I would rather be guillotined than guillotine others! My life is not worth so much trouble, I begin to be sick of mankind!" But if ever Robespierre, if ever Billaut-Varennes should dare

They will be execrated as tyrants, the house of Robespierre will be razed to the ground, and a gibbet planted where it once stood! But my friends will say of me that I was a good husband, a good friend, a good citizen! But they will not dare!" His friends intimated that Robespierre, the *Salut Public*, and the other governing committees, were taking their measures to arrest him, and they again recommended what seemed to them his only chance "But whither," cried he, "can a revolutionist such as I have been direct his steps? If France cast me out, there are only dungeons for me in the rest of the world! Can a man carry his country with him at the sole of his shoe? It is better to fly than go! I would rather be guillotined than guillotine any more! But I tell you they will not dare!" His friends and adherents urged him to go down to the Convention, rush to the tribune, from which he had so often thundered and shaken France, and there denounce Robespierre and the committees, and try and rally round himself the members who had so recently seemed to desire a more moderate and useful system of government. It is said Danton would not make the attempt, *because* he knew too well the personal fears and base subjection of the House, but, if Danton had not been overcome by fear himself, assuredly he would have tried the experiment. On the 30th of March, Paris, one of the jurymen of the Revolutionary Tribunal, assured him that there was no longer any doubt of the intention of the Robespierriists to send him to the guillotine, for that a clerk of the committee of *Salut Public* had told him that Danton's warrant was made out, and that he was to be arrested that very night. He repeated again his "*Il n'oseraient*!"—went to his bed—and in the course of the night was roused from his slumbers by the tramp of gendarmes and the rattling of arms. It appears he would then have tried to fly, but could not, his house being invested on all sides. In the same night, and in much the same manner, Camille-Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix (Danton's bro-

ther commissioner and plunderer in Belgium), and several others were seized. They were all carried to the Luxembourg. The prisoners crowded to gaze upon them, but for the most part with more friendly eyes than those they had lately cast upon Hebert and his ribald crew, for they had flattered themselves that Danton's loud oratory and Camille's smart pen were to make moderation the order of the day, and consequently to open the doors of all the prisons. "Eh, messieurs!" said Danton, "I hoped soon to have got you all out of this, but here I am myself, and now I cannot see how all this will end." One of the first persons he saw on entering the Luxembourg was Thomas Paine! The great American (as it had been the fashion to call him) had never recovered from the effects of his humanity in endeavouring to save the life of Louis XVI. Robespierre had caused him to be excluded from the Convention, as a foreigner (although he had been naturalised), in June, 1793, had subsequently persecuted him as a dangerous enemy to liberty and equality, and now Paine had been for some time in prison, where he was occupying himself in finishing his '*Age of Reason*.' Danton was lodged in the room which had been occupied a few days before by Hebert, and which, after another turn of the wheel, was to be occupied, though only for a few hours, by Robespierre.

On the morrow morning, when the arrest of Danton was announced in the Convention, many faces became pale, but not one voice was raised in his favour, except that of his friend, butcher Legendre, who had courage enough to say that he believed Danton to be as sure as himself (and no man, he thought, could reproach him, Legendre, with any act contrary to the most scrupulous probity), and even to move that Danton, Camille, and the others should be heard at the bar of the House, and, in short, be tried by the Convention itself. The majority hooted and interrupted the friendly butcher, and then Robespierre answered him in a long speech. "Why," cried the Incorruptible, "should we treat Danton differently from the Girondists or the Hébertists? The republic must be strictly impartial—the law must be one and the same for all!" What signify to me the fine discourses, the eulogiums which men may bestow upon themselves and their friends? A long and too painful experience has taught us the value we ought to put upon such oratorical formulas! We no longer want to know what good this or that individual may have done to the revolution at some particular antecedent period: we only seek to know what men are doing now, and what has been the course of their whole political career! [He was loudly applauded.] Why has not Legendre mentioned by name his friend Lacroix, who is in the number of the arrested? Because he knows that he cannot decently defend Lacroix. He speaks about Danton, because he believes that there is a privilege attached to that name, but we have done with privileges for ever, and we will have no more idols! [Here he re-

ceived several rounds of applause] What have we ever done that has not met the approbation of the people—of all France? Are we not free, and just as we are free? Why, then, should any one pretend that Danton and his friends will not have a fair trial? This is doubting the national justice, this is calumniating men—upright judges and a patriot jury—who have obtained the confidence of the National Convention, this is distrusting the Convention, who have given them that confidence, this is libelling public opinion, which has sanctioned that (our) confidence in the revolutionary tribunal! I say that every man that doubts and fears the tribunal—that every one that trembles at this moment, is guilty, for innocence can never fear justice and public surveillance! And I also have been tempted by men who have represented that I am myself surrounded by dangers, that I ought to cling to Danton as my only shield and buckler, that Danton is a rampart, a tower of strength that might save and defend me, but that, he being once overthrown, I shall be left open to my mortal enemies. I have been written to, the friends of Danton have made me receive letters, have beset me with their discourses. They have fancied that the recollections of an old intimacy, that my early faith in false virtues, ought to determine me to slacken my zeal and passion for liberty. But these things cannot touch me. I have only seen in the flatteries and caresses of Danton's friends the certain signs of his and their terror! Formerly I was the friend of Pétion, but, as soon as he had unmasked himself, I abandoned him; once, also, I was connected with Roland, but Roland turned traitor, and I denounced him! To calm the trembling House, to conjure the desperation of cowardice, which, at times, can do as much as courage, he said and repeated that he knew the number of the Dantonist conspirators, of the real traitors, to be but small, and that the patriotism and magnanimity of the Convention would make proper distinctions between error and crime, between weakness and conspiracy. Legendre's motion, unsupported, seconded by no one, was thrown to the wind. Saint-Just in the united names of the committee of *Salut Public*, and the committee of General Security, read a long report, which though it professed to be merely in a *te d'accusation*, or impeachment, was, in effect, the sentence of death upon the accused before their trial began, and without their having been heard anywhere in their own defence. The decree was carried not only with unanimity, but also with loud applauding and chattering. The greatest crowds probably made the greatest noise, for Robespierre's hint to the tremblers could not have been thrown away, any more than the consolatory intimation that it was but a few heads he wanted, and, as a French writer observes, every member was seeking to gain time with tyranny by delivering up other men's heads to save his own.*

On the next day the Dantonists were removed

* Mignet.

from the Luxembourg to the Conciergerie, and on the morrow, the 2nd of April, their trial began under the gentle auspices of Fouquier-Tinville. Saint-Just in his reports had connected them with the old treasons of Mirabeau, the Lametis, Lafayette, Philippe Egalité, Dumouriez, Carra, and the Girondists, and had even endeavoured to link them with the new conspiracy of the Hébertists. But Fouquier-Tinville mixed them up, in the strangest and most arbitrary manner, with ex-capuchin Chabot, Bazire, and all that swindling, stock-jobbing crew, among whom were involved another foreign banker, or stock-jobber, a native of Moravia, named Frev, and a brother of the said Frev, who had been an army contractor, and with this motley group and Fabre d'Églantine, Hérault de Séchelles, a Dane, and two Spaniards (all described as accomplices), they were put upon their trial.* Danton's pride was much hurt at being put in such company. Chabot and Bazire, to make the humiliation greater, were placed foremost in the indictment, and were questioned the first as to their names, callings, places of abode, &c. When Fouquier-Tinville put these questions of formality to "the Titan of the Revolution," Danton replied magniloquently, "My name is George Jacques Danton—a name not unknown in our revolution, my abode will soon be *dans le néant* (in annihilation or nothingness), but I shall live in the Pantheon of history!" Camille Desmoulins, when his turn came, spoke in much the same vein, saying that, for his age, it was just that of the good sans-culotte Jesus Christ when he died—in age fatal to revolutionists!† Hérault de Séchelles, Philippeaux, and the rest of their friends joined them in complaining that they should be mixed up and tried with swindlers, forgers, men of the Stock Exchange, &c. Chabot, who had been at the very head of the stock-jobbing party, swore that he had joined them only in order to learn their secrets and denounce them. When Danton spoke in his own defence, his loud-roaring voice, his revolutionary style, his elegant person, and gigantic rhetorical figures made some impression, created some emotion in the spectators and auditors. He demanded that the members of the committee of *Salut Public* and of the committee of general security should be made to appear as his accusers, and as witnesses against him. Above all he called for Saint-Just, Couthon, and Labas, whom he styled the three most downright scoundrels in France, the three base flatterers who were fawning upon Robespierre and leading him to his destruction. "Let

* It was scarcely attempted to be proved that the Dantonists had ever had the slightest connexion with these foreigners and stock-jobbers. But it was as laid made in many had made it in a different manner. The connexion between Chabot and the Frevs was close and notorious enough for the unrocked capuchin had married a sister of the two foreign adventurers and had received from them a marriage portion said to have been 200,000 livres.

† Camille's age, as stated in the indictment, was thirty-three. Danton was only a year older. Chabot was thirty-five. Bazire only, only, twenty-nine. Hérault de Séchelles thirty-four. The oldest of all the batch was under forty. This says Thiers, talents among rage patriotism youth were united in this holocaust as they had been in that of the Girondists. And this is the most moral reflection that Thiers makes on the subject.

them appear," cried he, "and I will plunge them into that nothingness (*neant*) out of which they ought never to have risen. I must speak to these three rogues who have already ruined Robespierre. Let those cowards who have calumniated me come and attack me *en face*! Let them show themselves, and in a moment I will cover them with ignominy and opprobrium!" I have said it, and I repeat it: my domicile will soon be in nothingness, and my name in the Pantheon! My head is here ready to answer for everything! . . .

. . . Lift is burdensome to me, I long to be delivered from it! President Herman, the same who had presided over the trials of the Queen and the Girondists, rudely interrupted him, and not once, but often. "Danton," said he, "audacity is the common characteristic of guilt, the innocent are calm. You must be decent, moderate, you must respect your accusers, you must remember that you are sent before this court by the highest of all authorities! you owe all obedience to the decrees of the National Convention!" "Audacity!" roared Danton, who was now getting into that vein of courage which was really in him, "mine is a national audacity—an audacity very necessary in revolutions—an audacity which I ranche benefited by in 1792 when the Prussians were in full march upon Paris, and when the cowards of the Convention would have abandoned the capital, would have fled behind the Loire, would have sacrificed the republic, and have left France to be dismembered and partitioned!" There was a time when the people, when the Convention thought well of the audacity of Danton! Is it from so strongly pronounced a revolutionist as I am that you would expect a cold and quiet defence? Men of my stamp are above price—it is on their brow that liberty and the republican genius are stamped in ineffaceable characters! And am I to reply to the contemptible contradictory accusations that are here heaped against me? I have been the hottest man in the revolution, the most ardent friend and defender of liberty, and now Saint-Just and Couthon, and my whole being shudders as I think of this list of Here the president checked him and reprimanded him. "The virtuous Marat," said Herman, "was once accused before a tribunal, even as you are now. He felt the necessity of justifying himself, but he accomplished his object like a good citizen, speaking in mild, respectful language, and was not the less beloved by the people for it. Marat did not permit himself to indulge in invectives against his accusers. I cannot recommend to you a better model than the great Marat." Danton, changing his tone, but still demanding that Saint-Just, Couthon, and Lebas should be brought face to face with him, continued for a short time, when he was again interrupted by the president, who told him that irony and pleasantry were no more to his taste than invective. "Nothing is now more common," said Herman, "than to meet with irony and pleasantry and *jeux de-mots* from accused parties who feel themselves

crushed by their own deeds, and know not what to say." Taking the narrative style, but still chequering the narrative with bursts of revolutionary oratory, Danton narrated all that he had done to promote the decisive insurrections of the people—all that he had done to unmask the mercenary traitor Mirabeau, and the vain conspirator Lafayette—all that he had done on the day when Louis XVI and his court wanted to go to St. Cloud, on which day he it was that had blocked up their passage with pikes and bayonets—all that he had done to sound the tocsin on the 9th of August, 1792, and the active part he had taken in the attack on the Tuileries the day after, boasting of having led the people to sign the republican petition in the Champ de Mars, and of having been the first man to propose openly the overthrow of the throne—boasting of all his revolutionary deeds, excepting only his bloody and mysterious exploits during the September massacres. Of these horrors, the guilt of which had been bandied about from party to party, of these September butcheries in which Danton's participation was certainly less than that of many other men now his accusers and judges, not a word was said in the whole course of the trial, for the dominant faction had strong reasons for desiring that those scenes and days should be forgotten.* When the president again rang his hand-bell to interrupt him, and told him how he ought to plead, Danton raised his voice the higher, crying or shouting, "What is it to you how I defend myself? You can condemn me all the same. The voice of a man pleading for his honour and his life may well drown the tinkling of your miserable bell!" As on the trial of the Girondists, no satisfactory evidence was produced upon points of delinquency, which might easily have been proved thus Danton and his brother commissioner Lacroix were not proved to be guilty of the rapine and plunder in Belgium, but the reason is obvious—there were men sitting in the Convention, and now voting with Robespierre, who had been accomplices in that guilt or sharers in its profits, and both Lacroix and Danton demanded that some of these members should be made to appear in court. In spite of the precaution which had been taken to admit into court and into the galleries none but such as were furnished with tickets, the Robespierriats and the court were in a panic lest Danton's bold harangues, lest that sonorous voice which had so often thrilled and roused the great sans culottic heart as though it were the blast of a thousand trumpets, should excite the auditors, and, re-echoing out of doors, produce an insurrection. As soon, therefore, as the first day's work was over, and the prisoners were sent back to the Conciergerie, president Herman and Fouquier-Tinville hastened to them

* Some little fact came out on the trial which we do not remember to have seen noticed in any of the biographies or histories of the Revolution. It appeared for example that Danton, on the 17th of July 1789 three days after the capture of the Bastille, in order to England. He admitted it, fact and said he used a great time in it as country. As they show it, not after this last crime. It is said then Marat had been more guilty than he for Marat had paid two visits to England.

committee of *Salut Public* to impart their alarms, and to explain the great uneasiness they felt at Danton's audacity, and his persevering demands for the appearance of some of his accusers, and other members of the Convention. They found in the committee only Saint Just and Billaud-Varennes, who enjoined the president to take no notice of Danton's demands, and instructed him and Fouquier-Tinville to lengthen proceedings to the end of the three days, without giving or permitting any explanations, and then to wind up, according to the letter of the decree which had been carried in order to give their quietus to the Girondists, by making the jury declare that their consciences were sufficiently enlightened, &c. We believe the description of the excitement which prevailed among the people of Paris to be much exaggerated, but the fears and suspicions of the Robespierrists were, no doubt, excessively great, as they were on all occasions, and as they continued to be when Danton was no more. Circumstances happened too, or were invented, which increased the panic, and furnished them with a pretext for passing another expeditious decree. Among the hundreds of prisoners in the Luxembourg, there was a certain Laflotte, who had been employed diplomatically by one or more of these rapidly succeeding revolutionary governments: he had been a charge d'affaires at Florence, a secretary of embassy at Naples, where his business lay in Jacobinising thoughtless young gentlemen, and he had also been on a mission at Rome, where he had a very narrow escape from sharing in the fate of the French ambassador (Basseville), who was massacred by a furious mob.* Laflotte was a nimble, tricky man and one who had given his proofs of civism and revolutionism, what mistake led him into prison we know not, but being there he resolved to get out as soon as possible, and by any means. He frequently sought the society of General Dillon who solaced his captivity by hard drinking. When Dillon was not drunk he played at tric trac, but when he was drunk he gave way to violent and imprudent declamations against Robespierre and his party. He told Laflotte that it was high time that true republicans should rise against their vile oppressors, that the Parisians seemed to be awakened by the behaviour of Danton on his trial that the condemnation of Danton and his friends was far from being certain, and that the wife of Camille Desmoulins, by distributing assignats in proper places, might get up a popular insurrection which would save and liberate them all. Laflotte waited upon the head gaoler of the Luxembourg, and, upon promise given that he should be restored to liberty, he revealed what he called a double plot—a conspiracy within the prison and outside of it—to enlarge the Dantonists and assassinate Robespierre, together with all the other members of the governing committees.

On the second day of the trial, while Danton was

* On some of Laflotte's performances see ante p. 309.

thundering before the revolutionary tribunal and repeating his legal demand for the appearance in court of his accusers, the members of the committees, &c., when president Herman was half deafened and wholly perplexed, and when even Fouquier-Tinville was losing heart and countenance, the keeper of the Luxembourg suddenly appeared in the committee of *Salut Public*, and presented Laflotte's deposition. Robespierre, Couthon and others are said to have been almost petrified by their fears, while Saint-Just, who held the paper in his hand, and who had more presence of mind and invention, soon saw the good use which might be made of it. However this may be—whether Saint-Just was or was not made bold by that which made his chief a coward—it is certain that it was Saint-Just who, on the third day of the trial, at an early hour, and before proceedings were well commenced at the tribunal, ran over to the Convention and presented a most startling report on the dangers which threatened the country—the last dangers to which the country and liberty could be exposed, for, if the legislature would only be resolute on the present occasion, the safety and happiness of the republic would soon be secured for ever. "Danton and his co-accused" cried he in his dolorous voice, 'are behaving most indecently before the national tribunal! They are in open revolt, they threaten their judges—they even pelt them in the face with crumbs of bread made up into little pellets—they are exciting the people, and may very possibly, mislead them. Nor is this all: they have prepared a conspiracy in the prisons—*ay, in the prisons!* The wife of Camille has received money to provoke an insurrection, General Dillon is to get out of the Luxembourg, to put himself at the head of some of the conspirators, to butcher the committees, and to liberate all the guilty!' The deputies cried out that this was horrible, too horrible, and, although many of them certainly desired that some such conspiracy might succeed, they all gave way to their present fears, and voted unanimously a decree proposed by Saint-Just which commanded the Revolutionary Tribunal to conclude the trial of Danton and his accomplices before they adjourned, and which further authorised the said tribunal to silence, or throw out of the debates (*mettre hors des débats*) all such prisoners as should fail in respect to justice, or endeavour to excite troubles. Vadier and Vouland, two members of the committee of General Security, hastened with this decree to the court, where they found the prisoners more bold and the judges more dismayed than ever. "What is to be done?" said Fouquier-Tinville. "They still call for their accusers to appear as witnesses: they are demanding still more—they are calling upon the National Convention to name a committee to receive the denunciations and evidence they have to offer against the governing committees, and against a project of dictatorship, which they say is entertained by Robespierre and those committees! Within doors and without the people seem to be

much excited—what is to be done?" "We have got the villains in our grip!" Here is what will get you out of your embarrassment," said Vadier, handing him the decree. Fouquier glanced his eye over the paper, brightened up, ran to his place, and, with a voice of great joy, read this new and horrible law, by which the accused could be gagged even as the refractory condemned were under the old regime. Danton rose indignantly, and called the auditory to witness that he and his friends had never insulted the tribunal. Several voices cried out that that was true, and then appeared a very general feeling of disgust at the decree. The tribunal was again intimidated, but the prisoners at the bar conceived no hope. Camille, on hearing the judges speak of the prison plot, of Dillon, and of his own young wife, exclaimed in the accents of despair, "The scoundrels! not satisfied with lacerating me, they want to butcher my dear innocent wife!" Danton said that the day would come when the truth would be known, and then, pointing to Vadier and Voulond, who had brought the decree, he exclaimed, "See there the cowardly assassins that will never quit us till we are all dead!" The two committee-men snatched out of court, the excitement of the people seemed to increase, but at last the president summed up his courage enough to pronounce the words, "*His desiré lais*," "We are gaggled," cried Danton, "we are all immolated to the ambition of a few cowardly brigands! But they will not long enjoy the fruit of their guilty victory. I drag down Robespierre in my fall. . . . Robespierre fall with me!" Camille Desmoulins began to declaim in the like sort, but the president gave the cry, and they were all seized, dragged by main force from the bar, and carried over the way to the condemned cell the Conciergerie. Fouquier In this cell they expressed a hope that the conscience of the jury was sufficiently enlightened. The jury rose and retired to their chamber, both Fouquier and president Herman followed them, and remained closeted with them. Herman produced for the first time what he called an intercepted letter, and an ample proof of Danton's correspondence and complicity with the coalition, only three or four of the jurymen hazarded a few words favourable to the accused, all the rest promptly agreed in a verdict of guilty against every one of the accused except Lullier, and with this verdict the foreman of the jury returned into court with a ferocious joy. As soon as the verdict was read, the president pronounced sentence, and ordered execution within four-and twenty hours—the property of the condemned to be confiscated, the sentence to be printed and placarded in all parts of the republic, &c. To avoid a new scene,—to avoid the reproaches and violence of dying, desperate men,—the court, setting aside the law which required the sentence to be pronounced in the presence of prisoners at the bar resolved not to bring them there again, and sent the sentence on the following morning to be read to them in their prison. Some of

the condemned stamped the paper under their feet—some gave vent to invectives and raging—some heard their doom with silence and tears—some with indifference or with a show of gaiety—that great procession man, that eternal actor (Herauld de Sechelles) is said to have been the gayest of them all Danton appears to have been the most detected, or at least the most silent—excapuchin Chabot was not there to have his conduct observed, for (apparently before the trial began) he had taken a dose of corrosive sublimate, and he was now lying in the infirmary of the Conciergerie, suffering agonies from the poison, which did not, however, produce death in time enough to save him from the guillotine No time was lost in binding them and carting them for that great slaughter-house the Place de la Revolution Camille Desmoulins, who travelled in the same cart with Danton, wept about his wife, and then went mad and tore his clothes and his shirt off his back, so that when he arrived at the foot of the scaffold he was almost naked The fine speeches made or the smart things said by Danton, and one or two others of the party, rest upon the yielding foundation of the scribbler Riouffe, or upon authorities equally questionable, which differ from and contradict one another * Executioner Samson showed their fifteen bleeding heads, in rapid succession, to the people, and the people, just as usual, shouted 'Long live the Republic' It was the 5th of April or 16th Germinal, only twelve days after the execution of the nineteen Hebertists According to a prisoner in the Luxembourg, the execution of the Dantonists excited less surprise than the execution of Hébert and Cloutz and their gang

Camille Desmoulins' young widow—only twenty-three years of age and of a beauty said to surpass even that of Charlotte Corday—was by this time under lock and bar, and, on the 10th of April, being put into a strange batch with twenty-four others, she was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. This batch (the term *fournée* was now the popular and common expression) was indeed one of the very strangest that Fouquier ever made up for Sanson's oven. It contained General Dillon and Bishop Gobel, Chaumette and Philibert Simon, a Dantonist member of the Convention General Bussy, and the widow of Hebert, who had been a nun before the revolution Grammont.

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the actor, and his son, a youth aged nineteen, Barbe, a maker of mitresses, and Lapalus, a justice of peace and judge of one of the revolutionary commissions in the provinces, together with other individuals of the most different stations, characters, and parties, most of whom were altogether unknown to one another until Fouquier-Tinville drew them up in line before the bar of the tribunal as brother and sister conspirators. Among other treasons against the state, some of them were charged with having uttered atrocious insults and calumnies against Robespierre, and against the committee of *Salut Public*. This charge was particularly laid against Hebert's widow, who denied the fact, and who, moreover, protested that, if she had ever known her husband to be a conspirator, she would have killed him with her own hand, like a true republican. Lefebvre, who had denounced Dillon to the gaoler, appeared on the trial as a witness, and inculpated the widow of Camille Desmoulins and several others: he seemed ready to swear away the lives of hundreds or of thousands to save his own neck. The trial, for form sake, was allowed to occupy three days. Nineteen of the prisoners were brought in guilty, and they were all guillotined on the 13th of April. Anvaras Chaumette was almost dead before he reached the scaffold. Bishop Gobel, who was sixty-seven years of age, was penitent and begged the pardon of a priest, the *ci-devant* nun Hebert's widow shrieked and wept, but the fair relict of Camille is said to have comforted her and to have behaved with courage and dignity.

As the terrible *armée révolutionnaire* which Robespierre had commanded was disbanded, and as the activity of the guillotine, which struck off one hundred and twenty-three heads, including that of Hebert, in the month of March, and which before the middle of this current month of April had struck off some two hundred heads, including that of Danton, seemed to have left itself little or nothing more to do, such of the community as were desirous of a return to mercy and moderation flattered themselves that Robespierre must have destroyed all those who gave him umbrage, and that Paris and France might now look forward to happier days. But these calculations did not sufficiently take into account that madness of fear and suspicion which could never cease in men like Robespierre and his colleagues, placed in such circumstances as they were in. Before this month of April came to an end from sixty to seventy more victims were sacrificed in the Place de la Révolution under the grim statue of Liberty. All manner of men, and of women too, were handed over by president Herman and Fouquier-Tinville to Sanson and his assistants, the poorest and most essentially sans-culotte classes now began to figure on the scaffold—a pretty sure sign that Robespierre's death-dance could not last many months longer. Ex-nobles, aristocrats, respectabilities, men and women who had cast off their rags and become rich and luxurious in the revolution, the *citizens* of Paris could

see perish with pleasurable emotions and joyous cries about liberty and equality, but the case was altered when they saw the bleeding heads of journey-men tailors, sempstresses, cobblers, carters, and other poor artisans and labourers, held up with increasing frequency as the heads of traitors and conspirators. This convinced them that poverty and obscurity would no longer be a safeguard—this made them think of their own necks. Among the more distinguished victims that perished between the middle of April and the end of May were Desprement, the old parliamenter and the hero of the earliest stage of all of the revolution, Chaptier, once the popular president of the Constituent Assembly, the venerable Malahérbes, who had so nobly defended Louis XVI., and who was now condemned and executed, together with his daughter and his granddaughter, his sons and grandsons and sons-in-law, the noble Lamouignons and Châteaubriands,* Lavoisier, the eminent chemical



LAVOISIER

philosopher, who, unfortunately for himself, had been a former general of the revenue before the revolution, and who was now accused of having in that capacity mixed water and various ingredients with tobacco (then, as afterwards, a monopoly of government),† the Marchioness de Crussol, and the Princess Elizabeth, the innocent, amiable, every way exemplary and almost angelic sister of Louis XVI. The princess and the marchioness, like twenty-three other individuals of very different ranks who were put in the death carts with them and executed all on the same day, were accused of plots against the republic, for Fouquier-Tinville had seized upon the idea first presented by Lafayette, and when other pretexts were wanting he now invariably charged his prisoners with prison plots. The Bourbon princess behaved like a heroine before the bloody tribunal, and like a martyr on the scaffold.

* The living inheritor of the ancient name of Châteaubriand owed his life to his escape from France. He was travelling at the time in the wilds of America collecting the materials for one of the most popular and best of his numerous writings.

† Lavoisier requested a respite of some days in order to finish certain experiments the result of which he hoped would be essential to mankind. Fouquier-Tinville in refusing the respite coolly told him that the republic had no need of chemists and savans.

Suicides became astoundingly frequent. The cynical philosophe Chamfort, whom we have seen so busy and so influential at the earlier part of the revolution in the concubina which Thomas Paine and the other republic-makers frequented, knowing that an order for his arrest had been issued, shot himself, with an unsteady hand, with a pistol, and then cut and mangled himself with a razor. He did not die at the time, but lingered in agony and as an object of horror for several months, and then died when, but for his self-inflicted wounds, he might have lived on in safety and in good repute. Other persons of less name used the pistol, the razor, the sword, or the knife with a more decided hand (but poison appears to have been most frequently resorted to) in most parts of France desperate beings, starved or driven out of their hiding places, or driven frantic by their fears, destroyed themselves in fields or by the roadside. Still, however, the sans-culottic municipalities, the revolutionary committees, the Jacobin clubs, and all the authorities which had been constituted by the revolution, expressed their approbation of everything that was done, and their entire confidence in Robespierre's government. After the execution of the Hebertists and the Dantonists addresses poured in from every corner, from every department, from almost every commune, soliciting the Convention and the committee of *Salut Public* on the *energy* they had displayed, and on the success which had attended it. Many of these innumerable addresses recommended the legislative and governing powers to persevere in the same *energetic* course, until the head of every traitor or enemy to the republic, or to the liberty and equality of the French people, was struck off. It was not, therefore, without countenance and encouragement that Collot d'Herbois announced, in the Jacobin Club, that Samson had yet a great deal of work to do, that there was not a street, scarcely so much as a house in Paris but concealed some conspirator, that, though the Revolutionary Tribunal had by what it had already done, secured to itself a glorious place in the history of regenerated France, it must still be doing—must still be zealous, indefatigable, inexorable. Under the same auspices Saint Just repeated the same axioms in the National Convention, and that mixed assemblage of sanguinary scoundrels and loathsome cowards applauded all he said and voted unanimously and by acclamation every torturing, cut-throat decree he proposed.

The Cordelier club, for a long time a sort of rival of the Societe Mere, had been rent and shaken by the schism between the Hebertists and the Dantonists, and, after the fall of both of these parties, it fell itself, its terrified members pronounced their own dissolution, and penitently implored to be re-admitted to the embraces of the indulgent Mother. As the other political clubs in Paris were of small account, the Jacobins were soon enabled to shut them all up. Thus there remained only the one great club of the Jacobins in the Rue St.

Honore, which has been properly called "Robespierre's House of Lords."

In the whole month of May the number of lives sacrificed in the Place de la Revolution reached the fearful amount of 324. Collot d'Herbois, who had become principal orator at the Jacobins, as Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, and Barrere were absorbed by the business of the governing committees, and who was ever repeating that France must 'sweat more blood,' was attacked on the night of the 21st of May by one Amiral, a desperate man from the south of France, who had been deprived of a place and left to starve. He waited in the streets for the ci-devant comedian, who was generally drunk at that time of night, and he fired one or two pistols at him, but without hitting him. Being pursued, and (after a vain attempt to kill himself) captured by a patriotic locksmith, Amiral declared that he had really intended "to purge France of a tyrant," that he had thought of taking off Robespierre as well as Collot, and that he grieved he had not succeeded, for, if he had killed either Collot or Robespierre, he would have become an object of admiration to the universe, and his name would have lived in history. He most solemnly denied having any accomplices, or having acted upon the suggestion of others. On the following day Barrere announced to the Convention that this was a new plot of Pitt—that dealer in coalitions—that hirer of assassins! The deputies agreed that it must be so, and that the perfidious English government, being determined to cut off Robespierre and all the members of the *Salut Public*, it was quite clear that Amiral must have a vast many accomplices. Couthon made a terrible speech, in which he coupled the Prince of Cobourg with Pitt, and furthermore declared that all the kings, princes, and aristocracies of Europe were engaged in these assassination plots. "But let them sharpen their daggers," cried he, "we republicans of France are too great to follow their vile example!" The House fell into a delirium, partly real, but for the far greater part, fictitious, the excitement spread through Paris, the tribunal, the police and its countless agents were commanded to be more than ever vigilant, and thousands of eyes and hands went peering and groping about in search of the hired assassins of the English minister and the accomplices of Amiral, who had really no accomplices whatsoever. Collot d'Herbois reaped a full field of glory living, he was honoured almost as much as Marat, when really killed by Charlotte Corday's knife,—the Convention embraced him, the whole Jacobin club hugged and kissed him, and in each august assembly the chief orators exhausted themselves in his praise. Robespierre, as if jealous, stayed away both from the House and from the club. But in the course of this busy, noisy day, Robespierre secured to himself the same sympathy and the same applause. A young woman, respectably attired and of a mild blooming countenance, called at the carpenter or cabinet-maker's house in the Rue St. Honore,

where the Incorruptible resided, and insisted upon seeing the great man. She was told that Robespierre was out, or that he could not be seen. She insisted more eagerly than ever upon her right of being admitted to speak with a public functionary and a representative of the people. The women of the house became alarmed at her manner, particularly one of the carpenter's daughters, Cornelia Duplax, who had for many months been living with Robespierre as his wife without the old religious ceremony, or the new civil contract.* Moreover the Incorruptible had now for some time had a volunteer body-guard, popularly styled *L'appoint-Durs* (strike-hards), armed with bludgeons and pikes, who escorted him when he went abroad, and who at other times mounted guard round about Duplax's house. Some of these strike-hards, as vigilant and suspicious as Cornelia (who was not so fortunate as to be a mother of Gracchi), ran and secured the pertinacious visitor. There is even more than the usual quantity of contradiction in the various accounts of what followed. According to some, they found a knife about her person, but it was at that time a common custom in France for people to carry knives in their pockets to cut their victuals, so that the possession of *one* knife would not be extraordinary. According to others, there were *two* knives, which looked more suspicious. But, again some say that she had no knife about her person, but that one knife (or, as others have it, two knives) were found in a small basket containing a change of linen, which she had left in the shop of a dealer in lemonade who lived just by Robespierre's lodgings. Some writers of the day, like Mercier, not merely doubted, but absolutely deny, that the poor girl had any real design against the life of the tyrant, and assert that Robespierre, envying Collin's honors, dreamed and published that a second Cicerot Clotie Corday had attempted to assassinate him. It is quite most likely, nevertheless, that the poor girl had really entertained the notion of playing the part of Corday, but that being weak and silly, and probably more than half-crazed, she had gone to work in a most awkward, undisciplined manner. This question, however, must be left in

doubt. If accident had not favoured Robespierre, it is exceedingly probable that he would have resorted to invention, and, in the state of the public mind, little ingenuity would be required to make any given person pass for a conspirator and assassin. When his *Toppent-Durs* carried their prisoner before those scoundrels, who dealt much harder blows, the Committee of General Security, and Surveillance, she stated that her name was Aimee Cecile Renault, that she was twenty years old, and the daughter of a paper-maker or stationer of Paris. If mad, there was some method in her madness—a case much more common than uncommon. When asked whether on being arrested she had not said that she would shed her life's blood to have a king again in France, she answered that she had said it because she preferred a king to fifty thousand tyrants. But when asked what use she intended to make of the knife or knives, and what motive, except assassination, could have led her to Robespierre's abode, she declared that she had never intended to do the least hurt to any person, and that all she had wanted was to see how a tyrant was made, *à quel point il était un tyran*. But then, upon being questioned about the change of linen found in the basket, she said she had brought it for her use in the place she was sure of going to, and to the interrogatory, "What place do you mean?" she responded, "Why, to prison, and thence to the guillotine."

On the morrow morning (the 24th of May) one of Robespierre's creatures rose in the Convention to ask whether it were true that a new Charlotte Corday had risen to assassinate a representative of the people. The president replied that it was true but that they had got the she-devil safe in prison, and that a full report on her crimes would be presented on the 26th. On the 25th Robespierre, who had been invisible for some days, went in the midst of his *Tappan Durs* to the Jacobin Club, where he was received with far greater enthusiasm than Celiot d'Herbois had met with. Butcher Legendre, who had been in great danger on account of the interest he had taken in the fate of some of the Dantonists, and who had only retired to it else step by declaring in the Jacobins that he had been labouring under an illusion, but was now fully convinced that Danton and all his party were detestable traitors and conspirators, ascended the tribune as the great Incorruptible entered the hall, and exclaimed, "The hand of crime has been raised to strike Virtue, but the God of Nature would not suffer the blow!" As had happened before, several conspicuous Jacobins and members of the Convention put in their claims for the honours of having narrowly escaped assassination and martyrdom, and Couthon and others exclaimed, "These assassinations all proceed from the faction of the foreigners! These murderers are all hired by Pitt! Let us declare the British government guilty of treason against humanity (*coupable de lèse-humanité*)" Accordingly on the 26th, when the report was presented to the Convention by Barrere, who continued to be the great

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compiler of these papers, it was moved in form, and unanimously voted, that henceforward no quarter should be given to any English or Hanoverian soldier, and that this order should be dispatched immediately to the armies of the republic, and to the representatives of the people in mission to those armies—the latter being bound to see to the punctual execution of the same. To this brutality the Duke of York made a very proper reply, in general orders issued on the 7th of June. "His royal highness," said the paper, "anticipates the indignation and horror which have naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His royal highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any private act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His royal highness believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any set of men who are themselves exempt from sharing in the dangers of war, should be so brutal and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders. I was indeed surprised for the present times to produce to the world the proofs of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if it indeed in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted." The duke recalled to memory that, in 1791, wars which had existed between the English and the French, they had been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generals as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians, for a century the allies of the English, had shared in this reciprocal esteem; that hitherto, when the combat was over, the conquerors had become the friends of the conquered, covering the wounded with their own cloaks, and carrying them to their own hospitals, &c. He would not believe that the French, even under their present infatuation, could so far forget their character as soldiers as to pay any attention to so dangerous and disgraceful a decree, he hoped and trusted, therefore, that the war would be conducted as became civilised nations, that the French army would not relinquish every title to the character of soldiers and of men by observing so atrocious an order, and that his own brave troops would not be compelled to make terrible retaliation. Some of the rabble of the republican army continued to commit great cruelties wherever they found the opportunity, but the great majority of the soldiers refused to act up to the letter of the decree, some of them said that, if the representatives of the people wanted to murder prisoners, they had better take them and kill them themselves, or, having taken them, send them to Paris to the strong man, Samson.

In the meantime the so-called conspiracies of Amiral and Cecile Renault furnished Samson with an abundant crop of heads, for they were not only executed themselves, but their relatives and friends, with some who had never known them, or even seen them before, they were all arraigned at the bar of the tribunal together, were put into the death-carts with them as accomplices and co-agents of Pitt. Thus Cecile Renault's father and brother, one Santonax, a surgical student in the provinces, one Cardinal, a poor schoolmaster of Paris (who, being drunk, had said he thought the French base cowards to submit to such tyranny), the venerable Sombreuil, once governor of the Invalides, who had been saved by his heroic daughter from the September massacres, Madame Buret, an actress of the Opera, with her servant, a girl of eighteen, Michonis, the municipal who had shown some tenderness to the late queen during her confinement in the Conciergerie, Madame de St. Amaranthe, with her two daughters, aged seventeen and nineteen, and other persons still more dissimilar, were put in the same batch with Amiral and Cecile, and were clothed like them in red shirts, to designate that they were all murderers and assassins. The entire batch amounted to fifty-four.

All this blood was poured out to the accomplishment of long-drawn harangues about the necessities of public morality and republican virtue. In presenting one of his most terrible reports, Saint-Just had moved that Morality and Virtue should be declared the order of the day—a vote which the Convention passed unanimously. Robespierre, since the fall of Chaumette and Clootz and all that came, had repeatedly declared that atheism was so fatal a thing, that it could not have been thrown into France except by Pitt, that there could be no security even for republican virtue unless they voted the existence of a God, or of some Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. At first there seemed, at least in the Convention, a pretty general disposition to sneer at both these dogmas, as unworthy of the enlightenment of France, and as tending to revive the old superstitions, but when Robespierre and Saint-Just, Couthon and others of that party, held up atheism as the greatest of all the crimes of which the Hébertists and Dantonists had been guilty, proclaimed it to be an importation from England, and intimated that its propagators and abettors must expect nothing less than that a virtuous republic would take off their heads, these mockers all took the cue, learned the short and easy lesson, and professed themselves (what Saint-Just and Robespierre really were) determined and fanatical deists, and implicit believers—without any revelation, but by the light of reason alone—in the soul's immortality. The reformed commune assembled in the Hôtel de Ville (which in Chaumette and Hebert's time had been the high altar of the Goddess of Reason, and very Vatican of the atheist world, the place whence all the destroying, desecrating bulls had emanated) now sent up a deputation and an address to represent to the

august representatives of the people, "whose policy was wholly founded on virtue and morality," "whose sublime meditations were directed exclusively to the happiness of mankind," that it was at length time "to proclaim those useful opinions disfigured by fanaticism, the natural idea of the existence of a God, and the consoling notion of the immortality of the soul." These virtuous municipals declared that Hébert's Goddesses of Reason were more abominable even than the old superstition and the priests of the Catholic church, and they petitioned that the inscription put upon all churches, "TEMPLE CONSECRATED TO REASON," should be obliterated, and its place supplied by the words, "TO THE SUPREME BEING." Evidently in fear that this forced march backward to deism might be considered as an anti-revolutionary proceeding, Robespierre sent some new propagandists into the departments, agitated the Jacobin clubs, and waited until other addresses in the same key as that of the commune of Paris, which he had probably written himself, came up to the table of the Convention. Then he ascended the tribune and delivered a vague, long-winded, pragmatical report on what he styled "The relation of religious and moral ideas with republican principles," and concluded by moving that the Convention should instantly decree (*decerner*) the existence of the Supreme Being, together with "the consoling principle, the immortality of the soul," and appoint the *decadi*, or tenth day, or new sabbath, the 20th Prairial, — or 8th of June, *slave style* — as a national festival in His honour. The deputies, the representatives of the French people, who had so recently made their profession of faith to the Goddess of Reason, who had so lustily declared that a God or a king was alike incompatible with a republic, now voted by acclamation all that Robespierre proposed. The Mother Society, too, instantly voted and adopted the new profession of faith. It was even proposed in the Jacobins to banish every man from the republic that did not believe in the Divinity — but Robespierre thought it expedient to reject this proposition.

Painter David, who had got up so many pomps and ceremonies, and who last summer had arranged that festival, and made that statue to mother Nature, before which handsome Hérault de Séchelles, now headless and buried deep in quicklime, had made libations of pure emblematic water, and prayed his pagan prayer, presented a programme and plan for this festival voted to the Supreme Being—an elaborate production, a conceited pedantic conglomerate, of execrable taste, which revolts the mind more than Hébert's atheistical masquerades, but which the legislators adopted with unanimity, as they now adopted everything that was moved or sanctioned by Robespierre.* As if in-

toxicated by his success and power, and the praise and incense that surrounded him, Robespierre, who had hitherto played the retiring, modest part, resolved to officiate as high-priest to the divinity he had got decreed. Long historical doubts, and speculations ingenious but interminable as to the motives and objects of this Apollyon of the Revolution, may be settled by the simple assumption, warranted by a hundred facts, that he was, from first to last, insane—possessed by a reasoning madness of the worst kind, a maniacal vanity, which grew and increased with his successes and the facility he found in bending a frantic nation to his will. No other hypothesis will explain his character and his doings, no researches among contemporary evidence will ever explain or reconcile half the facts of his public life. In him, many a circumstance which has been set down as a mystery, deep, unfathomable, becomes simple enough if considered as a freak of madness. On the morning of the fete, as he looked out from one of the windows of the Tuileries upon the immense multitude assembled or assembling, and especially upon the crowds of elegantly-dressed women that ran to this novelty, as to everything else that was new and showy, he gesticulated, acted, and spoke in a frantic manner. In a universal frenzy such as reigned in Paris his insanity is scarcely so apparent, but it seems to us that Masaniello, on that day when he triumphed over the Spaniards and rode on the beautiful charger before the cardinal archbishop and the viceroys, in scarlet raiment and with gold chains round his neck, was not madder than Robespierre on this day of the festival *à l'Etre Suprême*. He had dressed himself in a splendid inner hair was frizzled and powdered, he carried in his hand a brilliant bouquet of flowers mixed with ears of wheat, for the first time his countenance was irradiated with joy, but the joy was mingled with pride and triumph, and every day remarked his moral intoxication. The celebration took place in the Tuileries garden. Under the creative genius of David a mound or monticule surmounted by hideous statues of Atheism and Anarchy, made of combustible materials, and by a pure white incombustible statue of Wisdom, had risen in the garden. The deputies of the Convention followed Robespierre, who walked quite alone and several yards ahead of them, to this mound, where he was to 'Pontifier,' or play the Pontiff. The spectators honoured the great man with many applause, and shouted most joyously, the day being uncommonly fine and exhilarating. But some satirical sallies and murmurs were heard amidst the crowd from men who preferred the Goddess of Reason to his *Etre Suprême*, or who were irritated at his unwise glaring departure from the lines and levels of equality. "Only see," said one, "he wants to make himself a god!" "Or the high priest of this *Etre Suprême*," said another. "Yes," cried a third, applying to him one of the grossest of epithets, "not satisfied with being master, he wants to be our god!" Even the Convention, which had been

* David's hands must have been very full of business for on the same day that the National Convention adjourned has "Plein de la fête à l'Etre Suprême" they commissioned him to devise and design new costumes for the pupils of the school of Mars or new military school uniforms for all classes of citizens and a general military costume which should be classical and at the same time suited to the climate habits and customs, and revolution of France.

so timid and submissive, betrayed symptoms of discontent, nay, several of his old partizans and present colleagues in the committees either put on a sullen countenance, or plainly expressed in coarse and energetic words their disgust not merely at his pomp and pride, but at the whole celebration, and especially at his *Être Suprême* Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, Prieur, and Carnot seemed greatly dissatisfied, Billaud-Varennes, and the principal members of the Committee of General Security—Vadier, Amar, and Voulant—were fanatics in atheism, and disposed to be excessively jealous of all such public honours or distinctions as those the Incorruptible was now assuming Bourdon de l'Oise was equally disgusted, and, being a man of a rough temper and tongue, he abused the whole performance, while Tallien, Freron, and other Montagnards more quietly sneered at it. This ill-humour of some, and this mockery of others, were increased by a miscalculation of painter David, who had not made the minutiae, which was to have held all the deputies of the Convention, large enough to hold half of them, and hence arose jostling and *petting*, laughing and swearing, and irreverent jokes divided between the painter, the projector, and the object of the fête. Indeed all the stage properties went wrong. David handed Pontiff Robespierre a lighted torch the pontiff, after delivering an oration in honour of the Supreme Being and the French republic, set fire to the pasteboard statues of Atheism and Anarchy, which, as they flared, ignited a veil or screen which concealed the statue of Wisdom. It was intended that the last-named divinity should burst upon the eye in all its pure original whiteness, but in the combustion of Atheism and Anarchy, and the canvas screen, it got sadly smothered, and when poor Wisdom appeared she was as dimly as a blackamur, and this was considered as a very bad omen! Robespierre standing forward in his sky-blue coat and white silk waistcoat embroidered with silver, then delivered a second discourse, which was not audible to the multitude, but which announced that Atheism, "the monster which kings had vomited on France," was now annihilated, and which concluded with a prayer to the Supreme Being "*Attendez l'Être Suprême*," said Billaud-Varennes, "*tu commences mal à l'œuvre*—With this Supreme Being thou beginnest to stupify me." A very large portion of the spectators indisputably entertained the same notion as Billaud. In the end the fête was considered as a miserable failure even by such as preferred Robespierre's *Être Suprême* to Hebert's *Déesse de la Raison**. Those who had attended the festival in the hope that the inauguration of a new religion was intended to put a stop to the old cruelty heard nothing to confirm their hope, for in his discourses Robespierre had declared that more blood must be shed—that, if this day were devoted to joy and festivity, to-morrow must be given to vengeance—that the republic must still be inexorable! In various

ways this festival was fatal to him, but in no way was it more so than through that of the blind spite and madness that were provoked in him by its evident failure and by the loud grumbling and taunts and sarcasms of his brother deputies. Instead of purging the governing committees of Billaud-Varennes, Collot, Barrère, and the other members who had almost openly declared themselves in a state of hostility, and who actually formed a majority in those committees, he set about strengthening the Revolutionary Tribunal, whose powers, already so tremendous, were sure to be subordinate to, and controlled by, whatsoever party maintained the ascendancy in the committees. Thus, if Robespierre, with Couthon, Saint-Just and his other adherents, should prove the stronger (which was scarcely probable or possible without a purgation), that bloody tribunal would readily dispatch, with forms of revolutionary law, whatsoever enemies he might choose to designate, but, for the same reasons, if he should fail, he and his friends must expect the same fate so that his increasing the powers of the court was like arming a band of assassins before being sure that the first use that they would make of their arms would not be against his own life. On the 9th of June, the very day after the fête, he went to the Committee of *Salut Public* and ranted and raved against all those who had misconducted themselves at his great celebration. He called them the impure remains of the parties of Hebert and Danton—indulgent, corrupt—men destitute of every virtue, whose *Moderantisme* was only a portion of a conspiracy, whose heads ought to fall. Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois now ventured to dispute with him over the council-table, and the dispute became so loud and violent that a cautious member of the committee thought it expedient to shut all the windows. Billaud said that the ceremonies of yesterday had made a very bad impression on the public mind, that the people thought all this fuss and ceremony, about the *Être Suprême* and the immortality of the soul, superstitious and counter-revolutionary. Robespierre said he would soon show them that his intention was to make the Revolution go on faster and farther than it had hitherto gone, and in his wrath he uttered words which might very well be construed into a threat of the guillotine against every one of them. Saint-Just was absent on a mission, but on the next day Couthon crawled on his paralytic legs to the tribune of the Convention, and there exhibited and explained a terrible project of law which had been drawn up by Robespierre's own hand. It proposed to divide the Revolutionary Tribunal into four sections, under a president and three vice-presidents, and each with its public accuser and three judges, its jury, &c., so that, each being complete in itself, they might all act simultaneously and expeditiously, doing, if necessary, four times the work that was now done*. It named the presidents,

* *Vilatte. Les causes secrètes de la Revolution du 9 au 10 Thermidor —Senart, Mémoires —Mercier, Tableaux*

* President Herman was set aside to make room for Dumas a more daring Robespierrist. Fouquier Tinville was continued as public accuser the three new accusers being Coffinhal, Seller, and Neaume. Duplax

judges, public accusers, and jurors. This quadruple tribunal was to be declared to be instituted "to punish the enemies of the people," and, in order that this vague definition should not be restricted, it was to be explained that the enemies of the people were all those who endeavoured to destroy public liberty, either by force or by cunning—all those who should speak ill of the republic, or raise the price of provisions, or favour the escape of aristocrats or conspirators, or calumniate patriots, or mislead the people, or disturb and divide the people by spreading false intelligence, or *deprave morals* and corrupt the public conscience, or stop the progress of republican and revolutionary principles by counter revolutionary writings, or other insidious means, &c &c &c, while all the previous definitions laid down by Saint Just in his decree against the *royalists*, &c were to be included, and the punishment of every prisoner, under whatsoever definition or designation his offence might come, was, in case of conviction before any one of the sections of the revolutionary tribunal, to be DEATH. The power of sending persons to trial before this tribunal was to be given to the Convention, to the two committees of *Salut Public* and *Surveillance*, to the individual representatives employed on missions and to the public accusers. As a climax of atrocity, it was proposed that if the tribunal should possess either *material* or *moral* proof of guilt, it should be relieved from the necessity of hearing *witnesses* and that no counsel or advocates should be allowed to prisoners, *because* calumniated patriots would find their best defenders in the patriot jurors, and conspirators could have no claim to any indulgence. When Couthon had finished reading this report and project of law, there was, for a time, hesitation and silence, for, if the members who were now leaguering or thinking of leaguering against Robespierre should oppose the law, he might fix upon them the perilous charge of *Misconduct*, or counter revolutionism, and they had all some months before, when they fancied their own heads safe, publicly agreed with him as to the necessity of giving additional powers to the terrible tribunal. At last, however, Ruamps, one of the most obscure and vulgar scoundrels even of that assembly mustered courage to propose an adjournment, and to declare that, if the law passed without adjournment, he, for one, would think it necessary to blow out his brains. After this explosion Leconteur of Versailles hazarded a few words, and supported the motion for an adjournment. Barrère, as anxious for the adjournment as any of them but at the same time more sensible of the critical situation in which they were placed, ingeniously hoped that the patriots were unanimous in the wish to punish and cut off the enemies of the people with more expedition than had hitherto been used, and that therefore the adjournment would not be voted for a

longer period than three days. Upon this Leconteur said that two days would be quite enough. But Robespierre, who was now sitting as president of the House, would not allow an adjournment of one day—nay, nor of one hour. He reminded them that this law was what they had been clamouring for, was what they had been demanding from the committee of *Salut Public* for more than two months, that for more than two months the Revolutionary Tribunal had been complaining to the Convention of the shackles and impediments which delayed the march of national justice, that for more than two months the Convention had been under the knives of assassins, that conspiracies were never so ripe as now, and, after a few timid equivocating sentences from Bourdon de l'Oise and one or two other members, the project, as presented by Couthon, was decreed and passed into law that very morning. Ruamps neither killed himself nor protested.

But the strangest part of the story of this decree of the 22nd Prairial, or 10th of June, is, that Robespierre, after getting it carried, made no visible use of it, and from that moment ceased attending the committees. His enemies in those committees, who had dreaded that the decree was to be the instrument of their own destruction, were left to employ it against others, and awful was the use that they and the Revolutionary Tribunal made of it. In the course of the forty days that the framers of the decree absented himself from their council *eleven hundred and eight* victims were tried according to the new forms, and executed, in Paris alone. It has been very shrewdly conjectured that a return of his former prudence or cunning made Robespierre desirous of withdrawing from his recent prominence, and of escaping back into the safer individuality under the shade of which he had achieved such wonderful successes, that he might mean one day to reproach Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Billard-Varennes with having shed more blood in a month or six weeks than had been shed during the whole preceding twelvemonth, and that while he absented himself from the committees and thus got rid of his responsibility, he secretly investigated his creature Fouquier-Tinville to mark the administration of his rivals with a violence more odious than his own. There are circumstances which seem to bear out this hypothesis. Thus, when Fouquier-Tinville increased his batches so as to immolate one hundred and seventy-one victims in three days, and set up the guillotine in the great hall of the Palais-du-Justice (in the side chambers of which the dread tribunal held its sittings, as our courts hold theirs in the side chambers of Westminster Hall), Collot d'Herbois angrily asked him whether he meant to demoralize the punishment of death? (*démoraliser le supplice*)—and the committee of *Salut Public* eventually obliged Fouquier to remove the guillotine. But there are other circumstances which seem to be quite as strong against the hypothesis. Three

Duplax the carpenter was confirmed in his profitable place as juror man the new jurors were shoemakers hatmakers clerks in public offices, &c

* Quarterly Review Art. on Memoirs of Robespierre

days before the execution of the first of the batches (those whose united number made up the 171), Barrère warned the Convention of the danger of a "precocious clemency" towards the enemies of the interior. "If," cried he, "you spare them to-day, they will attack you to-morrow, and massacre you without pity. No, no! Let these enemies die, for, as I have said before, 'it is only the dead who come not back to trouble us'—*il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent point*." And again, on the very day that Fouquier handed over the second of his terrible *fournées* to Sanson, in presenting in the name of the committee of *Salut Public* a report on the atrocious conduct of Joseph Lebon at Cambrai and Arras, where he had been acting as commissioner for the Convention, Barrère not merely palliated but applauded his cruelties and his executions, which had been nearly as numerous as those committed in Paris. "It is true," he said, "that Lebon has made use of some rather sharp forms—*des formes un peu acerbes*, people reproach him with an extravagant severity, but he has completely beaten the aristocrats, put down the evil intentioned, and punished the counter-revolutionists and traitors. The vigorous measures he has adopted have saved Cambrai, which was full of conspirators! These services seem sufficiently decisive to the committee of *Salut Public* to induce them to recommend you not to give a triumph to aristocracy by censuring what he has done." This report, which was unanimously adopted, and Barrère's discourse certainly did not go to prove that Robespierre's rivals were desirous of moderating the action of the guillotine, or that it is necessary to have recourse to the *vigilance* (and it is no more) of Robespierre's secret institutions, the Revolutionary Tribunal, or Fouquier Inville, in order to account rationally for the accelerated slaughter. Collot d'Herbois, who had deluged Lyons with blood, Billaut Varennes who had proposed some of the bloodiest of the decrees, and Barrère himself were, at the very least, as cruel as Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just. Besides, the recent law of the 10th of June contained a fresh invitation to informers and denouncers, and its provisions, as intended, enabled the Tribunal to proceed with a fourfold dispatch. Where all is mystery and doubt, we may modestly hazard a few conjectures of our own to account for Robespierre's strange conduct at this crisis of his fate. The humiliations he had suffered in consequence of his festival to the *Être Suprême* may have driven him into something little short of a temporary frenzy, and his fears and suspicions may have induced him at first to absent himself from the committees. During nearly the whole of this secession Saint-Just was absent on a mission to the armies of the North, and his other supporter, Couthon, was nearly always sick. But, although Robespierre went no more to the committee-rooms in the galleries, he soon began to re-appear with more frequency than formerly in the Jacobin Club, where Fouche was vainly attempting to undermine his

authority. He also maintained a close intercourse with the new commune, with Payan, whom he had made procureur-general in lieu of Chaumette, with Fleuriot, the successor in the mayoralty to Paché (who, in spite of all his cunning, was now living among the *suspects* in the Luxembourg), with other municipals who were nearly all of his own appointing, and with Hénriot, the commander of the armed force of Paris, who was devoted body and soul to his service. By his persevering exertions in the Mother Society he established his dominion there on what seemed a firmer basis than ever, his influence over the new commune became unbounded, the national guards of the capital and its populous neighbourhood appeared to be under his control, and is it not probable that his friends *en mission* were endeavouring to sound or gun over the regular armies in the field? Saint-Just, in his mission, was accompanied by Lebas, Robespierre's townsman, and one of his most devoted, enthusiastic, and able adherents, his own brother (Augustin Robespierre) had, at this moment, just returned from the army of Italy, where he had been living in the closest intimacy with Bonaparte and other officers whose promotion he had obtained, the commissioners with the army of the Pyrenees were of the same party—if their united efforts could attack all these armies to their chief, to the Incorruptible, to the most virtuous man in France, there was hardly anything that Robespierre might not hope and achieve. It was clear that in the committees, at least, he could do nothing until Saint-Just returned and Couthon recovered his health, and what were these committees, or what the Convention itself, if, by attending them, he should lose ground in the Jacobins and be circumvented in the commune? On the 1st of July he denounced in the Mother Society various errors of the government, complained of the injustice and calumny to which he was exposed, and accused, almost by name, all his enemies in the Convention and in the committees of designs and plots against liberty. On the 11th of July he spoke in the same place upon the necessity or expediency of *stopping the effusion of blood*, and, as he spoke of his own dangers, of the dangers that were constantly aimed at his heart by the enemies of the people, the Jacobins cried out with one voice that they would all die for him or with him. On the 14th, he affirmed that his adversaries were a set of Atheists and thieves, like the Hélicistes and Dantonists, that Fouche was one of the worst of them all, and hereupon the club expelled Fouche. "But," said the Incorruptible, "the committees must be purified, and all the men of corrupt morals must be

* The bright weapon which Fouche took up and wielded against Robespierre in the Tribunal and elsewhere was the sword of Atheism. Seconded by André Dumont, minister of Finance, and the priestly procreants for aristocrats in favour of Chaumette and the Cordeliers, this was not Robespierre's *Être Suprême*. At the moment where this theatrical attack was made and where the Committee system had just been accepted, the people's mission under the decree of the Convention which ordered Robespierre's great religious festival in many streets in the city was well calculated to show to the people the citizens and the masses in the midst of an illustrious scene.

driven out of the Convention! Are these continuators of Hebert and Danton less dangerous, or deserving of more tenderness, than the Girondists?" It was on a day when Barrere presided in the club that he made his most regular attack on the committees of *Salut Public* and *Surete Generale*, which now, in a manner, consisted of none but Collot D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrere himself. On quitting the club, Barrere was completely cast down. He is reported to have exclaimed, 'I am sick of mankind! This Robespierre is insatiable! Because we cannot do all he wishes, he must seek to destroy us all! If he would be satisfied with the sacrifice of Thuriot, Guffroy, Rovere, Leconte, Panis Cambon, Monestier—of all that Dantonist-tail—we might understand one another, nay, let him even ask us to give up Tallien, Burdon de l'Oise, Lagendré, and Fréron, and we will not care for that. . . . But Duval and Andoin—but Leonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland,—it is impossible to give them up to him!'" These last-named individuals were the leading members of the committee of General Security, and, as of late the proceedings of the two committees had become mixed and identified to have delivered them up would have been to pronounce sentence of death upon the members of the committee of *Salut Public*.

On the other side, however, the committees and the other enemies of Robespierre, who felt, as every party or faction had done in France, that they must destroy or be destroyed, were far from being inactive: they laboured hard to make the world believe, even in the presence of their own bloody pranks, that Robespierre and his colleagues Saint-Just and Couthon were the only cruel men in France—that Robespierre was the one great tyrant, and, knowing, by long experience, the mighty importance of classical nicknames, they called him *Pyrrhus*. They dwelt upon his rash exhibition of himself on the 8th of June, and they represented his new religion as a part of a plot intended to secure to himself and his race an hereditary theocratic monarchy. Certain little accidents and circumstances afforded them a handle, which they did not fail to grasp. There was living in one of the most dingy and squalid corners of Paris a crazy old woman, a kind of French Joanna Southcott, named Catherine Theot. Like the English maniac, this Catherine gave out, and herself believed, that at the age of sixty-nine she was to give birth to the Saviour of the world, who was now to be born again, and to commence his final reign upon earth. She had ruminated upon the astounding horrors of the revolution (in themselves enough to bewilder a better brain), and upon the inexplicable verses of the Apocalypse, until her head was completely turned, and until she fancied that the revolution and the Apocalypse explained one another, and that she had gained possession of the key of prophecy. Like Joanna she obtained her votaries and disciples, but their total number

appears to have been but small, for her prophesyings were soon stopped by that evil prophet Fouquier-Tinville, and the prevailing madness of the French people, though not without its superstitious and its monstrous beliefs, did not range in this direction, or make itself accessible to any belief which rested upon any part of the Old and New Testament. Catherine, indeed, would have had a better chance if she had built up her theory upon classical mythology, and had announced that she was going to give birth to a Jupiter or a Mars, a Minerva or a Bellona. Her sectaries, anticipating the miraculous parturition called her 'The Mother of God,' and one of them (probably the ex-monk about to be mentioned), more learned than the rest, knowing that *Theos* was the Greek word for God, changed the final *t* in her family name (*Theot*) into an *s*, and thus made her 'Catherine God.' It is not easy to say what extravagant nonsense the old woman really did or did not prophesy, for she offered a fine subject for French wit and exaggeration, while those who took her in hand, and who notoriously falsified or forged papers, had other motives for exaggerating her imputy or insanity. It appears, however, probable that so conspicuous an actor in the revolution, and so popular a man as Robespierre, had been included in, or had been alluded to in, some of Catherine's visitations, and that his appearance, on the 8th of June, as the apostle of Deism and high priest to the *Être Suprême* had become mingled in the visions of the poor bedlamic. Down to that celebration the governing powers had taken no notice of this obscure contemptible sect, and the laws in force promised entire freedom of worship, a toleration of every possible belief or unbelief; but soon after that festival the committees began to pry into the mysteries of these Theosites, with the view of proving that Catherine was nothing but a prophetic machine set a-going by Robespierre, and that his *Être Suprême* and her *Théot* were the same. The committee of General Security, which was more particularly charged with the interior police, presently made the notable discovery, that one of Catherine's most devoted votaries—that the man who was, in a manner, her Pontifex Maximus—was no less a personage than Dom Gerle, that ex-Carthusian friar whom we have seen sitting among the patriots of the *clique* in the Constituent Assembly, and who had been a friend of Robespierre. Gladdened by this discovery, Vadier, Vouland, Leonard Bourdon, and other members of the *Surete Generale*, sent some of their spies and secret agents to Catherine's garret, to pretend to be converts to her doctrines, to affiliate themselves, and to discover fresh evidence which might implicate Robespierre—or, failing in discovery, to *forge some such evidence*. When these agents had done what was considered most necessary, they threw off the mask and arrested the old woman, the ex-Carthusian, and twelve of her votaries, the total number of whom is said not to have exceeded *thirty or forty*, men and women. Their next step

* *Villate Causes Secretes*.

was to draw up a report in the name of the committee to the Convention, but, as none of the members of the *Sureté Generale* were so good at report-making as Barrère, it was agreed that his practised, pungent pen should draw up the document, and that Vadier should read it to the Convention as his own production. To give the more weight to the report, it was further determined that it should run in the name of both the committees: accordingly, on the 15th of June, just one week after the festival of the *Être Suprême*, Vadier ascended the tribune with Barrère's sharp report in his hand, and informed the representatives of the people that he had to denounce to them, in the name of the committees of *Sureté Generale* and *Salut Public* united, a primary school of fanaticism just discovered in enlightened Paris. It was not only in reporting of battles and of sinking republican ships that Barrère had an inventive genius. His present composition wondrously swelled the number of Catherine's votaries. "In that dirty receptacle," said he, or said Vadier for him, reading his report, "there are numerous swarms of bigots and idiots constantly grouped round this ridiculous divinity. Certain chiefs, more dangerous than these, are also seen there, such as dum-bavans, doctors, lawyers, idle capitalists who defest the revolution, and mix in these mummeries with peridious intentions. There also go thither your animal magnetizers or Mesmerists, your Illuminati, and other vapourish and atrabilious blockheads, whose hearts are cold to their country, and whose heads are hot only when they think they can betray liberty. In the houses of some of these individuals letters have been found from emigrant priests residing in London.* Above all, it is to be remarked that there is not a single patriot in all that band or sect. It is composed of nothing but royalists, u-rurers, maniacs, egotists, muscadins (dandies or fashionables), and counter-revolutionists of both sexes." After describing the reception or imitation of the elect, and the eunomics they used in approaching the Holy Mother, the report explained, in Barrère's wittest manner, some of the dogmas and prophecies of

Catherine Theot. She was chosen to give birth to the Divine Word; she was the corner-stone of the kingdom of God upon earth, it was she that was to choose the elect, who were to command the soldiers of the God of armies; her throne was to be miraculously erected near the Pantheon, on the spot formerly occupied by the schools of law. It was from that centre that she was to rule the universe. A single flash of lightning was to reduce to dust the thrones, the armies, and all the miscreants of the earth, to level mountains and dry up the seas. She was a new Eve, appointed to repair the miseries caused to mankind by the first Eve and Adam, her husband, realising that redemption which had hitherto existed only figuratively. The entire population of the globe was to be reduced to one hundred and forty thousand elect, chosen by the Holy Mother; and these elect were to be immortal upon earth like herself, and to enjoy with her the terrestrial paradise which she was about to establish. "Such," said the sportive composition of Barrère, which excited continuous peals of laughter as Vadier read it, "such, citizen legislators, is an abridgement of the monstrous absurdities which have been collected from the interrogatories of the accused by your committees. But you must know, citizens, that the pretended mother of God is not the most curious piece of this machinery. She is only there for the mere mechanical part of the mummeries and grimaces—she is only the physical or material part of the system,—the moral part of the institution, the substance of the doctrine, the explanation of the meaning of the oracles, prophecies, and gospel, all this is confided to more experienced and much more dangerous hands. It is an ex-monk that is charged with this part of the system—and this monk is Dom Gerle, ex-Carthusian and deputy of the Constituent Assembly! Everybody here remembers the audacious motion he made in 1789, in the view of getting the Roman Catholic religion declared to be the dominant religion of France. The patriots of the *côté gauche*, with whom he at that time cunningly connected himself, imputed that libricide motion to the disorder of his brain, and became the dupes of his peridious *bonhomme*. Afterwards, when the Jacobins were going to expel him, he feigned repentance, and, like his friend Gobel, wormed himself into the confidence of the patriots, in order to deceive and betray them. Well, it is this very same Dom Gerle that is at the bottom of this afflicting conspiracy—*cette conspiration affligeante*!" The report said a great deal more about the unlucky ex-Carthusian, but, apparently, Barrère and his committees had not had courage to attack Robespierre directly and openly, for the report said not a word about the friendship which had existed between him and Dom Gerle, nor breathed a syllable to implicate the great man on the contrary, it implicated his enemies, or those he had sent to the guillotine, declaring that Gerle was, as the close friend of Gobel, connected with Chaumette and Danton!

* But a defect is reduced in fact to one—Quercumont de La Motte—who had been employed in the household of the late Duke of Orléans, a friend of the firm a Mesmerist, the only proof of the existence of a letter found in the house of a spyman, written from London by an emigrant, as far back as December, 1793, in which this was a letter put in of unusual importance, and of the nature of Swedenborg. And this letter was the only letter written from London by Gerle or by any one else. It had no more to do with Catherine Theot than with the man in the moon, but that signified nothing to Barrère, who could always twist and turn documents and facts, and make them sound out of joint. It has been usual to set down the old Mesmerism of Chénier among the votaries of Catherine, because she was sent to prison at the same time and with the usual logic in which Barrère's report represented her, but the old archnesses who lived at Chénier's were not Robespierist or republican, but an outlandish aristocratic rabble who professed the establishment of the monarchy, and who had a little sect of her own. As for Barrère's law, as the capitalists &c., they became more numerous than his disciples in Mesmerism, being unsupported even by a sect. But in his report he went so far as to declare that Catherine had numerous votaries in the army, superstitious soldiers who received their instructions in a belief that it would make them invulnerable in battle. The foundation for this was that some old soldier blind of an eye, out of love of flattery, or at the suggestion of the secret agents of the police, had mistaken himself out of the ranks of a guard, and had then been repaired to the committee of *Sureté Generale* to relate and laugh at the trick he had played and the mummeries he had witnessed.

But the fact of Robespierre's friendship for the ex-Carthusian was very generally known, and other means were taken to publish the circumstance that it was Robespierre who had procured for Dom Gerle his certificate of *civisme*—a certificate without which there was no living in France. Moreover, though Barrère's report (which gave the substance of other letters found or forged) made not the slightest allusion to this document, it was made known through other channels that, when the secret agents of the committee of General Security arrested Catherine Theot, they found in her bed a letter addressed to Robespierre calling him "the son of the Supreme Being," "the eternal Word," "the Redeemer of mankind," "the Messiah spoken of by the prophets." This letter could not have been written by Catherine, for the old bedlamite knew not how to sign her own name, the probability is, that it was written by some one of the committee-men, and put into the old woman's bed by the fellow who pretended to find it. But probabilities or possibilities were not often taken into account in these days, and it appears that the evidence of this letter and Dom Gerle's Robespierre-bestowed certificate of *civisme* convinced a very considerable portion of the Parisians that the Incorruptible was himself the author or promoter of the whole of the impious farce.* These people would not recollect that Dom Gerle had taken up the trade of prophecy at the very beginning of the revolution, or open their eyes to the self-evident, glaring fact that he was deranged. Whatever was the extent of Robespierre's own insanity, it was not likely to unite itself with the monk's idiocy and the old woman's rhapsody: there is abundant evidence to prove that Dom Gerle really and sincerely believed in Catherine's heavenly mission and divine nature, but there is nothing to show that Robespierre so much as knew of the existence of Catherine and her tiny contemptible sect until the committee proceeded against her and, without his knowledge, presented the report to the Convention, who, upon Vadier's motion, had unanimously voted that it should be printed and sent to all the armies and to all the communes. Although that report had not ventured to name him, the other voices and whispers which proceeded unofficially from the committees met his ear, alarmed his suspicion, and wounded his pride—a pride already sufficiently hurt by the levity and laughter which had attended the reading of Barrère's production—nor could he mistake the intention to throw ridicule and contempt upon his own new religion, and upon all belief whatsoever. His friends represented that the farce might be fatal to him, and that it left no

possibility of reconciliation or compromise with Barrère, the committees and their atheists. He brought the whole subject under the consideration of his House of Lords. The Jacobins treated it very differently from the Convention: instead of laughing at Barrère's witty report, which bore a close resemblance to Voltaire's 'Candide' and other romances of that school, they frowned and groaned at it, declaring that such conspiracies as Catherine Theot's were no laughing matter, but things which might demoralize Chaumetzize, and utterly ruin the republic. They hinted that none but immoral men, disbelievers of the soul's immortality and the existence of a Supreme Being, could have treated such blasphemies and abominations as the report had treated them, or jeered and grinned at them as some immoral deputies had done in the legislature. It was not necessary for Robespierre to speak in his own justification: it was not necessary for him even to appear in the club, it was enough that his friends expressed their and his abhorrence of the levity of the committees and of the blasphemy of the Theotites, and invoked the guillotine for those wretched sectaries. In vain Dom Gerle now wrote to implore his protection: he left the ex-Carthusian to his fate. But even the great and solemn Jacobins could not shield their chief from the fatal effects (fatal at least to one in his situation, in a country like France) of ridicule and contemptuous giggling, and it remains indisputable that Barrère's light shafts, and the insanity of Catherine Theot contributed very materially to precipitate his ruin.

Both parties employed their spies and secret agents. Those of the committees gave their employers alarming accounts of lists of proscription drawn up by Robespierre, those who were employed by Robespierre made reports quite as alarming as to the intentions and preparations of the committees. By degrees it began to be reported that Robespierre a perruquier, in dressing his hair, had caught sight of his death list—that some of the committee men themselves, who had not yet broken with the Incorruptible, had discovered by some lucky chance or other that he had drawn up such a list, and that their own names were in it—that Robespierre himself, overtaken by wine, which he rarely drank at all, had blabbed—and that, in short, it was perfectly well known that he had set down the names of forty individuals, members of the Mountain, committee men &c., who were to form the first batch, but not the last—that Fouquier-Tinville and his tribunal were to immolate for him. It is quite certain that such lists, containing forty or more names, were secretly

* The ex-Carthusian Dr. Quevremont de Lamotte and Catherine were by decree of the Convention ordered to be tried in the Revolutionary Tribunal together with the Mercator, because it was said that as we have mentioned had no connection with them. I ask for these prisoners the Tribunal was very busy, and another revolution close at hand. They were all liberated I write out looking through the little window of the gilded prison after it fell. Robespierre, Dom Gerle subsequently obtained some clerical or trifling post in the Home Office or ministry of the interior and became one of the vilest Levees à l'Élysée; a Theophilanthropist.

* Barrère's Report and D. hates in the Convention and Jacobin Club as given in Hist. Parlementaire—Vilate Mysteres de la Mère du Dieu devoules—Smart. Mémoires.

Smart tells us that he was employed by the committees to disseminate the wretched fancies and then arrest them. The testimony of a man who could thus lay it as a part of a spy and entrepreneur is not entitled to implicit credit. Vilate to him at least up to the average quantum of these revolutionary memoir writers, but on the present occasion he has no apparent motives for falsifying such facts as he knew. He repeatedly expresses his astonishment at Barrère's glibness and mendacity, and both he and Smart make out that they knew of the guillotine to have been the greatest liar of those lying times.

circulated by his enemies, but it is by no means so certain that he had ever committed the imprudence of drawing up any such lists in writing, and it seems now to be pretty generally admitted that the lists exhibited were forgeries designed to drive men into action through their self-fears and desperation. In his mental arithmetic Robespierre, no doubt, had calculated the numbers it would be necessary to sacrifice to save himself, for (it had again come to this) he must guillotine or be guillotined, and they must be guillotined or guillotined —reconciliation there could be none, as he could not trust them, nor they him. When the game was up with him, Robespierre's triumphant conquerors produced a few notes and papers which had been found, or which were said to have been found, in his lodging at the carpenter's, in the Rue St Honoré, but the Barrerists were not likely to be more scrupulous about these papers than the Girondists and others had been about the documents found in the iron cupboard in the Tuileries, and they are accused of having mutilated, postilled, and interlined some of the documents they found, and having entirely forced some of the papers they produced, and of having destroyed others. But, even after all this, the only list of proscription they published (and this appears to have been really in Robespierre's handwriting, and without any of their alterations) contained the names of but five individuals, and those five not the most formidable of his adversaries—Dubois Crance, Delmas, Thuriot, Bourdon de l'Orne, and Leonard Bourlon. Carnot, as bloodthirsty a man as any of them, who had had a mortal quarrel with St Just, was mentioned in this paper more than once, and in a way which left no doubt as to the intentions of the writer in regard to him. But this is the only thing like an authentic list of proscription, and even this lived until Robespierre fell. Indisputably those who had put themselves in opposition to his will, and entered into a conspiracy against him had very good reasons to believe that there was a long mental list or register, and that all their names were in it, as they, on their side, carried written on their hearts a list of the Robespierrists they were to sacrifice. Of all those that were threatened, not one felt the guillotine-knife so near his neck as Tallien for he had been a decided Dantonist, he had quarrelled both with Couthon and St Just, as well as with Robespierre, he had been roughly recalled from his mission at Bordeaux, and had been repeatedly menaced in the Jacobins. Tallien was not wanting in fire, energy, and address, and there were certain other little accidents and circumstances of a tender nature to raise his courage and put him foremost in the assault. During his Bordeaux proconsulate, he became enamoured of the young and beautiful wife of M. Fontenai, daughter of a once-celebrated merchant or banker of Madrid named Cabarrus, and had induced her to follow him and his fortunes. The lady had followed, or accompanied him, to Paris, and they were living together conjugally,

when she was denounced as *suspecte*, arrested, and thrown into the Luxembourg. Not knowing how soon she might be dragged to the Revolutionary Tribunal and the scaffold, she called upon Tallien to save her—to save himself, for she knew—and so did he—that his danger was almost as immediate and as great as hers. He called a secret meeting of friends, of brother-deputies, such as the Bourbons, Freron, Barras, and Delmas, who (harring the lady) stood in the same painful and perilous predicament as himself, and at this or some subsequent meeting Tallien undertook to commence the death-attack upon Robespierre in the Convention, as soon as a good opportunity should present itself. There can scarcely be a greater mistake than that of fancying that these men were united by a horror of cruelty and bloodshed—they were united and impelled by nothing but the instinct of self-preservation. They were clamouring for blood, more blood, for greater revolutionary energy and faster executions at this very moment. Although the committee of *Salut Public* had pretended to disapprove of Couthon's or Robespierre's terrible decree of the 10th of June, Barrere announced to the Convention that fresh plots had been discovered, and that greater severities must be resorted to, that all the enemies of the people in prison in the departments must be tried and executed as rapidly as the prisoners in the capital, and the day after the delivery of this speech or report the two committees of *Salut Public* and *Sûreté Générale* united in a resolution that four popular commissions should be appointed to try all the political prisoners of the departments with the utmost speed, and with the summary powers which the decree of the 10th of June had conferred on the Revolutionary Tribunal.

As early as the beginning of July, Henriot had intimated to Mayor Fleuriot that he and his armed force of Paris were fully prepared to strike a blow, to make a *coup d'état* like that which he had managed last year when the Convention was purged of the Girondists, other friends, partizans, or colleagues, who were so identified with Robespierre that they must either conquer with him or die with him, urged him to be up and doing, or to give the signal and let them act for him with the Parisian artillery, muskets, and bayonets but the incorruptible hesitated, faltered, and most wretchedly paltered about respect for the laws, and the propriety of doing the business in a calm and constitutional manner, and it was not until the return of St Just from his mission to the army of the North that he began to gird himself up for his last wrestle. "Only *dare*," said St Just. "That one word contains all the secret of revolutions!" But still Robespierre could not *dare* in this style, and, instead of settling himself in the Hôtel de Ville, and calling out Henriot and his cannoniers at once, he allowed several days to pass, and then re-appeared in the Convention, from which he had absented himself so long that the deputies had lost

the habit of fear. His plan was to proceed according to precedent, to denounce the committees as the Committee of Twelve had been denounced before Henriot and his Parisian army and mob marched to pull out the Girondists by the ears, and perhaps he hoped, by mere oratory and terror, and by the recollection of Henriot's former exploit, to win over a large majority of the House, who would decree his enemies into the hands of Fouquier-Tinville without the employment of any military or mob force. It was the 8th Thermidor, or 26th of July, and Collot d'Herbois was occupying the president's chair, when Robespierre ascended the tribune with an awfully long discourse in his hand, which denounced not merely the two committees, but every man in France that was opposed to his own scheme and projects. He declared that the country was demoralized and worn out, the Convention degraded and chained by those tyrannical and profligate men who were nothing but foul remnants of the atheistical Hebertists and corrupt Dantonists. He declaimed at great length, and in several parts of his discourse, against the "desolating doctrine" of materialism. "No!" he exclaimed, "No! Chomette death is not an eternal sleep! Citizens, erase from your cemeteries and tombs that maxim which engraven by sacrilegious hands, throws the black crape over all nature discourages oppressed innocence, and insults the virtuous dead. Citizens, inscribe rather these words—*Death is the commencement of Immortality*." He had recourse to arguments which go far to support the ingenious hypothesis of his having kept away from the committees in the hope of depopularizing his enemies, who remained at their posts and guided the mad machine of government with the whip or scourge. The decree of the 10th of June in their hands. After reminding the Convention that he had no force or faculty except such as they and the people had chosen to intrust him with, that he had never done anything of himself and that all the decrees he had proposed had been carried either unanimously or by such majorities as scarcely left a minority visible to the naked eye, after reminding them that in the committees he was but *one*, he exclaimed, "And yet, will it be believed, there were people who tried to heap upon my head the entire responsibility of all decrees of the Convention, of all operations of the committees, of all the errors of all the constituted authorities of the very blunders and crimes of all my enemies? Perhaps not a single individual was arrested, not a single citizen brought into trouble! But it was said 'Robespierre is the author of your misfortune—you would be happy if he were dead!'" And men who were acting not merely without my concurrence, but against my will and principles, were accustomed to say at every terrible severity, '*It must be so because Robespierre will it, and we cannot resist him!*' How could I withstand the effect of these insidious clandestine, and incessant calumnies, these efforts made in all directions to render

me odious and terrible? I withdrew. for six weeks the feelings of nature, the force of calumny, the powerlessness either to do good or prevent evils, have forced me to abandon absolutely my functions as a member of the committee of *Salut Public*. Well, then, at least during these six weeks my dictatorship has been lying extinct—during these six weeks I have taken no part whatever in the government, and have exercised no influence over it—but has there been, for that, less bloodshed? Has patriotism been better protected? Has the country been any the happier?" With very considerable ingenuity he endeavoured to identify himself with the great body of the Convention, or with all the deputies who were not members of the governing committees and had no share in the executive. He preferred his quality of a representative of the people to the being a member of the committee of *Salut Public*, and he hoped that the great majority only prided themselves on their representative character. They must perceive and feel and groan under the fact that the governing committees, who ought to be but as clerks and servants of the Convention, were becoming, nay, had become, its masters and tyrants. For his part, if he could only rouse the Convention to a proper sense of its own power and dignity, and to an active odium against the usurpations and excesses and anti-republican tendencies of the committees, he would gladly drain the poisoned cup, even as Socrates had done at Athens. He spoke, as he had recently done at the Jacobins, of his declining health and his approaching end (his health, in reality, was in a deplorable state), and he said his warnings were to be considered almost as a voice from the grave, or as a testamentary bequest to his country. His enemies were the enemies of the Convention, were a combination of traitors who had obtained places of power and emolument by the revolution, whilst other men remained as poor as when they first left their homes to serve the country. To the party occupying the centre or plain—the liberal spirit, the shift, the wily party who had now for a long time enjoyed the honourable designations of '*le Ventré*' (the Belly), '*le Muet*' (Mute or Bog), '*le Couvreur*', or '*Cri du Vent*' (I roars or Foals of the March)—he addressed much comfortable discourse. He called them wise patriots, moderate impartial unambitious legislators, who had not allied themselves with any faction, who looked only for good government and peace—peace for their country as well as for themselves and their families. He declared that he had always been the friend of that section of the House, that he had opposed the arrest of the seventy-three deputies who had been thrown into prison for protesting against the expulsion of the Girondists, that this opposition to what he considered an unnecessary act of violence (the Girondists being once dismissed) had made his enemies accuse him of partiality to the Marais. He had a plan for remedying the existing evils, it was short, it was

simple —let the traitors be punished, let the committee of General Security be purged and made subordinate to the committee of *Salut Public*, let the *Salut Public* be purified also, and let these two committees and the committee of finance be rendered submissive and subservient to the supreme authority of the National Convention.*

The Plain, Ventre, or Marais, seemed to be touched — if he could only secure them he was sure of a majority, and, if he could release and re-instate the protesting deputies, he might reasonably count on their votes. But the trimming middle party were afraid of committing themselves until they should see some better assurance that Robespierre, Saint Just, and Couthon were stronger than the other triumvirate, Barrere, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, backed by the committee and nearly the entire force of the executive. The Fraternity would not croak one way or the other, the whole House sat silent and confused, the different factions gazing at one another but not one of them rising much as a single man belonging to any of them, expressing either approbation or disapprobation of the long discourse they had heard. His silence was ominous and awful — never before had Robespierre descended from the tribune of the Convention without the applauses and acclamations of the Assembly. When it had lasted for some minutes a sort of subdued murmur was heard, and then a whispering, that this or that member ought to speak. Nobody, however, rose to brave the Incorruptible to his face. I then, though pledged to do it, thought that the proper moment was not yet come. At last dryer Lacourte of Versailles, who had recently undergone many invectives and terms, either to conciliate Robespierre or to bring him to the scratch, rose and moved in the usual forms that his discourse should be printed. Then Bourdon de l'Oise, who had been severely flattered in the discourse, stood forward and boldly and vehemently opposed the motion and moved that Robespierre's discourse, as it might contain dangerous misrepresentations, should be referred to the two committees of *Salut Public* and *Sur le Generale*. Barrere, whose hatred and whose danger were as great as Bourdon's, but whose courage was much smaller, said that the discourse ought certainly to be printed, and that the usual vote ought to be passed to that effect, as in a free country nothing ought to be hidden from the people, &c. Couthon insisted that the discourse ought not only to be printed, but ought also to be sent to all the communes or municipalities of the republic. The wavering Convention thereupon unanimously voted that it should be printed and transmitted. When this was done, the threatened members of the committees, fearing that Robespierre was going to recover his old ascendancy in the House, filled up his discourse with great fury and not a little confusion, for two or three of them

wanted to speak at the same moment. Vadier, who still fathered Barrere's report on that subject, took up the story of Catherine Theot, complaining that Robespierre had spoken disrespectfully and maliciously of the report he had had the honour to deliver to the House in the name of the committees, and declaring that in all things the *Salut Public* and *Sur le Generale* had acted wisely and uprightly that the two were but as one body, and were determined to stand or fall together. The next that followed was Cambon, the chief of the committee of finance, whom Robespierre had named several times in his discourse as a known rogue, a stockjobber, a dilapicator. "And I too," cried Cambon, knowing he must fight or die, "and I too present myself in the lists! I am an honest functionary. I belong to no faction, I exercise no tyranny but there is a single man here who paralyzes the whole National Convention — and that man is Maximilian Robespierre!" Here some applauses were heard, the deputies were growing bolder. Robespierre said a few words in reply. Cambon rejoined by giving him the lie direct, in a sonorous *Ciel et faux!* — a phrase often used there, but which for a very long time no one had dared apply to the Incorruptible. Billaud Varennes, following Cambon, exclaimed, "The day is at last come for pulling off masks and speaking the truth. I would rather that my dead body should serve the tyrant as a stepping-stone to the throne, than that I should become by my silence the accomplice of his crimes!" Panis, Benthale, Chabier, Thirion, Amar all followed in this onslaught, while not a voice except that of the paralytic Couthon was raised on the side of Robespierre. Freron shut up, "The moment is come for the resurrection of liberty of opinion and of speech!" But let us revoke the decree which gives to the committees the right of arresting and sending before the Revolutionary Tribunal the representatives of the people. Where is the man that can speak freely in this House, when he is under the fear of being arrested at the door? But this proposition was very unsavoury to the committee triumvirate, who wanted the arresting faculty in order to seize and commit Robespierre and his party, and who, besides, were bent upon retaining every atom of the power they had got. Looking contemptuously at journalist Freron, Billaud said that the man whose fears hindered him from speaking out in the Convention was unworthy of being a representative of the people. Chabier moved that the vote they had just passed should be rescinded, and that Robespierre's discourse should be referred to the committees of *Salut Public* and *Sur le Generale*, as originally demanded by Bourdon de l'Oise. "How," cried Robespierre, "when I have had the courage to deposit in the bosom of the Convention truths essential to the salvation of the country, would you submit my discourse to the examination of the very individuals I accuse!" His voice was drowned by murmurs, his enemies were growing bolder and bolder

* Last discourse of Robespierre pronounced on the 8th Thermidor (26th of July) in the Convention, in which he announced the order of the Convention.

"He who boasts of courage," cried Charlier, "ought to have the courage of truth. Name those whom you accuse!" Robespierre had named a good many of them, and had disquieted others quite as clearly as could have been done by spelling their Christian names and surnames; but Charlier nevertheless was loudly applauded, and a great many members kept repeating and shouting, "Name them! Name them! Name them!" When this had lasted for some time, Barriere said that this discussion could only serve Pitt and the Duke of York, and thereupon Charlier's motion was put to the vote—was carried without opposition—and the discourse handed over to the committee. Humiliated, discouraged, but not yet giving up the game for lost, Robespierre passed over from the Convention to the Jacobin Club. Here his spirit was revived by an enthusiastic reception. His friend Couthon followed him, and was received with the same enthusiasm. The Incorruptible was called upon to repeat the discourse he had delivered to the Convention. The Jacobins applauded every paragraph. When he had finished the reading which occupied two mortal hours, he extemporized some touching appeals to their feelings. "This discourse," said he, "is my dying testament. I have seen to-day that the league of the wicked against me is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I shall die without regret!" "You shall not die!" cried the Jacobins. "There is nothing to fear!" Henriot, Pavan, Dumas, Coffinhal, and others, surrounded him, declaring that they were all ready to act. Henriot, alluding to his exploit of last year, said, "Courage, Robespierre, the cannoners of Paris are steady, and I still know the road to the Convention!" "Well," said the Incorruptible, "we must purify that assembly, you must march to-morrow to try and save the cause of liberty." "But if we should fail?" "Why then, my friends, you will see me drink the hemlock calmly, like Socrates!" "Robespierre," cried painter David, "I will drink the hemlock with thee!" On the motion of Couthon, it was agreed that there should be a new purification of the society, that at the instant all the members that had voted against Robespierre should be purged out for ever. Several of these members were present. Collet d'Herbois attempted to speak for them and for himself; he spoke of his long services, of his dangers, of the two pistols which Amiral had fired at him, but he was hissed, hooted, and finally driven from the tribune, not without cuffs and kicks. Tallien bolted from the club hall to save himself for a fight to-morrow; other members, being named and pointed out by Couthon, were buffeted and kicked out of doors. Collet d'Herbois, as he fled, thought he saw knives and daggers drawn to take his life. He ran straight to the committee room of *Salut Public* in the Tuileries. There he found Saint-Just deliberating with his brother committee men as if nothing extraordinary had taken place or was about to take place, though alone of his party, the starch,

pragmatical fanatic seemed to be giving the law. Perceiving that Collet d'Herbois was much excited, Saint-Just asked him what had happened over the way at the Jacobins? Collet, still smarting with the kicks and cuffs he had received, foamed out, "What has happened? Revolt has happened! Horrors are happening! And you, Saint-Just, are one of the infamous triumvirate that seek our lives! But you shall not have them! You mean to denounce us to-morrow morning—you have your pockets full of lists and notes against us—show them!" Saint-Just emptied his pockets but no such lists or notes were found. He had announced his intention of presenting to the Convention on the morrow a report upon the state of the great army of the North that was gaining victory after victory in Belgium, and upon the state and prospects of the republic in general; the committee wanted to see this report, or to be informed beforehand of its tone and contents; he had it not about him, but he said he would go and seek it, and bring or send them the manuscript, which was at present in the hands of a friend. They allowed him to depart, and, as soon as he got well clear of the Tuileries, he sent them word that they should not have the report—that he would read it from the tribune to-morrow morning. This was a declaration of war, but although, since his arrival from the army, many insidious attempts had been made, no hope could have been rationally entertained by the committee of detaching Saint-Just from Robespierre: the Incorruptible was that young fanatic's model and idol, and besides, Saint-Just had committed himself in mortal strife and hatred with several of the committee men and especially with Carnot, who must guillotine him or be guillotined. When Saint-Just had joined Robespierre in the Jacobin Hall, *Père procureur* of the commune, a man of action rather than of words, proposed that they should go forthwith and arrest their enemies, who were all assembled in the committee-rooms of the Tuileries. Nothing would have been more decisive, nor could anything have been much easier to do, for there was only a weak guard at the palace, and that guard would that night have obeyed the orders of Henriot rather than those of the committee. But Robespierre shrunk from the decisive step, thinking that the committee and the Convention ought to be purged with the same medicine, and precisely the same doses as had been administered to the Girondists—and this adherence to revolutionary precedent and routine ruined his chances. It appears that, like most orators, he fancied everything was to be done by speech-making, that he still entertained the confident hope of bringing back the majority of the Convention to their former fears, submissiveness, and allegiance. "I can no longer expect anything from the Mountain," said he; "those men want to cut me off as a tyrant, but the mass of the Assembly will hear me!" His host (Duplart) took a more correct view of the dangerous crisis, and recommended

energetic measures, deeds to be done by the strong hand but the now doomed and infatuated Incarnation of the Revolution told the carpenter that there was nothing to fear, and kept repeating—"The mass of the Convention is pure—the majority will hear me!"

While Robespierre was supping quietly with his Cornelia and the rest of that family, and a few of his most honoured friends, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot, Billaud-Varennes, Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Leonard Bourdon, and others of his enemies, quitting the committee-rooms, where they might all have been taken with one cast of the net, and giving up for that night all thoughts of supping or sleeping, ran over Paris and its faubourgs, flattering the lately despaired Frogs of the Marsh, and imploring them to be steady and bold, to be heroes to-morrow—treating and negotiating with the leading patriots of some of the sections, and even tampering with the terrible Parisian cannoners, upon whose guns must depend the final decision of the tremendous conflict that offered no hope of quarter to the defeated party. At first, Barrere, Collot, and his friends were but coldly received by the Frogs. "It was natural," says one of these reptiles, "that we should be less friendly to the Mountain, who had demanded our arrest and accusation, than to Robespierre who had constantly protected us—no doubt with the intention of making us serve as a rampart to him in case of need. The Mountain knew this, but as they had no other means they applied to us. Their emissaries beset us, addressing themselves particularly to Boissy d'Anglas, Palasne-Champeaux, and myself, for we had all three been Constituents, and our example was sure to drag others after us. They made use of every argument they could muster to win us over: they told us that we should be responsible for all the executions and massacres if we refused to concur in the means they proposed for making them cease, that the political protection which Robespierre had afforded us would not last long, and that our turn would inevitably come! Rejected, repulsed once, they almost immediately returned to the charge on their first attack we yielded. It was no longer possible for us to see without horror sixty or eighty heads falling daily under the guillotine. Our adhesion promised to stop this slaughter, we gave it at last, and that very moment the irons were put in the fire!"*

On the following morning—the 9th Thermidor, or 27th of July—the combatants met betwixt in the Convention. Saint Just took possession of the tribune and began to read his promised report, which turned out to be nothing but a denunciation of the committees, eternally more terrible, and far more direct than that which Robespierre had presented yesterday. The committee-men looked with an agony of anxiety to the Frogs of the Marsh, to the neutral men of the *côté droit*. "Now, brave men of the Plain," said Bourdon de l'Oise and

Tallien, affectionately squeezing the hands of some of them, "now, brave patriots of the right, steady! *Allons!*" Saint-Just had not proceeded far, and was declaring that he belonged to no faction, but would combat all factions, when red-faced Tallien, who had probably elevated his courage with wine, started to his feet, and made what was called a motion of order. "No good citizen," cried he, "can restrain his tears at seeing the unhappy fate to which the commonwealth is abandoned! There is nothing to be seen but woe and division! Yesterday a member of the government isolated himself, and pronounced a discourse in his own private name, to-day another member of the government does the same thing. Let the curtain that hides this horrid mystery be entirely torn down!" Three rounds of applause, which followed Tallien's beginning, encouraged others to continue. Billaud-Varennes stood up, and others stood up, vociferating and gesticulating like maniacs: the president's chair was occupied by Collot d'Herbois, who grasped his hand-bell in order to ring down St-Just and Robespierre when they should attempt to reply. Billaud drew a terrible picture of the seditious scenes which had passed in the Jacobin-hall on the preceding evening. "That society," he exclaimed, "has plainly announced its intention of seizing and butchering a great part of the Convention! Apostles of assassination threatened the lives of patriot members last night. . . . I see one of them there sitting on the Mountain!" There rose a terrible outcry of "Turn him out!—Turn out the assassin!" And the obnoxious individual was dragged or kicked out of the House with as little ceremony as the Jacobins had used towards Collot d'Herbois and his friends, the House accompanying the act of expulsion with fresh rounds of applause. "The moment to tell the truth, the whole truth," resumed Billaud, "is at last arrived. . . . This Assembly is placed between two abysses. If it be weak it must perish!" Right and left, and Centre or Plain or Marsh—all the deputies, almost to a man, started up, waved their hats over their heads, shouting that there would be no weakness, and that the Convention should not perish, and even the people in the galleries seemed to send forth an unanimous shout of "Long live the Convention!" "Long live the Committee of *Salut Public*!" That staunch Robespierriest, Lebas, demanded to be allowed to speak, but the House called him to order, threatened him with the Abbaye, and president Collot silenced him with his dreadful bell. Billaud continued his declamation, making use of some very good arguments, proper to keep the shifting Plain steady through the very agency of their fears, for they went to show how one party was swept away after the other—how the Dantonists, after concurring in the destruction of the Hébertists, had been destroyed themselves—and how little men ought to rely on the promises of a party who had defended Danton enthusiastically in March, and had sent him to the

* Dumas d'Alliance. *Mémoires*

guillotine in April—who had so plainly announced that every man who was not for them was against them, and must be cut off. "A chaos deeper than the catacombs has been dug at your feet," cried Billaud, "and you must fill it with your dead bodies, or triumph over Robespierre and his fellow-tyrants!" Here Robespierre rushed to the tribune, but he was assailed with the cries of "Down with the tyrant!" (*a bas, a bas le tyran!*) with the loud dissonance of the president's hand-bell and with an ominous roaring and grumbling from the galleries. Tallien again thrust himself into the speaking-place. "Citizens," cried he, "last night, at the Jacobins, I trembled for the republic—I shuddered for the country! I saw formed there the army of the new Cromwell. I armed myself with a dagger, and I said to myself if the Convention should dare to strike the tyrant, I will pierce his heart with this!" And, as he said the word, he drew forth a shining dagger, and flourished it in the eyes of the Convention. The stage trick produced all the effect that could have been desired, and, in the midst of a roar of voices, of one commingled shout of "Down with the tyrant!" "Death to the tyrants!" Barrère moved, and the House voted, that the Convention should be declared in permanent session, and that a decree of arrest should be issued against the enemies of the country. Saint-Just stood motionless and pale, Couthon sat looking at his paralytic limbs, silently, or ejaculating "Triumvir, indeed!" Only Robespierre struggled—and desperately did he struggle—with the impending doom. He ran to and fro, foaming at the mouth like a tiger taken in the coils. He tried to speak from his place, he climbed to the tribune, he rushed to the table of the house—to the president's chair, but Collot rang his bell until it seemed to crack, and speech or word they would allow him in no place. This was but the measure he had often meted out to others. The House, wanting a report and some more decrees, called for that great report maker Barrère. This sin-tongued turn-about, this vermin edition of the revolution—who had belonged to every party, who had been by turns monarchist constitutionalist Girondist Jacobin, Dantonist, Robespierriest, and Dantonist again—had kept himself in the background, in the rear of the combatants, until he saw for which side victory was declaring. It is said (and the fact is perfectly credible and consistent) that he had come down to the House with two reports in his pocket, one to be read in favour of Robespierre if the Frogs should croak on the wrong side, and the other (which he now proceeded to read) in favour of the committees and the Mountain in case of their assured triumph. As the proper tail piece to the report which he read, Barrère moved that the Convention should decree that Henriot's rank of commandant-general should be abolished, that every commandant of a legion or section should exercise the chief command over the armed force of Paris in rotation, and that the mayor Fleuriot and the procureur Payan should be

called to the bar to render an account of the state of the capital. The ready man added a short proclamation in the name of the Convention to the French people, telling them that the enemies of the country were going to despoil the legislature, that aristocracy was going to triumph, and that the royalists would soon reappear on the scene, unless the said French people rallied round the real patriots of the Convention, &c. The decree, the proclamation, and all the rest were voted by acclamation. Robespierre still vainly struggling to obtain a hearing Saint-Just and Couthon remaining as silent and as passive as before. Vadier, Boudon de l'Oise, and Tallien again, all fell upon the fallen dictator, but not as a terrorist, not as a man of blood, not as the perpetrator of wholesale judicial massacres, not as the hind which day after day touched the springs of the guillotine (for these his accusers had been his associates, the accomplices of his worst crimes, they had carried out his system during his secession from the government, they had made the guillotine play with more than a quadruple speed, and they did not mean that it should rest yet, or cease its labours with the incorruptible and his friends). Boudon de l'Oise accused him of detaching from the guillotine several heads, Vadier taxed him with having endeavoured to aid the enemies of the people, and with having interfered with Lacombe Timville to suspend the execution of conspiracy. But they spoke of the fate of Danton, and of the guilt and horror of sacrificing one's colleagues—in short, they explained, as clearly as words could do it, that this was a personal quarrel between him and them, and that Robespierre had been guilty of none but venial offences until he entered into this quarrel. Vadier, still proud of the part he had borne in the denouncing of that *démagogue* conspiracy, was coming into a singular abut Catherine Théot and Danton. I could justly tell they would not wander from the point. "I will soon bring you back to the point," cried Robespierre, once more rushing to the tribune and endeavouring to speak. Again he was interrupted by a universal hubbub. He looked to the Mountain, to the *col drot*, to the Plain of Mirails, and at last fixing his eyes on the Frogs of the Marshes, he shouted, "It is to you, O virtuous men of the Plain, it is to you, pure patriots, and not to those brigands, that I address myself!" The Plain turned their eyes from him and joined the other sections of the House in hooting and roaring him down, while Collot d'Herbois kept ringing his hand-bell. "President of assassins," shrieked the Incorruptible. "I demand speech of thee for the last time!" By this time Collot was exhausted by his exertions—by that almost incessant bell-ringing—and, vacating the presidential chair, he was succeeded in it by Thuriot, who hated and feared Robespierre as much as Collot did, and he now told him that he could not be heard then. Robespierre's mouth foamed no longer, his tongue seemed to cleave to his dry palate, his voice to

die away in the throat "The blood of Danton is choking him," exclaimed Garnier de l'Aube. This remark made him recover voice and courage, and he exclaimed indignantly, and with a terrible truth, "Danton is it, then, Danton you would avenge?"—Towards 'why did you not defend him?' But Thuriot with a fresh arm rang the bell, the House drowned their recollections and kept up their courage by renewed vociferations, and Louchet demanded an instant decree of arrest against Robespierre. On all sides the members shouted, "Seconded!" "Supported!" "President, put it to the vote, you see there is unanimity!" The younger Robespierre demanded to be included, saying, that, as he had endeavoured to share in his brother's virtues, he was eager to share in his final fate, a piece of self-devotion not much worth, for if the planet perished the satellites must be extinguished also. His brother's short speech and the allusion to Danton put, however, a new life into the almost extinct incorruptible: he rushed again to the tribune, to the table of the House, to the chair, *media in*, the president, murmuring, the Convention, with terrible gestures "President," cried Duvivier, "how long is this man to be allowed to be the master of the Convention?" "How hard it is to knock down a tyrant!" cried journalist Fréron, now one of Robespierre's mortal enemies, but once his friend and companion in the College of Louis Quinze. Louis exclaimed, "Vote! vote! Vote the arrest of the two brothers!" And anon president Thuriot put that question to the vote, and it was carried *non con*. The members then waved their hats and shouted, "Long live liberty! Long live the republic! The tyrant is more!" "The republic is lost! The brigands triumph!" said Robespierre, and these were the last words that were distinctly heard from him in public. Duchêne observed that, in voting for the arrest of the two Robespierres he and his friends had intended as a matter of course to include Saint-Just and Couthon. A great many members rose and spoke in confirmation, and the arrest of Couthon and Saint-Just was decreed. Lebas, another of the satellites, begged to be included—a favour which was readily granted. The five imprisoned members continued, however, sitting or standing in their places, the trembling ushers of the House not daring to lay hands on them, and they refusing to submit without force. But every part of the House shouted "To the bar! to the bar with them!" and the two Robespierres, Couthon, Saint-Just, and Lebas were obliged to descend to the bar and to resign themselves to the ushers, who still trembled in this carried them out to the committee-rooms, whence the five were soon afterwards conveyed to five several prisons.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon, and the Assembly rose for a couple of hours, in order that the members might dine. Henriot, who had taken brandy to keep up his heart, had been more or less drunk ever since the morning, or probably matters would not have come to this point. In-

deed, had a few of his cannoners and Parisian cannons been in the Place du Carrousel and in the gardens of the palace, matches lighted, and muzzles turned towards the hall of the Convention, at an early part of the day, it is almost more than probable that the majority would have flinched, and that Barrere would have read the *other* report. Yet neither Henriot nor the commune had been altogether idle, and their activity received a spur when they learned that the Convention had really decreed the accusations. The branded commandant-general went caracoling through Paris, followed by his mounted staff, and riding over or knocking down quieter citizens. He went to the faubourgs and harangued the patriots, telling them that the traitors in the Convention had voted the arrest of the best and only true patriots remaining in that assembly. As he was flourishing his tropes and his sword, the death-carts containing that day's batch came up, for the guillotine, after several changes of locality, had now been for some days set up in the Faubourg St Antoine, on the site of the Bastille. It is said that the citizens of the other parts of Paris had at last had a glut of blood, and could no longer bear the daily sight of the condemned; it is said that even the rabble of the faubourg were getting weary of the daily massacre, that the arrival of the death-carts produced an impression very unfavourable to Robespierre, and that they attempted to send back the death-carts, but if they had really made any such attempt they must have succeeded, whereas it is certain that the carts were allowed to go on, and that the execution took place much as usual. Henriot lost much time in his caracoling and haranguing, and, after all, he neither gave the faubourg patriots a clear account of what had happened, nor an intelligible plan of action, for, many hours after this, we find them writing to the commune to know what they are to do? From the faubourgs he and his staff galloped to the Luxembourg, and gave orders to the gendarmes to march to the Hôtel-de-Ville, and remain there for the protection of the council-general of the commune. With a very slight escort Henriot then dashed along the quays, shouting and gesticulating like a madman. From the quays still galloping, he went into the Rue St Honore, announcing that he was going to liberate Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon, and that all good patriots ought to follow him. Merlin de Thionville, on his way back to the Convention or to the committee room, to give the alarm, was seized and thrown into a guard-house at the Palais de l'Egalité. Robin de l'Aube, and another member of the Convention, Courtois, were dining at a restaurant's in the Rue St Honore, as Henriot dashed by for the Tuileries they instantly went forth, addressed some soldiers and citizens on the duty of obeying the decrees of the Convention, and induced five or six gendarmes to engage their honour and lives to follow the madman and arrest him. Merlin de Thionville also succeeded not merely in obtaining his own liberty, but also in re-

ducing the men doing duty at the guard-house to follow the gendarmes and assist them in the capture of Henriot. Robin, one of the two members who had interrupted their dinner out of patriotism or a delicate regard for their own safety (they being both on Robespierre's black-lists), ran down to the Tuileries and into the council-room of the committee of General Security, to warn them of what was passing the first and only living object he perceived there was Amar, who was running away with all his speed to hide himself—for his name too was down in the black-lists, and without Robin's warning he knew that danger was on the wind. Robin then went to another apartment in the palace, which served as a committee room for the *Salut Public*, and there he found Billaud-Varennes, Barrere, and some other members, whose fears and prudence had kept them at their posts. On Henriot presenting himself at the gates of the palace with only two or three aides-de-camp, he was boldly met by some ushers, and the five or six pledged gendarmes falling upon him in the rear, he allowed himself to be made prisoner, and to have his hands tied behind his back. The stern Lubin, coming out of the palace, found the commandant general in this predicament—he conducted him to the committee of *Salut Public* above stairs, and, after reminding the said committee that the *Surêté Generale*, the committee more especially charged with the police, had abandoned their posts, he recommended a "step worthy of the circumstance and above all, a prompt execution." Billaud Varennes and Barrere were startled at the proposition of putting the commandant to death without any trial. Robin said, that, if they did not finish Henriot on the spot, it was possible that he would, powerfully seconded, might butcher them all in the Convention that evening—that, unless they were accomplices with him, it could not be perceived how they should hesitate. At length, however, it was arranged between Barrere and Robin that the prisoner should be carried to the rooms of the committee of *Surêté Generale* and there kept in strict custody until the Convention, on its return from dinner, should decide and decree. In this manner, instead of liberating the two Robespierres, Saint-Just, Couthon, and Lebas (they had apparently been all removed from the committee rooms of the Tuileries before his arrival), Henriot was arrested himself, and corded and bound like a common felon. In the mean while the council general of the commune, who claimed and exercised extraordinary powers over all the prisons of the capital, had issued their orders that no prisoners should, on any account, be received by any of the gaolers on that day or night that the town should be sounded at the Hotel de Ville and in all the sections, that the barriers of Paris should be closed, and that a commission of twelve great municipals, headed by Payan, the procureur-general, and Coffinhal, one of the new judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, should exert themselves to libe-

rate Robespierre and the rest of those prisoners. Within an hour after his arrest, Henriot was set at liberty by Coffinhal, who burst into the Tuileries sword in hand, being followed by about one hundred Robespierrists of different colours and descriptions. In a trice the commandant-general was again on horseback, but, though the lapse of hours and the perils he had just run ought to have sobered him, Henriot continued to act like a drunkard or maniac, his imbecility discouraged his friends, gave heart to his enemies, and effected many sudden conversions, for men who wanted only to make sure of the strongest side became inwardly convinced that that could not prove the stronger which depended upon his abilities and exertions. The five prisons to which the five great men had been carried were situated in distant parts of Paris, and their keepers were not equally alert in obeying the orders of the commune, but by eight or nine in the evening Robespierre his brother Augustin, Saint-Just, and Lebas were at perfect liberty, and sitting in deliberation with the council of the commune and Couthon joined them somewhat later in the evening. They called upon the Jacobins, who had declared themselves in permanent session, they sent round commissaries to the different sections, none of which had rushed to arms so eagerly as in former times, and they instructed Henriot to collect his Parisian cannoners and point their guns against the Tuileries. By degrees the section battalions, which ought to have been collected in the morning, began to arrive in the Place de Greve and to post themselves round the Hotel de Ville shouting "Long live Robespierre! Robespierre to Death!" "Down with the Committees and the Traitors of the Convention!" Some of the cannoners also arrived, and, turning the muzzles of their guns so as to command the approaches, they stood by them match in hand. Mavor, Henriot, Payan, and Coffinhal were exceeding resolute and bold, administering oaths to the armed force, and unequivocally announcing that the Convention must be regarded of the majority of its members, but Robespierre seemed even now irresolute and enslaved to forms and precedents. Couthon proposed drawing up a proclamation to the people and the armies. Robespierre asked in whose name? Saint-Just, more decided, and somewhat more a man of action, said, "Why, in the name of the National Convention, which is wherever we are!" No decision was, however, come to on this important matter an hour after midnight, when Henriot, instead of besieging the Tuileries, was allowing the Hotel de Ville to be besieged. The Incorruptible's younger brother displayed more energy or a greater disregard for formulas, but both Saint-Just and Augustin Robespierre had taken part in the operations of war, which Maximilian Robespierre had never done, and had acted in the field with the armies they were sent to superintend as commissioners. If the elder Robespierre had been possessed of the habit of military com-

mand, and of some of the spirit of a soldier, instead of spending long hours debating and hesitating in the council-chamber of the commune, he would have gone early to look after Henriot, who had given such glaring proofs of incapacity and fatuity, he would have superintended in person the collecting of the cannoneers and troops in the Place du Carrousel and the gardens of the Tuileries one volley of grape-shot, given betimes, would assuredly have put the Convention to flight, and his fall, though inevitable in the end, would not have happened this night, nor probably for weeks or months to come.

The honourable deputies, who had gone to their dinners at five, returned to the Convention at seven o'clock in the evening, when Henriot, only recently liberated by Coffinhal, was still pining hither and thither, as if without any fixed object. We can find nowhere any mention of numbers, or any hint that the House was a full one. We are inclined to believe that it was a very thin House—that many members of the *cote droit* and the *marais*, who were not so thoroughly committed as others, never returned from their dinners but, on hearing the rumbling of cannon, the beating of the drums to arms, and then the dismal sound of the tocsin, returned to their chambers in their houses, or sought more secure abiding places. Biron de l'Oise, Leonard Bourdon, Barrere, Collet d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Amar, Vouland, and apparently all those who felt that they must, this night, do or die, were at the *tribune*. Collot paler, and, no doubt, trembling to keep possession of the president's chair, clapped his hat on his head in sign of deep distress, and exclaimed that the hour was come to die at one's post, or triumph over the tyrant, that the sun must not rise before the heads of the conspirators had fallen! Many exciting revelations were made, some referring to the circumstances of the day and the events actually passing that evening and night, and others to bygone days when Robespierre was the idol of the Convention, and the most popular man in all France. Dubois-Crance, who had at one time been devoted body and conscience to the Incorruptible, now, for the first time, announced that the traitor of all French republicans had a long time ago seen through the perfidious mask. "Yes," said he, "I must render homage to the sagacity of Marat! As far back as the trial of the tyrant Capet, he said to me, speaking of Robespierre, 'You see that scoundrel there, *ce coquin là*?'—How! Robespierre a scoundrel?" said I. "Yes," replied Marat, "that man is more dangerous for liberty than all the coalesced tyrants of Europe!" Barrere was set to his old work of report and decree making the rest of the members either made speeches, or ran to and fro from the hall to the outer doors or windows of the place to see what was passing in the Place du Carrousel. Billaud at last returned with the startling intelligence that Henriot was in the Place, and was making the cannoneers turn their guns right against that part of the palace

which was occupied by the Convention! At this announcement the patriots and patriotesses in the galleries all fled out of the palace, shouting and screaming, but, if credit is to be given to the newspapers which published their reports of the debates and transactions of the night from one to three days and more after the fall of Robespierre, and the assured though temporary victory of his mortal foes, the deputies who had assembled behaved with all the courage and sublimity of Roman senators, and Collot, repeating that the hour was come for them to die at their posts or triumph, sat in his curule chair as motionless and as majestic as the best of Roman patricians when the unmannerly Gaul took him by the beard. Their imminent danger did not last long—a deputation from the department of Paris, no longer in unison with the commune, came to the hall to receive the orders of the House, intelligence was brought that the pupils of the School of Mars, though efforts had been made to seduce them, had declared for the Convention, and were shouting "Death to traitors! Down with Robespierre!"—that, while the faubourgs seemed slow and undecided, several of the best sections were arming and marching for the defence of the representatives of the people, and, finally, Amar imparted the glad tidings that the cannoneers outside, instead of obeying Henriot's orders to let their grape shot fly in the hall of the Convention, were turning the muzzles of their guns the other way, forcing the commandant general and his plumed staff to gallop off for the Hotel-de-Ville. Hereupon the members in the House all vociferated "*Hors la loi*!" and Barrere, who had been working in this sense, presently presented a decree of outlawry against Henriot, the Robespierres, Saint-Just, and the rest. This was voted instantaneously, together with an order to silence the tocsin and prevent the closing of the barriers. A deputation from the cannoneers stationed in the Place du Carrousel and in the gardens came in and defiled through the hall, having at their head several members of the House, and making comfortable speeches to the president. These cannoneers were soon supported by several battalions of foot and some squadrons of horse. Nothing but a commander was wanting, and the House lost no time in voting that this post should be temporarily occupied by Barras, and that seven other members of the House, Bourdon de l'Oise, Leonard Bourdon, Freron, Dulmas, and three others of Robespierre's most declared and energetic enemies, should be appointed to serve under Barras. As soon as this was decided, the House appointed sundry missions of representatives to repair to the sections, to encourage those who were in the right path, and to win back those who had got into the wrong. Henriot had done nothing to stop the communications between the Tuileries and the town and faubourgs, so that these missionaries went without trouble or danger whithersoever they chose. They succeeded in inducing several armed bodies that were obeying the summons of the com-

burst into the room, followed by some gendarmes (himself, according to some accounts, including his own, being disguised as a common gendarme). Robespierre was sitting bleeding on a chair, with a knife in his hand, Couthon was lying under the table as though he were dead, the municipal officers were throwing off their scarfs, and apparently preparing for flight. One or two pistols were fired by the gendarmes, and then all the conspirators quickly submitted to be taken and bound. Menriot, badly wounded, disfigured, and covered with filth, was discovered in the foul place where he had fallen, Augustin Robespierre was also found alive, though with limbs broken and a skull fractured. Some of the armed people, who were now crowding into the council chamber and running over every part of the vast building dragged out Couthon by the heels from under the table, and proposed throwing his carcass into the Seine, but when he opened his eyes and gave them to understand that he was not yet dead, nor so much as dying. The wounded were put upon brandards or stretchers, and, shouting 'Victory! Victory!' Leonard Bourdon conducted them to the Tuileries. It was past three o'clock, a bright July day was breaking, all Paris was getting up, and in the morning light many thousands were gazing from their windows at a scene which they could scarcely comprehend. A member of the revolutionary committee of one of the sections was the first to announce in the Convention that the game had been played out, and that the conquered and captured were approaching the Hall. The deputies shouted 'Victory! Victory!' and when success declared Talien in the president's chair, exclaimed, 'The coward Robespierre is here at the door of your hall!' For a certainty, citizen representatives of you will not allow him to enter?' The de-

putes all cried "No! No!" Thuriot, who had had his hand in the bloodiest crimes which had been perpetrated, and who, like so many others of them, had discovered Robespierre to be a tyrant only upon finding or fancying that he was aiming at his own precious life, exclaimed—"To bring here into the bosom of the Convention the body of a man covered with every crime, would be to deprive this glorious day of the brightness and beauty which belong to it. The carcass of a tyrant can only bring the plague." The place marked out for him and his accomplices is the Place de la Révolution. Let the two committees take the necessary measures for striding off all their heads with the sword of the law! The Convention decreed this proposition with all the necessary enthusiasm, and at the moment when Leonard Bourdon entered the hall, which resounded with fresh acclamations and shouts of "Victory!" He led by the hand a modest young man, a common gendarme, and he requested the president and the House to permit this young soldier to ascend the tribune with him. This permission being granted, Leonard related the circumstances which had occurred in the Place de Greve and in the Hotel de Ville, adding that he and the country were under great obligations to the young gendarme now standing at his side, Charles Andre Melas, who had, with his own hand, killed two conspirators, snatched a knife from Robespierre, and struck Couthon who had also armed himself with a knife. He demanded that the president should give the fraternal accolade to this brave gendarme. The president embraced Melas in the midst of great applause, the Convention decreed that honorable merit should be made of the civic death of the young man, and charged the committee of Salut Public to give him promotion in the army.

The Jacobins had kept together in considerable numbers in their hall but communism between the Rue St. Honoré and the Hôtel de Ville had apparently been cut off at nearly half of the night, and the rebels remained suspicious and doubting, and not knowing what course to pursue. The Convention had scarcely finished honouring Meder Legendre and the House and related how he had scattered the Jacobins—the majority of whom according to all appearances, had dispersed of their own accord as soon as they learned the catastrophe at the Hôtel de Ville and before the butcher could have had time to show his face or his double-barrelled pistol among them. Everybody, however on this night and morning, as on every other night or day when anything important had been done, was eager to show that he had been an important actor, and therefore Legendre related that he had burst into the Jacobin hall with only ten self-levoting patriots, and with a double-barrelled pistol in his hand wherewith to shoot the conspirator he should find sitting as president. "As bad luck would have it," said he, "the villain mingled with the crowd, and I held my hand for fear of shooting the innocent. That president's

name is Vivier. I said to the women in the galleries of the club, 'Citizenesses, you have been led astray; get ye home! The National Convention punishes guilt, but not error.' Men and women went away. I closed and locked the doors of the Jacobins, and here are the keys! As it is the mass of the Convention that has saved the country, tomorrow the Convention, *en masse*, will be Jacobin, and virtue will re-open the doors of that society!" After Legendre had been honoured with enthusiastic applause, Thirion demanded an act of vigour against that scoundrel Vivier, that man devoted to Robespierre, that traitor who had presided over the club in order to support a rebellion, and the Convention forthwith put Vivier *hors la loi*. It was now six o'clock in the morning, and the wearied members rose for a few hours.

In the meanwhile, by order of the committee-men, Robespierre had been carried into the committee-room of *Salut Public* and laid upon a table. He was speechless, apparently senseless, the blood flowed from his mouth. To prevent it choking him, they put a devil box, which contained some samples of bread for the army, under his head. He had on the same gay sky-blue coat he wore at the festival of l'Être Suprême, nankeen breeches, and white cotton stockings, which last had fallen or had been dragged over his heels. In about an hour he opened his eyes and attempted to absorb the blood with a pistol-bag which he grasped in his hand. Some of the citizens who surrounded him, and who were curiously watching all his motions and sufferings, gave him some pieces of white paper. Other citizens mocked, insulted and cursed him, and a cannoneer, his own townsman, distinguished himself by the fervour and coarseness with which he swore at him or over him. The whole scene was but an epitome of the national character, and a proof that those who triumphed were as ferocious as those who fell. It is even said that his former colleagues and the clerks and servants of the committee, who had so long crouched before him, gathered round him to insult him, to exult in his sufferings, to spit at him, to strike him—and that some of the clerks pricked him with the points of their penknives. At six o'clock, and not before, a surgeon was brought from the Palais Royal to look to his wounds. He submitted to the rough and agonizing treatment with ut uttering one cry or groan. The surgeon bandaged up his broken jaw, and placed a basin of water by his side. Of a sudden he raised his head from his hard wooden pillow, sat bolt upright on the table, pulled up his stockings, slid from the table, and ran or staggered to an arm-chair, in which he seated himself. It was remarked that he looked fixedly on those who came into the room, and particularly on the clerks and servants of the committee, that he often raised his eyes to the ceiling, but that, with the exception of some convulsive movements, he constantly showed an extraordinary impassibility. This has been called moral courage, but it was more probably a physical dullness, a sluggishness

of nerve and sense which had tended to make him so insensible to the blood and sufferings of others. The only words he spoke were to ask for some water to drink, and for some linen rags, neither of which were given to him. Couthon, Saint-Just, and some others, were either left at the foot of the staircase, exposed to the gaze and the brutality of all that chose to approach them, or were carried upstairs into the committee rooms. At nine o'clock in the morning Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois assembled in the room next to that where Robespierre was bleeding, and, taking upon themselves all the powers of the committee of *Salut Public*, they issued an order for transferring the prisoners immediately to the Conciergerie. As some men carried Robespierre downstairs in an arm-chair, one of them savagely struck him. As Saint Just, following him, traversed the Hall of Audience of *Salut Public*, he fixed his eye on a grand copy of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and muttered—"And yet it was I who did that!" While Robespierre was quitting the Tuileries for ever, the Convention re-assembled, and the former assual, Fouquier-Tinville, came to the bar to inquire how the Convention wished the Revolutionary Tribunal to proceed against the conspirators. Thuriot exclaimed, "As the conspirators are all outlawed the tribunal has nothing to do but to recognise their persons and send them to the scaffold! Let no time be lost, for every moment they live must be prejudicial to the republic. With the heads of his accomplices strike off the head of this infamous Robespierre, who pretended to believe in a Supreme Being, and who only believed in the force of crime. The soil of the republic must be instantly purged of a monster that was plotting to get himself proclaimed king. For the rest, let the Revolutionary Tribunal go and take its orders from the committee of *Surveillance*, and return forthwith to its post and its important duties." The Convention agreed in this last proposition, and issued one or two more decrees of outlawry to expedite the business. Fouquier bowed and retired, deputations arrived to congratulate the Convention, and Barrère, with his ordinary ghastliness and placidity of countenance, presented in the name of the *Salut Public*, and began to read, one of his mendacious reports on all the accidents and incidents of the preceding night.

After lying an hour or two in the Conciergerie, Robespierre was carried, with twenty friends or accomplices, before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Fouquier, as commanded merely identified them, one by one, and then read the decree of outlawry. At four o'clock in the afternoon they were all carted at the Conciergerie to be carried through the busiest streets of Paris to the Place de la Revolution. Robespierre went in the same tumbril with his brother Augustin and Henriot, who were covered with blood like himself, still more horribly shattered, and all but dead. As they went along the gendarmes pointed their swords at him to show

the people which was he. A yelling mob followed him, cursing, and charging him with all the cruelties and executions from the beginning of the Revolution till now—as though he had not blood enough to answer for without this device of the committees, this exaggeration of his enemies, who were more deeply steeped in blood than he. A furious woman sprung on the tumbrel, and, waving her hand over his prostrate figure, shouted, “Thy death makes me drunk with joy!” He opened his eyes on her. “Go down to hell, with the curses of all wives and mothers!” shrieked the woman. The streets, windows, and house-tops are said to have been even more crowded than ever this had been before. Jeering and laughing, filthy puns and quibbles, were mixed with the curses, shrieks, and anathemas. When the tumbrels came opposite to the house of Duplax, where Robespierre’s only peaceful hours had been passed, a hilt was lifted, and a band of women firmly grasped their own *Tritons*, or Furies of the Guillotine, executed in infernal dance round his cart, with clapping hands and other demonstrations. On arriving in the Place de la Revolution they laid him down on the ground at the foot of the scaffold, for he was too exhausted to last of the twenty-one, and he could not stand—indeed, he was now almost dead, his face was livid, his eyes were sunk in his head. A full of earth hid the countless multitude of mud and wadded hats and caps—and they shouted the loudest when Sanson held up the head of Saint Just and Couthon. At last, Robespierre’s turn came, for the axe had clanked down twenty times, and three remained none the wiser. As his hastily shaven and well-known sky-blue coat (now torn, and streaked and clotted with blood), slowly emerged to the surface of the scaffold, there was another universal roar of voices, and still more enthusiastic waving of hats and caps. Sanson tore off his coat, brutally wrenched the foul linen bandage from his jaw, the broken left jaw fell, and then a horrible cry or scream proceeded from him, being the first sound of lamentation or suffering he had been heard to utter since his arrest. This fearful cry was still ringing in the air, when the heavy axe, wet with the blood of his brother and his friends, clanked down once more. Sanson held up the frightful head, the spectators shouted and applauded for several minutes, and then went away *singing*. * It was towards seven o’clock in the

evening of the 10th Thermidor, or 28th of July

The triumphant committee-men, the sanguinary Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, the reporting Barre, the atheistical Bourbons, Vadier, Fouche, Fallien, and Vouland, gave out that the reign of terror was over, that the reign of justice and mercy was going to begin, that the innocent, who still crowded the prisons notwithstanding the immense number of executions, would now meet with a fair trial, and have nothing more to fear but at the same time they intimated that they must wreak their vengeance on many of their personal enemies, on all the officers of the commune who had assembled under mayor Fournier and procureur Pavan in the Hotel de Ville on the day or night of the 9th Thermidor, who had otherwise aided or abetted in the great rebellion of Robespierre, or who had been in any way connected with that traitor, and, instead of punishing the atrocious Revolutionary Tribunal (alike the instrument of Robespierre's and of their own butcheries), they recognised and confirmed its authority, leaving Fouquier Niville undisturbed at his post, and, if these committee men could have imposed their will on those who had co-operated with them, Louverture's Tribunal would long have been retained as an indispensable part of the republican system. They plainly showed an anxiety to retain it. This induces the chief of the sacred Revolutionary Tribunal was never so eagerly devoted to Robespierre as is represented, that, at least during the forty days of his seclusion from the government—the period in which incomparably the greatest number of lives were sacrificed—they had identified themselves with the committee-men, who thus had nothing to fear from them, and who might not easily have found an organized body of men so willing to gratify their present vengeance, and so fitted to work out their future schemes. On the morning of the day on which Robespierre perished, the members of the Tribunal appeared in the Convention, and were there received with honours and applause. Their orators said that a few traitors like Dumas and Coffinhal had crept in among them, but that the representatives of the people had known how to distinguish them, that they therefore were, as they had ever been, entirely devoted to the national representation and to their sacred duties as administrators of justice, and that all they wanted was the Convention's instructions as to the mode in which they were to proceed against all the late conspirators. On the very next day, the committees having drawn up the lists of proscription, the said upright judges condemned to death *sixty nine* municipals, on the 12th Thermidor they sentenced twelve more, thus making up *eighty-one* victims, who were all executed within the space of twenty-four hours! If one class of prisoners began to obtain their liberty, other classes were treated with great severity, and for some time the vacancies left in the prisons were rapidly filled up by fresh arrests. In too many cases those

[illegible]

who had escaped out of the jaws of death were impelled by their suspicions and revenge to throw others into the same jeopardy, denouncing those whom they suspected of having denounced them, and heaping accusations upon men who had heaped insults upon them when their party was dominant. On the 29th or 30th of July, Elie Lacoste, indeed, moved that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be suppressed, as a body composed in great part of the creatures of Robespierre, but Billaud-Varennes *demanded that the tribunal was so composed*, and conjured the House not to suspend the salutary action of that court for the present. Barrère also (who must be supposed to have known something of the composition and temper of the court) said that so far *was* they from being the creatures or friends of the fallen tyrant, that Robespierre and the rebels *as a committee of the commune had determined to justify all the members of the Revolutionary Tribunal*. If this fact be true, it would seem to prove that Robespierre and the commune blamed the excesses which had been committed by the tribunal since the festival of l'Être Suprême; and, if it be one of Barrère's solemn lies, it would still tend to show that he and his party were well satisfied with the tribunal, and eager to preserve its services. On the 1st of August, when Lacointe of Versailles moved that the law of the 22nd Prairial, or 10th of June—that terrible law which had given the tribunal four sections and such an immense increase of power—should be immediately abrogated, Barrère again defended the whole court, insisting that the government had need of its services, that no part of it ought to be changed, and that Fouquier-Tinville was very essential to the justice and well-being of the republic, but the Convention, which had been united for a moment against Robespierre, was now splitting into parties, and some of those who had helped to gain the victory were now anxious to overthrow the committee, or to get place in them. Fréron, at mention of the public accuser, burst forth into an angry rhapsody. "I demand," cried he, "that we will lengthen the earth of that monster, and that Fouquier be sent to digest in hell the blood he has drunk here! I demand a decree of accusation against him." As a portion of the House and of the galleries applauded Fréron, other members ventured to speak with equal boldness against the declared will of Barrère and his brother committee-men. Turreau said that a decree of accusation was too honourable for a scelerat like Fouquier, that it would be quite enough to order his arrest, and send him for trial before his own tribunal. In vain Barrère assumed a high and almost menacing tone, the House voted the abrogation of the terrible law, and the arrest of Fouquier-Tinville. This functionary demanded to be heard at the bar, and he was heard on the 8th of August, when, expecting to be defended by Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and the rest of that party, he attributed everything that he might have done amiss to the

despotism of Robespierre. He was thrown into prison, but was not brought to trial till the month of April, 1795, when, the committee party being swept away, and there being nothing to hope or fear from them, he materially changed the tone of his defence and attributed many of the most terrible doings of his tribunal, not to Robespierre but to Barrère, Billaud, Collot, Carnot, Amar, Vadier, Vouland, and other members of the *Salut Public* and *Surveillance Générale*.* On the 10th of August the Convention voted that the Revolutionary Tribunal should continue to exist, but with other members, judges, accusers, and jurors, and a different organization. Twenty-three of the old jurors were arrested some months later, and thrown into prison, to take their trial with Fouquier†. The new court was from the first more decent than the old one, and, as Barrère and his allies lost ground (which they did most rapidly), it became cautious in its proceedings and merciful in its judgments—that is, as compared with any criminal court that had existed in France for a very long time.

The party or union of parties which set themselves thus early in opposition to the committee monopolised all the honour and glory of the overthrow of Robespierre, and assumed the name of Thermidorians. They counted in their ranks Abbé Sicé, who had contrived to keep his head on his shoulders, and who had lost none of his confidence in constitution-making, Chenier, a literateur and poet, a cousin of having denounced and sacrificed his own brother, Cambacérès, Boissy d'Anglas, and Hérault de l'Orne, who had been members of the *Comité de Salut Public*, and butcher Lagerde, Lacointe of Versailles, Trilhard, Thuriot Fréron, Jullien, Burdun de l'Oise, Burris, Benthol, Rovers, Dumont, Merlin de Douai, and Merlin de Thionville, who had all been Dantonist Montagnards. Some of these individuals had participated in the deepest guilt of the revolution, but on the whole they were distinguished from the Collots and the Billauds by being fonder of pleasure, and of place and profit, than of persecution and blood. As soon as the Robespierrists were all dispatched by Sanson and his men, these Thermidorians laid claim to their share of the government. In the committee of *Salut Public* Hérault de Sechelles had never been replaced, Jean Bon St André and Prieur de la Marne were in mission, and Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just had gone on a longer journey. These vacancies were now filled up by Jullien, Thuriot, Trilhard, Lalo, and two other Thermidorians. The committee of *Surveillance Générale* was also incomplete. Lebas had killed himself, Lebon was absent, and the deter-

* At this time when Fouquier had still less to hope, or to fear from Robespierre than from the committee-men who had destroyed him he affirmed that he had never had any private connexion or correspondence with Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Dumas, or Collot d'Herbois; that no proofs of any such correspondence had been found of any such connexion had ever been found, either in his own papers or in any of the papers of the Robespierrists which had been seized.

† Orders were issued to arrest twenty-nine of these jurors but six of them could not be found. Among those who were caught and afterwards tried and executed with Fouquier was Robespierre's last lord and quarrelsome father-in-law, the carpenter or cabinet-maker Duplax.



mination had been adopted of getting rid of Lavoisier, Jagot, and painter David, who had been a very busy and pestilent member of it. The painter was openly denounced by Andre Dumont, the fanatical atheist, as an accomplice of that Citizen Robespierre, as a Saide of that Mahomet, as the tyrant of the arts, as a conspirator as cowardly as he was atrocious. Without hearing David, or any one of the three, the majority of the Convention voted that he, Lavoisier, and Jagot should be deprived of their posts in the committee. Just as the vote was passed, the painter, fearing that worse might follow, entered the House and rushed to the tribune to defend himself. He declared that it was not possible to conceive to what a point he had been duped and deceived by "that wretched Robespierre." He swore he would never again attach himself to any man, but only to principles. A great many members fell upon him, reminding the House of his constant adherence to Robespierre, and of the tardiness of his conversion. Some of them, who had been kicked out of the Jacobin Club with Collot on the evening of the 8th Thermidor, recalled to his recollection how passionately he had then embraced Robespierre, declaring that he would drink the hemlock with him! Legendre declared that David, as a member of the committee, had been guilty of sundry arbitrary and detestable acts. A decree of arrest was issued against the painter, but he was liberated in the month of December, with his head upon his shoulders. The Thermidorians who stepped into the committee were Legendre, Andre Dumont, Goupillau, Merlin de Thionville, Bernard de Santes and Robespierre. Thus both in the *Salut Public* and *Surete Generale*, the two main wheels of government, the Thermidorians obtained a majority, and in fact a decided supremacy over the old committee men, or party of Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes. It was voted and decreed that henceforward the powers of these governing committees should be subjected to nice limitations, and that one fourth of their members should be changed every month, so that in the course of four months the whole would be renewed. The forty-eight revolutionary Section Committees of Paris were reduced to twelve, and these twelve, instead of meeting daily, were to assemble only once in ten days, and, what was perhaps still more important—as important as anything that had happened since the 10th Thermidor—the forty is per diem allowed to the sans-culottic patriots for attending these revolutionary committees were stopped for ever.

The Thermidorians very soon resolved to get rid of the old committee men altogether, and, if possible, to wind up the history of the Reign of Terror by sending them all to the scaffold. Just a month after the execution of Robespierre, Tallien delivered a terrible speech against the whole regime of terror, showing that it was absurd to imagine that Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon, and their party, were answerable for all the abominations

which had been committed, or that other men, who had shared with them the powers of government, and who, for forty of the bloodiest days of the revolution, had monopolised those powers to the almost total exclusion of the Robespierriists, were not equally guilty with them. On the very next day after this prelude by Tallien, Lecointre rose and denounced by name Barrere, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, of the *Salut Public*, and Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of the *Surete Generale*, presenting against them twenty-three articles of accusation, imputing to them nearly all the measures of cruelty and tyranny the odium of which they had thrown upon the fallen triumvirate, and calling them, even now, the continuators of Robespierre. Billaud Varennes made a better and bolder defence than one might have expected, but his strength lay in the miserable weakness, meanness, and vacillation of which the vast majority of those now arrayed against him had been but so recently, and so notoriously guilty. How could they accuse him, when they had unanimously voted all those decrees which had given the committees and the tribunal their excessive powers? When they had unanimously voted the law of the *uspects*, and all the other laws upon which the committees had acted? How could they condemn now, as state crimes, deeds which they had applauded for their republican energy and efficacy? He called his accusers mercenary and corrupt men, political weathercocks, men of intrigue, who now wished to sacrifice him and his friends to the memory of Dumont, that odious conspirator, who had been the main hope of all parricidal factions! The draper of Versailles found that he had been premature. The Convention almost unanimously rejected Lecointre's charges, and even declared them calumnious. But a few days after this debate the time arrived for a fourth of the committees to go out, and by chance or by fall t or by some other process, Barrere, Carnot, and R Lindet had to retire from the *Salut Public*, and Vadier, Vouland, and another of that faction, from the *Surete Generale*. Six more Thermidorians stepped into these vacancies, and then Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois finding themselves completely crushed, resigned. Nearly the whole governing power and patronage were thus absorbed by the enemies and rivals of the old committee men, and this falling faction was depopularized and made odious by editor Freron and the whole enterprising Thermidorien press, and by certain public trials which had hitherto been delayed, partly in order to allow time for the re-organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and partly out of an apprehension that, if encouragement were given to witnesses to appear against the commissioners or proconsuls belonging to the party of Robespierre or to the party of Barrere, Billaud, and Collot, witnesses might also hasten to Paris to testify against the scarcely less atrocious deeds of Tallien, Dumont, and other commissioners or proconsuls who appertained to the Thermidorien party, and who were now endeavoring

vouring to captivate public opinion by setting themselves up as angels or ministers of mercy. After denouncing Lebon, who had been intimately connected with Robespierre, they cautiously proceeded to reveal the iniquities of Carrier, against whose atrocities Robespierre had repeatedly raised his voice, and over whose head he was holding the axe of the guillotine at the moment of his own downfall. Carrier and the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes had sent 132 Nantese republicans to be tried in the capital as Girondists and Federalists. As these victims were loaded with chains, made to march on foot, and subjected to most barbarous treatment on the road, only ninety-four of them reached the prisons of the capital alive. They had been living in captivity ever since the beginning of January. Early in September they were brought to trial before the re-organized tribunal, which paid a delicate attention to evidence, lengthened the trial to seven days, the better to attract public notice, and, in the end, acquitted every one of the prisoners. These liberated Nantese republicans, from the condonation of prisoners became accusers and witnesses against Carrier and the members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, but, although Paris and the greater part of France were made to ring with the frightful tales they told of *furicide*, *noyades*, and *marriages republicains*, Carrier's trial was not begun just yet, the Thermidorians being much less anxious to punish him than to secure their own power by annihilating the old committee-men. Legendre now renewed the attack which had been made by Lecointre against Barrère, Billaud, Collot, Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, the butcher was outvoted, as the draper had been—but this time the Convention did not declare the charges to be calumnious, and the parties assailed, instead of being daring and confident, were timid and irritable to a degree which showed they might soon be entirely extinguished without much risk. Barrère, who was probably contemplating the possibility of another change, and the practicability of making a good bargain with the Thermidorians, was less active, but Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois began to canvass the regular sans-culottes of the faubourgs and to frequent the Jacobin Club. But the great club never recovered from the two blows which it had received on the 10th Thermidor, when (early in the morning) Legendre had locked the doors, put the keys into his pocket, thrown them upon the table of the Convention, and (in the evening) the president of the club, Vadier, was executed with Robespierre. The keys were gotten back, the hall was re-opened, a new purification drove away the Robespierriists, as they had driven away their adversaries, but in purging out the Robespierriists the stamina of the club were destroyed. Billaud idly exclaimed that the Jacobin lion was not dead, but only sleeping, for it never woke again to any purpose.—instead of being an Upper House, the hall became a mere cock-pit or fivis court, where cudgelling was taught. The Con-

vention, growing strong as the Jacobins grew weak, prohibited by decree their systems of correspondence and affiliation, and their practice of petitioning as a body. As in the departments the affiliated societies had been split quite as much as the parent society in the capital, scarcely an effort was made to sustain the system. In Paris the Jacobins *par excellence* put bludgeons in their pockets or sticks in their hands, and cultivated the good fellowship of the rougher sans-culottes of the faubourgs. It was really a beautiful moral improvement, this cudgelling, over guillotining—heads were occasionally broken, and arms and legs damaged—but that was all. The Thermidorians opposed the respectability sections to the faubourgs, and encouraged the gay young men to take up—not swords and bayonets and pikes, but—clubs and sticks against the Jacobins. Fréron was the recruiter and commander of this army, which was called *la Jeunesse Dorée de Fréron*, the Golden or Gilded Youth of Fréron. His journal, *l'Orateur du Peuple*, called them to arms or sticks, and traced out the plan of their campaign—a simple plan enough, consisting merely of two instructions—1. Wherever they found the Jacobins (now clubbists in a double sense) disturbing the public peace, they were to fall upon them, if sufficiently strong, 2. Whenever they were not strong enough, they were to avoid a combat until they could collect more youths and sticks. This curious army of journalist Fréron was composed entirely of young men of the better or at least, richer classes of society; they wore a fantastic costume, and loaded the ends of their sticks or clubs with lead, even as Robespierre's *Tappet Durs* had done before them. In most public places this *Jeunesse Dorée* had the advantage, they reigned in the theatres, and gave the law in the Palais Royal, but in the gardens of the Tuileries, the Rue St. Honore, and all the immediate neighbourhood of the club, the Jacobins for a long time kept their ground. Not a day, scarcely an hour, by night or by day, passed without some of these combats, in which dozens or fifties or hundreds of these clubbists and anti-clubbists charged one another in the streets with their clubs and sticks, the one party crying "Vive la Convention!" the other "Vive la Montagne!" The Jacobins were encouraged by Carrier. The Convention sent the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes before the Revolutionary Tribunal, where they exculpated themselves in the ordinary fashion by accusing Carrier—a monster, if there ever was one, but whose atrocities could not have been committed without the concurrence of the committees. Now, the Convention let the Tribunal proceed against the terrible proconsul. Carrier demanded to be heard in the House, and it was thought proper not to refuse him. He represented that in all that he had done at Nantes he had only obeyed the decrees of the Convention and the orders of the committees, that his conduct had been conformable to the general spirit of the day, that measures pretty nearly the same had been adopted at Lyons

and in other parts of France, that at the very time he was exercising his severities at Nantes, the Convention had issued a decree commanding the generals to put to the sword all the Vendéans, and reduce all their villages to ashes, that the Infernal Columns had actually executed this command in most parts of that country, committing slaughters which were horrible indeed, but which he thought justifiable as a retaliation for the cruelties the Vendéans had committed on the republicans. "Why," said he, "would you blame to-day that which your own decrees ordered then? Does the Convention wish to condemn itself? If I am guilty, everything here is guilty, down to the president's hand-bell!" His last argument could scarcely be refuted, but nevertheless, out of 500 members who voted, 490 voted for the accusation, and the other 10 also voted for it, but conditionally. The Jacobins took up Currius's cause as their own, and endeavoured to save him by exciting the faubourgs into insurrection—so, at least, said Freron, his Gilded Youth, and the Thermidoriens of the Convention generally, though it seems to be confessed that their proofs of the facts are but doubtful. Their party, however, was now the strongest, and therefore (and possibly, from that cause alone) a terrible attack was made on the Jacobin Hall one night in November, by *la Jeunesse Dorée*, the respectability sections, and other anti-Jacobins. The attack was commenced by smashing the windows with stones, next, the doors were broken open, and then a hand-to-hand conflict with clubs, sticks, stools, tables, and chairs, took place in the body of the hall. The Jacobins, in the galleries, ran out shrieking their retreat was intercepted by Gilded Youth outside, and by a crowd four thousand strong, and were treated with great severity and indignity, many of them being whipped in the streets in the most indecent manner. [Respectability was now retailing upon cynicism in more ways than one.] The male Jacobins within the hall, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to evacuate their own fortress. On the next day they complained to the Convention of the illegal violence which had been exercised upon them, without—as they alleged—the slightest provocation on their part. I well now a member of the government as one of the committee of *Surveillance Générale*, drew up a report upon the whole matter, and made it very unfavourable to the Jacobins. "Who," said he, "covered France with mourning, carried despair into families, peopled the republic with Bastilles, rendered the republican regime so odious that a slave bending under the weight of his chains would have refused to live in it?—The Jacobins! Who regret the frightful régime under which we have been living?—The Jacobins! If you have not the courage to pronounce their dissolution at this moment, you will have no republic, for a republic cannot exist with Jacobins!" The Convention, not daring to adopt a bold measure at once, voted that the meetings of the club should be provisionally suspended, in order to allow

time for a fresh purgation or new organization. The Jacobins disregarded this decree, met in their hall this very night, and, to be better prepared against a new assault, they carried more clubs and sticks with them—not a few, it is said, carrying weapons of a more deadly sort. They had not been long assembled ere stones and other missiles whistled through the hall, and ere the whole building was surrounded by Freron's Gilded Youth, and by an auxiliary army or Thermidorian mob, more numerous and more furious than that of the preceding night, who were shouting *Vive la Convention! A bas les Jacobins!* The clubists, quitting their benches, rushed to the doors, and, shouting *Vive la République!* made a sortie, which was not altogether unsuccessful, for they took a few prisoners and broke a great many heads. But the Thermidoriens soon burst into the hall, overwhelmed the clubists with their superior numbers, disarmed them, cudgelled them soundly, and hurled or kicked them into the streets. It is worthy of note that the mad Marquis St Huruge, now a fierce anti-Jacobin, led one of the attacking columns. The next morning—a cold drizzling morning of November—the Convention sent down its commissioners and its ushers to put their seals on their register and papers, and to shut up the club—and from this moment the Mother Society ceased to exist. She had survived Robespierre not quite four months, and had been dying ever since his death. Many and terrific were the tragedies she had played, but she expired in a broad farce, to the accompaniment of bones-mots, laughter, and hooting. There were some street club and stick fights—with great breaking of heads, but apparently no loss of life—between Freron's *Jeunesse Dorée* and the discomfited Jacobins, and the only thing more came of it. If the advice of the Convention had been taken, the combat would have been a more sanguinary kind and fresh massacres, leading to accumulated vengeance, and eventually to other massacres, would have been perpetrated. This journalist had been the college companion of Robespierre, and was worthy of being the friend and disciple of Marat himself. He called upon all the youth of France, *la Jeunesse Française*, "to rouse them from their lethargic sleep, and avenge the deaths of old men, women, and children, by exterminating (yes, *exterminant* was his word) the massacres and butchers of the revolution!".... "You have closed the Jacobins," he exclaimed, "but you will do more—you will annihilate them!"

For a time the Thermidoriens clung to the revolutionary name and name of Marat, for it was considered too dangerous an experiment to attempt destroying at once so popular a prestige, so pure and perfect a symbol of the Gallican republic. Freron, who affected to write in his style, and who used his sanguinary arguments, only slightly altering them so as to adapt them to the Thermidorian youth instead of the multitude, the lowest and poorest of the people, called himself "the

cherished disciple of Marat,' boasted of having been his collaborateur in the 'Ami du Peuple,' and in his new 'Orateur du Peuple' kept apostrophizing Marat as his "political teacher," "master," "eternal model." The more the Jacobins accused the Thermidorians of counter-revolutionism, and of a departure from the holy principles of democracy, liberty, and equality, the louder the Thermidorians sang psalms to Marat, and it was to cover their mortal attack that the Convention, some weeks before locking and sealing up the *Société Mère*, decreed a new apotheosis to *l'Ami du Peuple*, with translation of his remains to the Pantheon, and, when the foul coffin of Marat was dug up from under the tiles in the Cordeliers garden, the Thermidorians, with all the rest of the honourable deputies followed it in solemn procession to the temple which the gratitude of the country had consecrated to her Great Men, and, when there, the president of the Convention delivered a long eulogistic oration over it. The bust of Mirabeau had long since disappeared, but hitherto his remains had been left undisturbed in the Pantheon, but now, as Marat's coffin was brought in at the front door Mirabeau's was heaved out at a back door "for the impure remains of a royalist plotter could not be allowed to repose near those of the true republican and real friend of the people." The people themselves completed the task of degrading the dead tribune, they dragged what was left of him through the kennels and filth of the streets, and then threw the *débris* into the foulest places. But short was the rest of the translated skin and bones of Marat under the dome of the Pantheon. *Jeanne Doré*, acting as if on its own impulses smashed the busts of *l'Ami du Peuple* in theatres, halls, committee rooms, street corners, shops, wherever they were to be found, giving their great original the well-earned epithets of butcher and monster, and at the end of January (1795), some four months after the translation, and two months after the closing of the Jacobin club (the Thermidorians being by that time bold enough and strong enough to do with ut his prestige), the Gilded Youth burst open his tomb, dragged what was left of him to the cloaca, or great sewer or cesspool, of Montmartre, and there threw them in, as dirty little boys had already thrown in the fragments of his busts with loud laughter and the brief funeral oration—"Lie there, scelerat! that is the proper Pantheon for thee!" In the National Convention these proceedings were not merely excused, but justified, and André Dumont, in the name of the united committees, presented a decree, which was forthwith passed, that the honours of the Pantheon should never again be awarded to a citizen, nor his bust placed in the National Convention, or in any public place, until ten years after his death. "Thus the very men who had Pantheonized Marat, un-Pantheonized him as soon as it suited their policy to do so." They had disgraced the dust of Rousseau by trans-

lating it to the Pantheon, and now, in the theatres and nearly all public places, the bust of Jean Jacques was substituted for that of Marat.

Carrier had been constituted a prisoner in his own house or lodging, with four gendarmes to watch him by night and by day. Several deputies, including Radfron, complained in the Convention of this treatment, and pleaded Carrier's cause as that of an honest, energetic man, who had merely obeyed his instructions and done his duty. Butcher Legendre, whose aversion to cruelty and blood was of a very recent date, fell into a mighty fury on the 23rd of November against those who recommended a delay, with an ample production of proofs, before they sent Carrier to take his trial. "What proofs?" cried Legendre. "You ask for material proofs? Well, then, if you will have them, make the waters of the Loire flow back in their bed, bring to Paris his vessels with the false bottoms, bring the corpses of the wretched victims he sacrificed—they are numerous enough to hide the living here!" That night Carrier was surprised in his bed, and, after trying to blow out his brains with a double-barrelled pistol he was carried to prison. On the way he said that the patriots would never pardon those who had prevented him from shooting himself: he hoped that his daily pay, as a deputy of the Convention, would not be stopped, and that he would be allowed an airy room in the prison, as he was accustomed to breathe the mountain air of Auvergne (his native province), and could not live without fresh air. Fourteen members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, and some sixteen or eighteen other individuals, and all of them natives or inhabitants of that town, were put in the same indictment with Carrier, and were all accused of being more sanguinary than Nero, more barbarous than Phalaris. The fusillades, the noyades, the republican marriages were all minutely described and held up to the detestation of mankind, but especial care was taken to charge Carrier and his gang with having perpetrated all these horrors with counter-revolutionary views and intentions, and in order to degrade or debase the Convention, or national representation (*ouïr la représentation nationale*) which was as false as it was true that the governing committees and the Convention itself had either expressly commanded or afterwards sanctioned the worst of their deeds. The trial lasted many days in spite of all the ingenuity of the re-organised tribunal, which laboured and lied to excuse the Convention and such members of the committees as had borne a part in the Thermidor revolution, it was proved by Carrier that their guilt, their monstrosity was nearly as great as his own, and incidents were revealed and details given which make the hair stand erect and the eye almost doubt what it is reading. Carrier repeated over and over again—and without being contradicted—that his orders from the government and the decrees of the Convention were peremptory and terrible, that other deputies in mission had been as obedient to those orders and decrees as he had been, that

of this last number, it being now declared that he, having been naturalized and made a French citizen, could not fairly be included in the law which excluded foreigners from the National Convention. As soon as these protesting and imprisoned members were released, they began to recommend the immediate recall of all such of the outlawed Girondists as yet survived, but here there was a violent and long opposition, for the Thermidorians and the new members of the committees dreaded the return of that party, although it was almost extinct, the best of it having perished so miserably, and, as the insurrections in the provinces, which had followed the events of the 31st of May, had tended to prove that these Girondists were really federalists and in connexion with royalists, and as these proofs or appearances had been proclaimed hundreds of times in the Convention, and cited by all parties in it as justifying the utmost rigour of the republic, and the total annihilation of such a faction, these Thermidorians apprehended that if they were now to recall and stretch out the hand of friendship to the surviving outlaws they would themselves be suspected of being (what the ultra Jacobins, the Robespierrists, &c. were daily calling them) counter revolutionists, federalists or royalists. "How!" cried Merlin de Douai, "would you open the gates of the Temple and set up royalty again? Would you have men say that you have shut up the Jacobin Club only in order to open the Temple?" Butcher Legendre, who had attempted to drag Lajouxians from the tribune on the terrible 31st of May, and who had ever shown himself a vehement, implicable, personal enemy of the Girondist chiefs, dreading that the return even of the few survivors might compromise his own security, asked how it was possible to think of recalling such dangerous, desperate men, who had been traversing the departments with the dagger in their hands? At last—on the 17th of December—it was decreed that neither Lajoux nor Louvet, neither Isnard nor any of the outlaws, could re-enter the bosom of the Convention, but that none of them should henceforward be pursued or troubled in any way.

Before the close of this year (1794) some further progress, though not very considerable, was made on the road of gentleness and mercy. The terrible police law of the 16th of April was moderated, and prices and nobles were no longer subjected to expulsion, banishment, and imprisonment merely on account of their caste or profession. Cambacérès proposed an amnesty for all facts relating to the revolution that were not comprised among the crimes designated in the penal code, Abbe Gregoire, the ultra-Catholic republican, who had

fall as he was lying in the Luxembourg prison a trunk with Pouquey Tiville's list in his hand went along the corridors marking with chalk the doors of such as were to be tried and executed on the morrow. Paine's room or cell had two doors. One of these doors happened to be open the turnkey (halting the prisoner) that was closed another turnkey, passing along the corridor, slammed to the open or other door so that when they came in the morning they drag out the victims and make up the fourteen for that day the sixth mark on Paine's cell was not visible and they passed onward to other doors.

kept clear of the guillotine, invoked the humanity of the Convention in favour of the multitudes of priests that were pining in prisons in all parts of France, but Boissav d'Anglas hoped that the House would adopt the severest measures against such priests as were still exciting troubles in the country. These several propositions were referred to the committees, with the evident expectation that 1795 would open as a year of mercy.

Before returning to the home affairs of England a few words must be said concerning the third partition of Poland, that deed which in its perpetration had weakened the armies of the coalition employed against France, and which, in its moral effects, threw a black cloud over the reputation of kings at a crisis when it ought to have been kept bright and spotless, and cast even a shade of obliquity over all who were attached to established governments. The French republicans, for many years, covered their own aggressions by referring to the fate of Poland, and, although in their case they added deception and mockery, calling for a while the people of the countries they overran with hopes and promises of national independence and internal freedom it is not easy to show which of their worst conquests and occupations was worse than the dismemberment and absorption of Poland by the anointed sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Among the much divided Polish nobility, whose dissensions, jealousies, mad ambition, and political immorality had kept their country distracted and weak, in a confusion and anarchy worse than what had obtained in the old feudal days of Europe while all its neighbours had been growing in strength and improving in organization and administration, was Thaddeus Kosciuszko, of an ancient



KOSCIUSKO

but not wealthy family of Lithuania, a man whose bravery, humanity, and patriotism are equally indisputable, but whose abilities, whether as a general or a statesman, are liable to some questioning. In the dearth of truly great men in modern times, and in their enthusiastic and laudable admiration of his gallantry and entire honesty, the Polish patriots have been wont to attribute more greatness and genius to the gallant soldier than ever belonged to

him (his amiable and generous qualities they could scarcely exaggerate), but at the same time it is but fair to state that, even had Kosciuszko been as great and able a man as he is represented, it may be doubted whether he would have succeeded in his grand enterprise of driving out the three great powers from his native country—a country, for the most part, open and ill-calculated for defensive war, and most of the strong places in which were occupied by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Kosciuszko, in his early life, had resided a considerable time in France, studying the science of war. While yet a very young man, he had volunteered to accompany Lafayette to America; he served for some time as aide-de-camp to Washington, and his services to our revolted colonists had obtained for him the rank of a general officer, and, after the war, a pension from the United States. The school or schools in which he had studied had given him a preference for republican institutions, but he had no excessiveness or extravagance in his political opinions, and seems to have agreed that the government best suited to his country would be a representative monarchy, in which the aristocracy should have its due share and influence. With some of the patriot nobles who had adhered to the constitution of 1793, and had gallantly fought the overwhelming forces of the empress Catherine, Kosciuszko had fled into Saxony. From Dresden and Leipzig these unhappy exiles corresponded with their friends who remained at home under the harsh rule of Russian ministers and Russian generals, and concerted with them the means of attempting one struggle more for the independence of their native country. What followed is variously told, according to the predilections of party or of private friendship. Some accounts state that the fugitives and exiles, anxious to regain their homes, precipitated the plan; others state that the patriots who remained in their country, suffering under the insolence and arrogance and oppressions of the Czarini's agents, who were instructed to drive matters to extremity, were the more impatient and imprudent party. One thing is perfectly clear—the plan was precipitated, and the insurrection broke out at an inauspicious moment, and before half the preparations it was really in their power to make had been made in Poland. The outbreak was hurried on by an order from Catherine's minister for the immediate reduction of the Polish army to 15,000 men. The permanent council of government, which had been set up by Stanislaus Augustus under the dictation of Catherine, complied with this mandate, and issued the necessary orders, and, if the patriots had been wise, they also would have complied, if only in order to gain time. There was not much to lose by this course, for the Polish army actually organized and on foot consisted only of some 30,000 men, and it would not have been difficult to have recalled the 15,000 disbanded men at any given moment, or when their other preparations, including the recall of 50,000 and more troops who had been disbanded already,

should be in a state of maturity or of greater forwardness. But the Polish patriots, ever impetuous and rash, resolved to strike the blow now, rather than suffer the reduction of a single regiment of the small and scattered army—for the 30,000 men were not even collected on one point but spread all over the country, in order to keep them weak and inefficient, and most of these detachments were closely watched by detachments of Russians, superior in number in appointment, and, perhaps, in discipline. The great engine on which the patriots relied was clubism, or an organized system of secret societies, the head or mother society being established at Warsaw, the capital, and the affiliated societies being in the provincial towns and villages. It may be doubted whether such a machine ever worked perfectly well, and at this time there was a panic dread and horror, in all Europe of such political means. In private conversation George III., while regretting the inability of England to do anything at this moment to avert the fate of Poland, and deploring its inevitable doom, was accustomed to say, "But are not the Poles all Jacobins? Look at their clubs! Look at their secret societies!"* It is said that Kosciuszko had no very great reliance on this clubism, that in the autumn of 1793 he secretly sent his friend and companion Zajoncsek to Warsaw, and that he reported that the members of the conspiracy were too enthusiastic, that their only connection with the army was through Madalinski, Dzialynski, and a few subalterns. Madalinski, a general officer, vowed he would risk everything if they attempted to oblige him to disband his brigade, and Kapustas, a banker of Warsaw, strenuously exerted himself, in various ways, in order to give activity, spirit, and unanimity to the clubs, and rouse the people from their unpatriotic lethargy. A supreme committee of four had been appointed, the ultra revolutionaries, the men who would have imitated the ultra revolutionists of France (*and there were such men, there was such a party, in Poland*), would have preferred Lasinski, but Kosciuszko enjoyed the general confidence of the patriots, his judgment was regarded almost as infallible, and with something like unanimity, or with far more agreement and mutual goodwill than usually attended the elections and deliberations of his countrymen, Kosciuszko was appointed chief and generalissimo of the confederacy. The wretched king, who had always despaired of success, and who foresaw that this premature struggle must end in his total dethronement, in the ruin of all the patriot nobles, and in the extinction of his country as a nation, became acquainted with the operations and intentions of the clubists, and with the secret comings and goings of the exiles in Saxony. In the hope of preventing the hopeless outburst he gave some information to Catherine's minister. In gustom, in consequence of which Zajoncsek, Kosciuszko's comrade and one of the chiefs of the confederacy, was discovered in Warsaw, and ordered

* Private information on

to quit the kingdom—a mildness of treatment which seems to prove either that Stanislaus did not tell all he knew, or that Catherine was really anxious and impatient for the insurrection, in order to have the opportunity of finishing in her old age what she had begun in her prime, of terminating a business which had occupied her mind for the better part of half a century. It was agreed by the comitatus that Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland, on the left bank of the Vistula, should be the rendezvous of the patriots in arms, and the point of junction to all such columns, regiments, companies, brigades, or squadrons, as could traverse the kingdom from their scattered positions and cantonments. Some money, it is said, was procured from France, the leaders men of the National Convention having been made to feel by some of the Polish patriots at Paris, the advantage of exciting a powerful diversion against Prussia.

In the month of March, Malinski received positive orders to disband his brigade. Instead of obeying, he sounded his horn and saddle, quitting his quarters at Pultusk, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, he marched off with his brigade, about 700 strong, for Cracow. On his way he traversed a part of the territory which had been partitioned out to the king of Prussia, and, as the Prussians had proved even harder taskmasters than the Muscovites, and as no doubt could be entertained that Frederick William, and the emperor Francis likewise, would make common cause with Catherine, and assist her in quenching with blood the last sparks of Polish independence, he fell upon and beat all such Prussian detachments as he met, made prisoners, hurried the civil authorities appointed by Frederick William, and levied contributions. In this manner to use the words of one of the noble confederates, the Poles began, as it left to Providence the issue of the riskiest enterprise that man could conceive.* Malinski reached Cracow towards the end of March, and raised the standard of independence, which attracted fewer of the common people than the patriots had expected. Kosciuszko arrived from Saxony a day or two after, he had no troops to bring but his fame and the magic of his name made the standard of independence more attractive, and brought numbers of enthusiastic young men of the higher and middling classes to join the thin ranks of the patriotic army. Oaths of obedience, and almost of allegiance, were taken to him, he was invested with all powers, civil and military—with the full and absolute powers of a dictator, the choice of the members of a provisional government, or national council of government, was left entirely to his own will, and it is said to have been only his own good sense, modesty, and moderation, which prevented their empowering him to nominate a successor to his more than kingly office. At this time Thaddeus Kosciuszko was in the 39th year of his age, full of health and vigour, and capable of enduring excessive privations and fatigues. In his quality of dic-

tator he instantly imposed a property-tax, which indisposed not a few minds to the cause,* and called upon all nobles and citizens to join his standard, or to adopt measures to facilitate its progress from Cracow to Warsaw, from the Vistula to the Niemen, and onward to the farthest limits of Lithuania, his own native province, which longest of all had been possessed by the Russians. Soon, in conjunction with the National Council, he issued proclamations enfranchising all the peasants, who had hitherto been neither more nor less than serfs, like the same class in Russia, and calling upon them to arm themselves as best they could, and to fall upon the enemies of their country and of all national and personal liberty. Kosciuszko was not to blame in this, but unfortunately the emancipation came too late, and with hurry and confusion in a moment of crisis. The degraded serfs of Poland could not be all at once elevated to the dignity of citizens, or converted into enthusiastic patriots. Some of them scarcely understood the advantages offered them, some thought that the benefit had been withheld until the moment when the noble and wealthy classes found they could not do without them, some doubted that the fine promises given in a season of danger and distress would not be kept when the peril was over, and from these and various other causes the proclamation of enfranchisement produced but a very partial effect. Many of the serfs did indeed fight bravely. But it appears that these men principally belonged to the patriotic nobles who had confederated, and that the vassals of such magnates as were neutral and of such as were of the Russian party (and this last class of unpatriotic nobles was not inconsiderable in number), remained deaf and blind to the charms of the proclamation, and continued to look to their lords as the absolute masters and directors of their actions and their will, of their souls and bodies. At the same time the proclamation, while it carried alarm among the nobles of Russia, the magnates of the emperor's Hungarian dominions, and all the serfholding aristocrats in the north-east of Europe, scared and irritated that very considerable body of the Polish nobles who had so strenuously opposed even a gradual enfranchisement, and who looked upon their serfs as our West India planters looked upon their negro slaves. The middle class, which constitutes the great strength of civilized nations, was in Poland exceedingly small and weak—in the very weakness of infancy, for it was only of late years that it had begun to have a recognizable existence. "In our country," says Oginski, "there was really no *tiers Etat*, and the people were plunged in ignorance."

Early in April Kosciuszko marched from Cracow at the head of 4000 men, who were for the most part armed with scythes and other agricultural implements. He had no field artillery, but little im-

* Count Michael Oginski. *Memoirs sur la Pologne*. See Polish.

* I soon discovered to my sorrow, says Oginski, that the happy victims of Warsaw, employed for the most part in marked indifference for the success of our arms.

nition, and no stores of any kind yet, when he encountered, at Racławice, a village on the road between Cracow and Warsaw, an army of 12,000 or 13,000 men, he thoroughly defeated it after a bloody battle which lasted five hours, killed 3000 of the Russians, made many prisoners, and took eleven cannon. This success immediately brought him a considerable accession of strength, and some of the nobles who had hitherto been wavering began to repair to his standard. Ingestrom was in consternation, and almost in despair, writing to St. Petersburg "*that he had no hope but in G. I. and the good cause of his country*." On the 17th of April the Polish garrison of Warsaw, about 4000 strong, unfurled the banner of independence, attacked the Russian troops in the town, about 8000 strong, gained possession of the arsenal and magazines, and distributed arms and ammunition to the populace. After some murderous and bloody street fighting—it lasted, with slight intermission, for two days and two nights—the Russians were driven out of Warsaw, with the loss of more than 4000 men in killed and prisoners. On the 23rd of April Kosciuszko's countrymen, the Lithuanians, burst into insurrection at Wilna, and, after a sanguinary contest, drove the Russian garrison out of that capital city. At this juncture Frederick William, who, but for Poland, might have doubled or even tripled his army on the French frontier (being aided by the liberal English subsidy), marched 40,000 Prussians into the palatinate of Cracow. This force effected a junction with a large Russian corps, and within a few days his Prussian majesty arrived and put himself at the head of his army. Towards the end of May Kosciuszko, with 16,000 regular troops and about 10,000 volunteers and armed peasants, marched away from Warsaw to defend the city of Cracow. On the 5th of June he fought the united Prussians and Russians at Racławice, and was defeated with the loss of 1000 men. He put into his dispatch, or bulletin, that he had killed a great many more of the enemy, but Prussia and Russia could better bear the loss of thousands than he could of hundreds. Three days after this affair another Polish corps was defeated and almost annihilated at Chelm, and on the 15th of June the ancient city of Cracow, the fountain head of the insurrection, surrendered, after a short siege, to the King of Prussia. The patriot army retreated in good order, and took possession of an intrenched camp at Prucka-Wola, about three leagues from Warsaw. Kosciuszko had committed the old and seemingly incurable blunder of dividing his forces when he marched from Warsaw with such a diminutive force, he had from 40,000 to 50,000, or according to other accounts from 60,000 to 70,000 men of all kinds, including some admirable light cavalry, under arms. It is said—but the thing is scarcely credible, or, if credible, highly discreditable—that he was not aware of the junction of the King of Prussia's army with the Russians, and, even if he had been in this

state of ignorance, it behoved him to keep his army together, to collect the mass of it on one point, in order to strike one great blow at a time. The Russians that were expected to cross the Niemen were absent at a distance, no division of his army could be capable of opposing their progress when they came, but, if he had taken the whole of his force with him into the palatinate of Cracow, he might have defeated and exterminated the Prussians and the Russians that were there, and then have wheeled round in good time to meet the fresh army of the Czarina on the Niemen. The reverse he sustained, and the spiritless behaviour of the citizens of Cracow, greatly depressed some of the patriots, and drove others of them into a mad and bloody fury. Generally the Poles are a very excitable people, the political clubs in several parts had too closely imitated the Jacobin societies of France, had often roused suspicion and inflamed the passions by violent demagogic oratory, and among the citizens and patriots of Warsaw there were a few individuals who had attentively studied and were quite ready to imitate the deeds of the Parisians. Like that fierce democracy, they attributed the ill-success of their arms to treason and traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Upon the expulsion of the Russians from the city, the many whom they had imprisoned were liberated, and the partisans, both real and only suspected, of the Czarina were arrested and confined. As at Paris, the report was spread that these prisoners were the chief traitors and conspirators, the provisional government was accused of negligence in not bringing them to trial and execution, and the principle was promulgated that the people ought to do what their government had left undone. On the 27th of June a young headstrong clubbish sort of an incipient Polish Camille Desmoulins or Marat, harangued the rabble of Warsaw into a savage madness. On the following day they demanded the immediate execution of the political prisoners, and, upon meeting with a refusal, they burst open the prisons, and began to hang their wretched inmates in twelve gibbets which had been erected in different quarters of the city during the preceding night. They had dispatched eight victims when Żukrowski, the president of the city, who enjoyed the universal esteem of the people, nobly despising all personal danger from the mob, threw himself among them, placed his own breast between the prisoners and their swords, harangued them till his voice became hoarse and inaudible, then threw himself on his knees, and with joined and uplifted hands prayed them not to disgrace the Polish name by such cruelty and injustice. The people separated, the imitation of the Parisian Septemberists was cut short, no more murders were perpetrated, and tranquillity was promptly restored.

Kosciuszko felt most acutely this revolutionary blot. On the following day he said to Count Oginski, who found him at an early hour lying upon straw in a rude tent, "This will be an inde-

lible stain on the history of our revolution! The loss of two battles would have done us less harm: our enemies will take advantage of what has happened to represent us in an unfavourable light to the eyes of all Europe! The populace have indulged in unpardonable excesses, which I must punish severely." An active investigation was ordered, and seven of the ringleaders, including the young m.b.-orator, were hanged on the gibbets which they had erected for the prisoners.

The emperor of Germany observed a strict neutrality down to the end of June, but on the last day of that month he announced his intention of sending an army into Little Poland—"to prevent," said his manifest, "the danger to which the frontiers of Galicia might be exposed as well as to insure the safety and tranquillity of the other states of his imperial majesty." An Austrian army presently crossed the frontiers, meeting with no opposition and offering no molestation to any of the Poles. The united armies of the Prussians and Russians, counting in all 50 000 men of which 40 000 belonged to his Prussian majesty, advanced from Cracow upon Warsaw, which city had been hastily fortified at the commencement of the insurrection. Kosciuszko, who remained in his intrenched and fortified camp at Prucka-Wola, did not risk a general battle, but cruelly harassed the enemy and prevented their regular progress in the siege of Warsaw, by numerous sorties and night attacks. On the 27th of July, on the 1st and on the 3rd of August the Prussians and Russians sustained severe losses: other attacks followed in rapid succession; they tried to bombard the town, but did that work so badly that hardly a house in it was injured. At the same time other Polish detachments under Dombrowski, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, and other brave leaders gained signal advantages in other quarters, and, while his Prussian majesty was wasting his time and his strength in fruitless endeavours to take Warsaw, the inhabitants of the Polish provinces which had recently been ceded to him flew to arms and endeavoured to dispossess him of all those acquisitions, and of every inch of ground he held in Poland. This news obliged him, on the night of the 5th of September, to heat a sudden retreat, and to leave his sick and wounded, and a good part of his baggage behind him. Kosciuszko did not follow his disheartened and disordered enemies: it is said that he had been left in ignorance of the cause of their hasty retiring, and thus fancied that the movement was a feint intended to draw him from his fortified camp. After some delay he detached Dombrowski with a considerable corps to co-operate with the new insurgents. Dombrowski evinced the intention of throwing off the yoke, but a strong Prussian garrison restrained the patriots. The insurrection, however, became general and the whole of Great Poland with the exception of a few towns, fell into the possession of the Poles. In the conflicts which took place the Poles accused the Prussians of being guilty of excessive cruelty: the

Prussians retorted the charge upon the Poles, and it appears that both parties were ferocious and bloody. Kosciuszko, who was not engaged here, was a man of humane and generous feelings, but Dombrowski was of a different character—or at least, wherever he commanded and his legion fought, now, and hereafter when they had become the mercenaries of the French republic, and afterwards of Napoleon Buonaparte, great barbarities were committed. While these bright gleams of success cheered the Poles at Warsaw and in Great Poland, their cause, weakly and miserably defended, fell into ruin in Lithuania. Kosciuszko and his officers patiently submitted to every privation, to beds of straw, to scarce and coarse food, to ragged and dirty attire, in order to be able to give more food and clothing to the common soldiers, but the camp of the patriot army of Lithuania, established at nine leagues beyond Wilna, presented a very different scene: the greater part of the officers of the staff gambled excessively in the very quarters of the general, where there was daily a well-served, luxurious table: and at the same time the soldiers were left to suffer from scarcity and hunger: the horses were perishing for want of proper food, and Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, was abandoned to its fate, no means being adopted to provide for its defence. The Russian party, moreover, was stronger in that country than in the other parts of Poland, and the introduction of the patriots gave them encouragement and confidence: fierce jealousies and dissensions broke out between the patriotic citizens of Wilna and the patriotic army. Clouds of Cossacks gathered round the place as early as the end of July, and on the 12th of August, twenty-four days before the retreat of the King of Prussia from Warsaw, a strong Russian army entered Wilna, after a bombardment of eleven hours, but without committing any of the excesses of which they have been accused.*

In the meanwhile the formidable Suwaroff was advancing by forced marches upon Warsaw, and



SUWAROFF

driving all the forces of Lithuania before him. In two or three places these Lithuanians made a bold

* Oshkoff

stand, but their forces, miserably inferior as they were collectively in point of number, were unwisely divided and scattered. A sanguinary affair on the 19th of September opened the road for Suvaroff to the Polish capital. Kosciuszko advanced to Grodno, gave the command of the army of Lithuania to a better general, and then retracing his steps he threw himself between two Russian armies, one under Count Fersen and the other under Suvaroff, who were moving from opposite points in the view of effecting a junction somewhere between Grodno and Warsaw. If the Polish hero had collected and brought with him the whole army of Lithuania, and if he had not detached Dombrowski into Great Poland, he might have fallen upon Fersen with a superior force, and then have turned round with an army elate with victory upon Suvaroff, and, though Poland was scarcely to be saved from the crushing weight of her three great and greedy neighbours, her doom might have been averted for this year at least, but matters had been so managed that Kosciuszko, who attacked Fersen near Maciejowice, about fifty miles from Warsaw, on the 10th of October, could bring into action only 20 000 or 21 000 men—Fersen having triple that number, and a similar superiority in artillery and general appointment. The Poles fought desperately. The Russians sustained a terrific loss but the battle terminated in the entire rout of the patriots, half of whom perished on the field or in the flight. Kosciuszko apparently displayed the most chivalrous or romantic bravery, but little or no strategy or generalship. When his cause was desperate he rushed into the midst of his enemies, at the head of the *élite* of his cavalry and of his principal and bravest officers. He fell, together with his horse, covered with wounds, and nearly all who followed him were either killed or taken prisoners. He lay for some time senseless among the dead, but was then recognised in spite of his disfiguring wounds, and his simple and coarse uniform. At mention of his name some Cossacks, who had approached with the intention of plundering and stripping him, testified a profound respect and a generous feeling. They made a rude bier with their lances, put him upon it and carried him to General Fersen, who ordered his wounds to be attended to, and treated the fallen hero and his comrades in misfortune with great respect and kindness. The imperial woman that occupied the throne of the Czars was less generous than her Cossacks and her general. As soon as Kosciuszko was able to travel, he was conveyed to St. Petersburg, and condemned, as a Lithuanian and rebellious subject of Russia, to imprisonment for life—and mured of course, by Catherine herself, without the ceremony of a trial.

The victory of Maciejowice removed every obstacle to the junction of the two Russian armies, and a few marches brought the united forces to the neighbourhood of Warsaw. The hopes even of the most sanguine and enthusiastic patriots had expired with the fall of Kosciuszko, but, like brave

men, they resolved not to submit to their hard fate without some further struggle. On the 26th of October a body of them fought the *van* division under Fersen, but were driven back to their intrenchments. Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw, separated from the city by the Vistula, as the borough of Southwark is separated from the city of London by the Thames, had been hastily but strongly fortified. Its batteries mounted 100 cannon, and the surviving part of the flower of the Polish army was collected within its walls. This bulwark lay between Suvaroff and Warsaw, and must be taken. As he sat down before it he received intelligence that the King of Prussia, from the opposite side of the river, was marching with all speed upon the Polish capital. It neither suited Suvaroff's military pride nor his mistress's policy to permit the Prussians to gain possession of the city, and therefore every nerve was strained to carry Praga and cross the Vistula before Frederick William should come up. On the 4th of November, at break of day, the energetic semi-barbarian ordered a general attack. For four hours the Poles stood well to their guns, and their grape and canister shot inflicted a terrible loss, but Suvaroff, who cared little for the lives of a few thousand men, more or less, precipitated column upon column, drove forward the attacking parties, assaulted all parts of the intrenchments at once, and at the end of the four hours burst into Praga with an overwhelming force. Then followed a massacre as bloody as that which he had perpetrated at Ismail. Twelve thousand inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, were butchered in the streets and in the houses, no quarter was given to the brave Polish soldiers who had so thinned many of the attacking columns, and 8,000 of them perished either in defending the place, or helplessly after its capture. During the heat of the combat the Russians had succeeded in burning the bridge which afforded the only communication between Praga and Warsaw. Many of the Poles were drowned in attempting to swim across the river. When the suburb was running with blood and heaped with dead bodies, the Russians set fire to the four corners of it, and, as the houses were, for the most part, built of wood, the whole place, in the course of a few hours, was reduced to ashes. All this cruelty was intended to strike terror into the citizens of Warsaw, and it had that effect. The magistrates, on the afternoon of the 4th, sent a deputation to Suvaroff, who dictated his own terms of capitulation, and took possession of the city on the 6th of November. The Polish corps and detachments left scattered in Lithuania, in Great Poland, and other parts of the country, laid down their arms and retired to their homes, or entered the Russian service for bread or by compulsion, or fled in small parties to seek service in France. Russia, Prussia, Austria, each punished all such of the chiefs of the confederates—or all of them that fell into their hands—as were natives of the provinces they had respectively seized, considering and

treating them as revolted subjects. Austria was the least and Prussia the most severe of the three; albeit the Czarina sent some few of the Polish nobles into Siberian exile. The independence of the country had really been gone long before, but now its name as a nation was blotted out, the co-partitioners resolving to appropriate every inch of the country to themselves, to govern it by their own laws, and to treat the whole of it as conquered territory. It was not, however, until the 24th of October, 1795, that this last partition-treaty was finally settled, and certain minor arrangements between Prussia and Austria, touching the Palatinate of Cracow, were not settled till the 21st of October, 1796. The unhappy Stanislaus Augustus, who had never been a king except in name, was obliged to go to Grodno and there sign a formal but empty and invalid act of abdication. He accepted an annual pension of 200,000 ducats from the three partitioning powers, who further promised to pay his debts. On the death of Catherine, towards whom he had stood in so many different relations, he removed from Grodno to St Petersburg, where he finished his chequered and dishonoured career in the month of February, 1798, about fifteen months after the demise of the Czarina.

The British parliament opened on the 30th of December, but before proceeding to its debates a few interesting circumstances which had occurred since the prorogation must be briefly noticed. In the month of July some important changes in the cabinet took place. The old Whig or Portland party, the ornament and strength of which had been Burke, formed a coalition or junction with the ministry, whom, ever since the alarming progress of the French revolution, they had backed and supported against the new Whigs or Foxites. The Duke of Portland received the order of the garter and the office of third Secretary of State, Earl Fitzwilliam was made President of the Council, and, in December following, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Spencer became Lord Privy Seal, and, in December, First Lord of the Admiralty (an office which was thought to have been rather incompetently filled by Pitt's elder brother, the Earl of Chatham, who now took the Privy Seal), Mr Windham, who prided himself on being the political pupil of Burke, became Secretary-at-War in lieu of Sir George Yonge, Loughborough, who had identified himself with this party, had already been for some time Lord Chancellor.

Notwithstanding the bad success which had in England attended the crown prosecutions, the government resolved to proceed against some other conspicuous members of political societies. On the 6th of October the grand jury of Middlesex returned true bills against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, Richard Hodgson, and John Baxter, for high treason. Hardy, who had been secretary and a

very active functionary to the Corresponding Society, was the first put upon his trial, which took place before Lord Chief Justice Eyre (a judge, even for his time, much given to hanging), Lord Chief Baron Macdonald, Mr Baron Hotham, Mr Justice Buller, Mr Justice Grise, and others of his Majesty's justices &c, under a special commission, at the Old Bailey. He was charged with nine overt acts of high treason. The charge was opened by the Attorney General (Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon) in a speech of nine hours, in which all the particulars mentioned in the reports of the secret committee of the club or society were dwelt upon, and the papers of the society to which the prisoner was secretary (or all of those papers that could be found) were produced in evidence against him. Several of these papers were such as no cool and rational Englishman ought to have set his name to, some of them contained principles and doctrines which, if adopted and carried out by any large portion of the nation must have led to a revolution which would only have been dissimilar to that of France from the national and natural antipathy of the people to any long continuation of cruelty and bloodshed, and there were in some of these papers eulogiums on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and on the conduct of the French revolutionists, calculated to irritate and alarm all lovers of the British constitution and friends of humanity. It was proved that there was a very close connexion between the Corresponding Society and the men (now convicted and transported) who had got up the Convention at Edinburgh, and that Marquis de La Fayette, the worst of that set, was the friend of and had been most intimately linked with Hardy. But, though some of the witnesses spoke of dangerous, concealed intentions, not one of them deserving of any credit, mentioned Hardy personally, the proceedings of the society were of public notoriety, most of the papers the crown lawyers produced had been published by Hardy or a committee in the newspapers, and it was made to appear that, however imprudent or illegal might have been some of the means they had proposed, but not acted upon, of obtaining their end, their sole object was a sweeping parliamentary reform. This reform would have thrown the constitution under the feet of the democracy, but the thing had not happened, nor was it likely to happen; the demagogic strength was contemptible, and a humane jury shrunk from the horrible penalty attendant on a conviction for high treason. The trial lasted eight days, ending, on the 5th of November, in a verdict of acquittal.*

The trial of Horne Tooke, which next followed, and which commenced on the 17th of November, occupied six days, and was made remarkable by the perfect self-possession, the wit, the acuteness, and the dialectics of the accused, and by the persons he summoned as witnesses—persons who had

* The jury had slept at the Hammam every night from the 20th of October attended by the proper officers of the court sworn in the usual form.

once been in reality, or pretence, or to serve a present purpose, not parliamentary reformers, and in this category were the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance, and Pitt himself, the prime minister, who was obliged to answer from the witness box the searching questions which the prisoner put to him from the bar concerning the not very remote days when they had met as brother reformers under the roof of the Thatched House Tavern. Tooke also adopted an



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language, which was very proper and potent to exonerate himself, but not so well calculated to justify the political societies. He had, he said, belonged to these reforming societies for a certain time and had gone along with them to a certain legal length, but no farther. If he took a plea by a Wind-or-coach to be put down at Hounslow, was it to be inferred that he had gone the whole way, and must be answerable for what passed in the coach after he had left it. The jury, on the 22nd of November, and at a late hour of the evening, brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.* A loose impression has rather generally obtained that it was the wit and ability of this very remarkable man that took the sting out of the government prosecutions, rendered political high treason trials less perilous than a common process for misbehaviour, and secured the lives and fortunes of all those who had been indicted with him, but long before Horne Tooke was brought to the bar of the Old Bailey the trial of Walker, at Lancaster, and other trials and proceedings had proved that English juries would not give verdicts of guilty in any such cases, and the acquittal of Hardy had, in fact, deprived Tooke's trial of nearly all its political importance, and had insured his acquittal, even if he had been as dull and obtuse as he was quick and sharp.

On the 1st of December Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, the well-known dramatic writer, and the author of one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography that exist in our

* The jury did not then permit to be read from the time of taking down the trial till after they had delivered the verdict. They slept till ten in Coffin House every night attended by the officers of the court &c.

language, were put to the bar, but the attorney-general stated that, as the evidence adduced on the two last trials and the evidence which applied to the prisoners was the same, and as, after the best consideration, those persons had been acquitted, he would submit to the jury and the court whether the prisoners should not be acquitted also, and that for this end and purpose he would not trouble them by going into evidence. The Lord Chief Justice told the jury that, as there was no evidence they must, of course, find the prisoners not guilty, and the jury gave a formal verdict accordingly. The acquitted prisoners all bowed to the court and retired, except Holcroft, the author, who was anxious to speak or read a long defence which he had written in his prison. The Lord Chief Justice told Holcroft that, having been acquitted, he had no right to address one word either to the court or the jury. The author persisted, and apparently in no very gentle manner he would not, he said, detain the court more than half an hour. Baron Hotham called upon the keeper of Newgate to do his duty and remove the prisoner. Holcroft then begged to be permitted to say one word. The Lord Chief Justice said that, if he would be reasonable, and confine himself within compass, he would not stop him, but that a speech of half an hour was not a thing to be endured.

The author said that, as he found the judgment of the court wished him to withdraw, he must take some other means of publishing his sentiments upon the prosecution. The Chief Justice told him he had better take care of that, or he might get into another scrap as soon as he was relieved from this, and then Holcroft withdrew, saying he was very willing to suffer for what he conceived to be right. He soon printed his intended speech, and apparently without getting into any trouble on that account. On the same day that he and the three others were acquitted, Thelwall was brought to the bar, and, it being assumed that there was evidence against him of a nature different from that which had been produced against the rest of the indicted, his trial was allowed to go on. It occupied no less than four days, and also terminated in a verdict of acquittal. Upon this succession of acquittals the government let drop various other prosecutions, and the prisoners were released. All the more liberal part of the nation joined in celebrating the honour and spirit of English juries, and many, who were no friends to the political societies, and no admirers of the objects of the accused parties, united in praise of a free and unbiassed trial by jury. These feelings were, perhaps, made the keener by the result of some other state trials which had taken place before a special commission at Edinburgh. On the 14th of August Robert Watt, late citizen of Edinburgh, and an embarrassed tradesman, was brought to the bar charged with eighteen overt acts of high treason, the most significant of which were that he had agreed to cause and procure the meeting of divers subjects under the name of a Convention, for

the purpose of assuming to themselves the powers of government and legislation, that he had instigated and incited persons to send delegates to such convention, that he had conspired with other false traitors to oblige, by force, the king to alter the measures of government, to comply with certain unlawful demands, &c., and consent to the introduction of regulations and measures respecting the government of the kingdom, that he had conspired and agreed to seize the castle of Edinburgh by force of arms, with guns, pikes, spears, battle axes, &c., that he had composed, printed, published, and dispersed certain malicious, wicked, and treasonable papers, inciting people to subscribe money for the use of him and his political clubs, that he had hired and employed one John Fairley to distribute such papers, and to incite the king's subjects to give assurance of support, and to remit such money as should be collected, &c., that he had employed the said John Fairley to instigate the people to take up arms, that he had further employed one William Brown and one Robert Orrock to make and procure arms, having paid them money for the same. It was borne out by the crown witnesses, some of whom had been his associates and brother club-men, and who now betrayed him, as he, at one time, was ready to betray them, that Watt had been a foremost member of the secret committee, and of the committee of ways and means of the society, that he had kept in his house the types (set up) of a very seditious address to the soldiery, and had caused a copy of the address to be given to a sergeant in Lord Hopbourn's Fencibles, with the view of making that regiment mutinous, that he had caused to be made certain pikes (not 50 in all) and had kept 16 of the said pikes concealed in his own house (where they were found), and that he had often discussed a wild plan for getting possession of the Castle of Edinburgh, of all the banking-houses in the city, and of the persons of all the judges, &c. No opportunity was neglected by the crown lawyers to identify the designs and proceedings of Watt with those of Muir Palmer, and the others who had been transported, and of Thomas Hardy and the others whose trial was yet to come on in England. Some very violent letters, signed by Hardy as secretary to the London Corresponding Society, were read in evidence. The counsel for the prisoner (Mr Henry Erskine) said he would read his defence on a correspondence carried on between the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, and Robert Watt, by which it would appear that the prisoner had been a spy in the employment of government, and had attended the meetings of the Friends of the People with no other view than that of giving information of their proceedings. A letter from the prisoner to Mr Secretary Dundas was read. It stated that he (Watt) did not approve of the dangerous political principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and that, as a friend to the constitution, he thought it his duty to communicate

to him, as a good subject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of those who styled themselves the Friends of the People, that, from his acquaintance with several of the leading men of that society, he flattered himself he had this in his power. The letter mentioned that he knew some of these leading men in Perth, Dundee, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, (three of the Edinburgh men were named,) and concluded with enjoining secrecy. To this letter a speedy answer was returned from London, which was also read in court. Secretary Dundas acknowledged the receipt of Watt's letter, and, after expressing a hope that things were not so bad as he had represented, desired him to go on, assuring him that he might depend upon the strictest secrecy—that he was perfectly safe in any correspondence he might hold with him. Another letter from Secretary Dundas to Mr Ritchie, the prisoner's agent, was next read, in answer to one from Ritchie requesting Mr Dundas to return such letters as the prisoner had written to him. The secretary's answer to this was that all the letters he had received from Watt had been delivered to the lord-advocate. It otherwise appeared—and it was afterwards so stated by the prisoner, in his dying confession—that the secretary turned him over to the lord-advocate, recommending him to correspond with that legal functionary, and that he did correspond with the lord-advocate from some time in 1792 till August or September, 1793, when all such intercourse was stopped, and he (Watt), ceasing to be a government spy, became, in reality, what before he had only pretended to be, a hot reformer. The lord-advocate assuming that in danger as times government must avail themselves of the services of spies, or obtain information by any means that suited themselves, said that he had admitted "at night" and several times conversed with the prisoner at his own house, that the prisoner had at one time given him some information respecting the disaffection of a portion of a regiment which he thought of importance, but which, upon inquiry, he found to be false or ill founded, that in March, 1793, an offer had been made to him by the prisoner to disclose some very important secrets, provided he would give the prisoner 1000*l*, that he had absolutely refused, but that, some time after, upon the prisoner's representation that he was in great distress to discharge a bill of 30*l*, which he Watt said he had been obliged to give to two men who had given him information, he had sent him a draft for that sum. All this, the lord-advocate said, had happened previously to the meeting of the Convention at Edinburgh, since which time, or at least since October, 1793, he did not recollect seeing or having had any connexion with Mr Watt. Mr Hamilton, the junior counsel for the prisoner, dwelt upon the correspondence between the secretary, the lord-advocate, and his client, endeavouring to show that the prisoner had not deserted the service in which he had engaged, but had not had an opportunity of performing it

effectually till the very moment that he was apprehended as a principal plotter and conspirator Watt, he said, was nothing more nor less than a paid spy of government, and every one knew that a spy was obliged to assume not only the appearance of those whose secrets he meant to betray, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent suspicion or discovery. Thus a spy in an army was often obliged to wear a uniform of the enemy, and even to appear in arms against his country, and would it not be hard indeed to put such a spy, if taken, to death for having had recourse to the means necessary for the discharge of the duty or service he had undertaken? All the proceedings of the trial occupied five days, but, in the end, the jury brought in their verdict—Guilty. On the 5th of September Samuel Downie, a silver smith of Edinburgh, who had been closely connected with Watt, was put upon his trial, charged with high treason, and with eighteen overt acts, the same as those with which Watt had been charged. The evidence was also nearly the same, but the character of the man was different, and the jury, in giving their verdict against him (on the 6th of September), unanimously recommended him to mercy. The Lord President, who sat at the head of the special commission, pronounced sentence of death upon both prisoners, to be executed by hanging, boweling, beheading, and quartering. Downie was reprieved, and, in the end, received the king's free pardon, but Watt was drawn on a hurdle, painted black, to the west end of the Luckenbooths, and hanged until he was dead, on the 10th of October. That part of the sentence which related to boweling and quartering had been previously remitted, but, when the body was taken down from the gallows, it was stretched upon a table, and the executioner, with two blows of the axe, cut off the head, which was received in a basket, and then held up to the multitude, while the executioner called aloud "This is the head of a traitor, and so perish all traitors!" Watt died, as he had lived, a shuffling, selfish, canting, cowardly scoundrel. In the confession which he wrote on the evening before his execution, when all hope of a reprieve had abandoned him, he declared that, after the cessation of his correspondence with the lord advocate, his "mind changed in favour of reform," that, "being naturally ambitious and enterprising," he advised the formation of the committee of ways and means, and the secret committee, approved of and got printed the "Address to the Fencibles," and other seditious papers, that he had sent John Fairley and others "through the country to sound the public mind and to give instructions," that he had conceived matters to be ripe for a rising, or "that there remained almost nothing to do, for the execution of the whole, but a visit to England and Ireland by intelligent and confidential persons," that he had planned how to seize Edinburgh Castle, the post-office, other public offices, the banks, the judges, the city magistrates, the commander-in-chief, &c., together

with "*the property of such persons as were deemed inimical to liberty*;" that his views in all this were the good of society, and not robbery and murder, although he would not say but his own interest was blended in these views ("*for who is he, that if he serves society, but will naturally expect a reward*"), that he had hoped, by means of a successful revolution of the three kingdoms, to be able to pay his creditors, and, finally, that he sorely repented him of all that he had done and planned, being now convinced that it was the duty of all sincere Christians to give honour to whom honour is due, and fear to whom fear, "and to leave the reformation of abuses in the state to those who mind only earthly things." But the guilty intentions of this poor wretch will hardly cover the conduct of the lord advocate and the government in his regard, and (particularly after having been employed as their spy) the imbecility of his plans, the nullity of his means of execution and the small number and mean condition of his proven accomplices, ought assuredly to have saved him from capital punishment. These accomplices were a poor schoolmaster or usher, a half-starved weaver, a cabinet-maker, and three others equally unwarlike, and apparently just as poor.

On the assembling of Parliament (on the last day but one of the year), the speech from the throne, delivered by the king in person, insisted on the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and represented the resources of the French republic as in a state of rapid decline. It openly avowed, what there was no possibility of concealing, that the disappointments and reverses which we had experienced in the course of the year's campaign were great, but it maintained that there was no ground for despair, that France was exhausted by the unexampled efforts she had made, and that everything which had passed in the interior of that country had shown the progressive decay of its resources and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system. The desperate condition of Holland and the United Provinces, which the Duke of York had vainly endeavoured to defend against the overwhelming force of Pichegru, was frankly admitted, and his majesty informed the Houses that the States General had been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country, France; but he added that no established government or independent state could, under the present circumstances, derive real security from negotiations, and that, on our part, negotiations could not be attempted without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief animosity was avowedly directed against these kingdoms. He mentioned the local importance of Corsica, the spirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themselves from the yoke of the French, and his acceptance of the crown and sovereignty of that island. Through the wisdom and moderation of General Washington and his party, who had experienced

some difficulty in resisting the negotiations of the French republicans, and the animosities of a great part of the American people, who fancied that this might be a favourable opportunity for venting their spite and aiding in ruining the country which gave them their origin, their language, their laws, and all that was good and tried in their institutions, the king was enabled to announce the happy conclusion of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States of America, in which it had been his object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both countries. His majesty also announced the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, trusting that parliament would enable him to make provision for such an establishment as they might think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent. In both Houses the debates on the address were exceedingly warm, but although the unfavourable prospects of the war, and the downfall of Robespierre and of all the Jacobin party, induced some members, who had hitherto supported the war, to object to a resolution which seemed to imply an indefinite continuance of hostilities, the ministerial majorities were not materially diminished. An amendment in the Upper House, proposed by the Earl of Guilford, was rejected by 107 against 12, and, in the Commons, the strength of ministers proved, on the division, to be 246 to 73. Mr Canning, who was fast rising into reputation, particularly distinguished himself in these debates. He urged that our failures on the Continent had been occasioned by the misconduct and desertion of our allies, that the fall of Robespierre and the subsequent changes in the French government—changes which left untainted the rage for conquest—did not warrant this country to attempt a treaty of peace, that a pacification with that republic at present would bring so little security, that no diminution of our fleets and armies could possibly ensue, and our expenses must remain as great as though we were actually at war. Mr Windham also attributed the ill success of the war on the Continent to the misconduct of some of our allies. But the most alarming circumstance attending this war of principles was, he said, the fact that we were not true to ourselves. The political societies in England had in his apprehension, done great mischief by propagating republican or revolutionary principles. He represented in a most odious light the acquittal of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and the other members of those societies, describing them as no better than acquitted felons. When called to order for these strong expressions, he explained himself by saying that, though proofs had not been furnished of their legal guilt, it did not follow that they were free from moral guilt.

A.D. 1795. On the 5th of January Sheridan, who had introduced that subject in the debates on the address, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the suspension of the Habeas

Corpus Act. In his speech he said that the preamble to that suspension act affirmed that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country, but that the recent verdicts at the Old Bailey had shown this conspiracy to be a mere fabrication of ministers, who had exercised an unlawful influence over the grand jury that found the indictments. He taxed Windham with a scandalous misapplication of language the parties accused of high treason had, he said, undergone the strictest trial, no pains had been spared to criminate them, 8000*l* had been paid to the crown lawyers, and no less than two hundred witnesses had been procured at a vast expense against one of the prisoners alone. He laughed at and was very jocose on the epithet of "formidable" which had been applied by ministers to the alleged club conspiracy, the strength and preparation of which consisted of an arsenal furnished with one pike and nine rusty muskets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one half shilling. In the preceding debate he had declared that the members of the House were not free so long as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus lasted, and he now insisted that to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act was in fact to suspend the whole British constitution, and that nothing less than imminent, as well as evident and proved danger, could warrant any such suspension. With more truth or less exaggeration than usually entered into opposition harangues he declared that ministers were now acting on the most questionable of all information, that of spies, a species of Agents more numerous, more employed and more relied upon than at any preceding period. Windham, in replying with great warmth to Sheridan imputed the verdicts of a quittal pronounced by the juries to ignorance and incapacity to discern the true state and bearings of the cases before them, and asserted that, whatever the overt acts might have been, the real object of the political societies was to overturn the constitution. In addition to the high consideration and influence which Windham enjoyed in virtue of his own personal character and shining abilities, he was now since the retirement of Burke from parliament, considered, on these vital points at least, as the mouth piece of that great statesman, the weight of Burke being thus superadded to his own. Mr Erskine, who had been counsel for Walker of Manchester, for Hardy, Horne Tooke, and every one of the prisoners brought to the bar of the Old Bailey, contended, in a long and elaborate speech, that the late trials had explicitly disproved the existence of a conspiracy, that the verdicts of juries were not to be questioned, and that, as the existence of a conspiracy was the basis on which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus rested, there could now be no pretence for its continuance. On the other side, Mr Sergeant Adair urged that, if the determination of a jury were never, or in no case, to be called in question, the liberty of the subject would stand upon very feeble ground, that parliament was clearly entitled to

investigate the conduct of juries, for otherwise there would be no redress against the corruption of juries or of judges, or against ministerial oppression.

With these maxims Adair justified the discussions on the late political trials, the issue of which, though in favour of the accused, had not, as he thought, established their innocence in any determinate manner. The suspicions entertained against them had not been cleared up to their advantage: in one particular case the jury had hesitated two hours. He thought the transactions of the societies sufficiently proved unconstitutional and even treasonable intentions, and he held that, as the same circumstances on which the suspension act was grounded in 1794 still existed, no valid motive could be alleged for its repeal. Fox made an eloquent speech on the other side, urging that, as Hardy, whose trial had decided the others, had been privy to all the transactions of the societies and of the several parties accused, he must unavoidably have been condemned if any conspiracy had existed, but, the debate being closed by a speech from Pitt, Sheridan was outvoted by 185 against 41. On the 15th the attorney-general moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill for continuing the suspension, and the second reading of this bill was carried on the 23rd, after another long debate, by a majority of 239 against 53. In the House of Lords, where much the same arguments were used for and against the suspension, the bill was passed without a division, but the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the Marquess of Lansdowne, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Guildford entered a spirited protest.

On the 7th of January ministers called for an augmentation in the number of seamen and marines, stating that the service of the year, to be properly conducted, would require 55,000 sailors and 15,000 marines. In order to raise the deficient number expeditiously, and without the harshness and violence of impressing, Pitt proposed that a certain number of men should be furnished by each merchant ship on clearing out, in proportion to its tonnage, and that every parish in the kingdom should be made to contribute one man, and, after a few alterations, this plan was adopted. Some severe strictures were passed by opposition on the manner in which both the army and navy had been managed, and the remarks made were certainly justified by the errors which government had committed and was still committing, in regard to both branches of the service, and more particularly in regard to the land forces. But the opposition overshoot their mark and disgusted the great body of the nation by exulting in the failures which had attended our arms, and by representing that it was absurd for England to think of contending with France, and Pitt called English sympathies round him by reminding the House that we were not only masters of the seas, but had obtained, on the 1st of June, 1794 one of the most signal naval victories that ever graced our annals; that the commerce and credit of Great Britain were never

in a more splendid condition; that in the worst days of our adversities no disgrace had sullied our military character; that we had been unsuccessful on the continent of Europe, but that true courage was not to be dismayed by temporary failures or disappointments, at a time when we were contending for all that was dear to our hearts and that made life of any value.

By this time it was visible that, besides the United Provinces, both Prussia and Spain were on the point of breaking with the coalition, and concluding separate treaties with the French republic. Austria too, our only steady ally, was in want of money, and thought herself entitled to call upon Great Britain for a supply. She did not, however, demand a subsidy, as the king of Prussia had done but only a loan, and, whatever mistakes her generals had committed in the field, she had, unlike Prussia, made great and costly exertions in the common cause. On the 4th of February Pitt delivered a message from the king, stating the earnest intention of the emperor Francis to make still more vigorous exertions in the next campaign, but intimating, at the same time, the urgent necessity of a loan of four millions sterling, on the credit of the revenues arising from his imperial majesty's hereditary dominions. It was impossible for the opposition not to take notice of and denounce the foul misapplication of the subsidy granted to the king of Prussia—that money, as we have stated, had been chiefly employed, not on the Rhine or the Moselle, but on the Vistula,—not against the common enemy the French, but against the hapless and almost helpless Poles. Sheridan, Fox, and others dwelt upon this iniquitous transaction, and argued that the emperor was not more trustworthy than his Prussian majesty. Pitt and his supporters were forced to admit that the conduct of Prussia had been highly censurable, but they insisted that there was a wide difference in the case and conduct of Austria, whose own vital interests were dependent on the issue of the present war. The motion for complying with the emperor's demands was carried by the usual great majority.

On the 23rd of February the minister, in opening the budget, made a statement of the entire force required for the service of the year—it amounted to 100,000 seamen in all, 120,000 regulars for guards and garrisons, 56,000 militia, 40,000 regulars for Ireland and for the West Indies and other colonies besides fencibles and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay, and embodied French emigrants. The supplies demanded for these immense forces were 16,027,000*l.* To this sum was to be added 200,000*l.* annual subsidy to the king of Sardinia, whose strength and resources were nearly exhausted, and who would have required a subsidy of 2,000,000*l.* to enable him to reconstruct and increase his army and fortresses. There were also sundry deficiencies in taxes, &c. to be made up at home, so that the sum total required by the chancellor of the

exchequer, including the interest on the debt, somewhat exceeded 27,500,000*l*. In order to make up this amount some new duties were imposed upon tea, coffee, raisins, foreign grocery and fruits, foreign timber, insurances, writs and affidavits, hair-powder licences, &c. and, to increase the receipts of the post office, the privilege of franking letters was somewhat abridged. To the outcry raised against these additional burthens Pitt replied by triumphantly reciting the extraordinary increase of the national commerce, which in 1794 had exceeded what it had ever been even in the most flourishing year of peace. The opposition clouded this bright prospect by alluding to the very severe winter which had been experienced throughout Europe, and to the apprehensions entertained everywhere for the next harvest. Ministers insisted that the strictest investigation had left no reason for any such fears, but had proved on the contrary, that a most abundant harvest was to be expected, as well in our own as in other countries. The ways and means were voted as the chancellor of the exchequer desired, but some of his adherents, whose love of pomp was greater than their patriotism, seriously objected to the new powder-tax, on account of the heavy expense they must incur to be entitled to powder the heads of their coachmen, grooms, and footmen.

In both Houses the opposition made repeated efforts to drive the government into negotiations with the French republic, which they represented as much improved from what it had been during the reign of terror, which was true, and as well disposed to renounce conquest and propagandism, which was false. Earl Stanhope, whose violent, inflammatory, and half-mad speeches had served as texts to the intemperate reformers and reforming societies, and more particularly to the weavers and other political mechanics beyond the Tweed, who could think it no sin to repeat what a peer of the realm had uttered in parliament, had, as early as the 6th of January, moved a resolution in the Upper House to the effect that Great Britain neither ought nor would interfere in the internal affairs of France, but would enter into a pacific negotiation with that country. On the 26th of February Mr Grey made a motion of the same tendency in the Commons, and on the 27th of the same month the duke of Bedford, in the Lords, moved for facilitating the opening of a negotiation with France. But all these motions, together with sundry others having the same object, were negatived by immense majorities, and a resolution for the vigorous prosecution of the war was carried almost by acclamation. Ministers and their friends admitted that the republican nature of the French government was not to be considered as an insurmountable bar to negotiation: it was not, they said, because the French had made themselves republicans that we were at war with them, but because they wanted to make, by force of arms, propagandism, intrigue, and internal sedition and dissension, republicans of all the nations

of Europe, in order that they might reign over them as their protectors—because they were effacing the old landmarks of Europe, and aiming at, and for the present achieving, conquests on all sides,—that we must lavish our treasures and our blood, or consent to see the ruin of all our allies, the total destruction of the balance of power, and the establishment of one immense, insolent, and constantly aggressive power. The Earl of Mansfield affirmed the right of a nation to interfere in the government of another that acted on principles dangerous to its neighbours, and, as the French had indisputably adopted and were still acting upon such principles, he thought that those against whom the principles were levelled might justly demand the renunciation of them as the preliminary to any peace or accommodation. On the same side Lord Auckland said, that it would be bad policy to betray despondency and a fear of France, although the opposition had chosen to represent that country as invincible, that prudence dictated perseverance in the contest until we could conclude it honourably, that, were it once made evident that France had renounced her dangerous principles and ambitious designs the British government would not object to a fair and just negotiation with her, that he did not mean, however, that the restoration of monarchy in France should be insisted on at all hazards, but only that while hostilities lasted we should employ our strength in restoring monarchy there, as that species of government which would best answer the purposes of general peace and security to all the powers in the coalition. Lord Grenville urged that there was still no government in France deserving of the name, that everything in that country was in a state of transition and change, that there was no power or party or body of men with whom we could safely or creditably negotiate, and he very justly observed, that, though the guillotine had become less active at Paris, the Reign of Terror and tyranny was far from being over.

On the 24th of March Fox moved that a committee of the whole House should take into consideration the state of the nation, which he represented as degraded and dangerous in the extreme. Pitt allowed that some of the subjects proposed for inquiry were of the highest importance, but he held that this was not a proper season for discussing them. Mr Canning argued that the actual turbulent situation of Ireland was a sufficient excuse for declining all such discussions at present. Fox was outvoted by 219 against 63. A similar motion, made six days after in the Lords by the Earl of Guildford, was negatived by a majority of 90*.

Great attention was bestowed upon the armed forces and the means of bettering their food, general condition, and discipline. In the month of April ministers, without the authority of parliament, made an extra allowance of bread and meat for

* During the session Mr Wilberforce made his annual motion for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and on the 26th of February, it was negatived in a thin House by a majority of 17.

the army. The opposition very properly objected to this proceeding, as tending to impress the soldiery with the false idea that the bounty proceeded from the generosity of the crown, and not from the pockets of the people and as being an insult offered to the legislature which was sitting at the time. General Macleod moved that a committee should be appointed to take the matter into consideration, and that the House should resolve that it was unconstitutional to augment the pay or allowances of the army, without previously consulting, or afterwards submitting the measure to parliament. Fox said that it was clear that, while parliament was sitting, no additional pay could be granted to the army without the consent of both Houses, that no objection lay to the grant itself, but a great one to the slight put upon the legislature by not applying for its assent. Pitt endeavoured to exculpate the ministry by representing the relief as temporary, and as arising out of the circumstances of the moment, such as the increased price of provisions, &c., and by representing that any augmentation of pay voted by parliament would have become permanent. This reasoning, however, did not give much satisfaction, some of his out-and-out adherents seemed ready to join the opposition on this point, and Macleod's motion was only got rid of by the previous question, which was carried by 67 against 23. Windham, who, as secretary-at-war, had signed the obvious and irregular order, was more successful in sundry measures he introduced in the House for maintaining discipline and increasing the strength of the militia regiments, for improving their staffs, for allowing them the use of artillery, &c.

Mr Canning had strong grounds for his assertion as to the alarming state of affairs and opinions in Ireland—that country was every day approaching nearer to the verge of open rebellion, but we receive the narrative of events for the moment when the mask was thrown off and the sword drawn, in order to compress in one clear view the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, and followed that unhappy outbreak.

The marriage of the Duke of York with the Prussian princess had not been, and did not seem likely to be, productive of issue. Prince Augustus Duke of Sussex had contracted a marriage with a subject, in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act, and the well known resoluteness of his father to enforce the rigours of that enactment. Whatever doubt may cling to the celebration of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert, none can attach to the marriage—the double marriage ceremony—of the Duke of Sussex. While travelling in Italy in 1792 that prince became acquainted at Rome with the family of Lord Dunmore, a Scotch nobleman; he became enamoured of Lady Augusta Murray, one of his lordship's daughters and with or without the consent of her family, who could not be ignorant of the Royal Marriage Act, which struck all such unions with the stamp of illegality, and who ought to have been warned by the questionable position of the

fair Fitzherbert, a private marriage took place at Rome.* After staying some months at Rome the prince returned to London with his bride who was now *encomie*. At the instances of the lady and her friends, Prince Augustus agreed to the celebration of a second and a public marriage, to be attended with all the forms of an ordinary English marriage. To complete the residence of one month in the parish of St. George, Hanover square, in order that banns might be published in that parish church, they took lodgings in South Molton-street in the house of a coal-merchant. In due time the parties were regularly asked in church, and on the 5th of December, 1793, they were again united, according to the full ceremonies of the Church of England, in St. George's, Hanover-square, under the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray†. The king lost no time in instituting a suit of nullity, in his own name, in the Arches Court of Canterbury, to set aside the validity of the marriage on the ground of the Royal Marriage Act. On the 6th of January 1794, Mr Heseltine, the king's proctor, served a citation on Lady Murray to answer the charges of the suit. On the 13th of the same month Lady Augusta was brought to bed of a son. The privy council occupied itself for two days in investigating all the circumstances attending the marriage, and in examining Lady Dunmore, Lady E. Murray, the coal merchant and his wife a gentleman who resided at Twickenham, and the clergyman who performed the marriage ceremony at St. George's. The Royal Marriage Act was clear and positive, the marriage, by that act, was no marriage at all, and the Ecclesiastical Court, with very little deliberation, pronounced both the ceremony at Rome and the ceremony at London to be null and void. Though separated in law, the couple did not separate in fact—they lived together conjugally at least till the birth of another child—a daughter—and the perpetual separation which then took place is said to have depended upon causes and circumstances very different from the will of the king of England, the law of parliament, or the canons of the Arches Court. We will not attempt to institute comparisons or make distinctions between the conduct, in these delicate matters, of the eldest and the fifth son of George III., although, in the spirit of party, that invidious task has been undertaken by many, and things have been extenuated or set down in malice to the one or the other prince, according to party predilections. We would fain pass over all these facts in total silence, but they were attended by not unimportant consequences, and perhaps something is attained by relating them simply as they occurred, without comment or bias. Notwithstanding

* Lord Dunmore was not with his family in Italy. He was at the time or he became shortly afterwards, governor of the Bahamas Islands. Lady Dunmore was travelling with her two daughters, Lady A. and Lady E. Murray.

† The Duke of Sussex at the time of the marriage in St. George's Church, had very nearly attained his 21st year, having been born on the 27th of January 1775.

her equivocal situation, and the declaration of Mr Fox in the House of Commons that in her case there had never been any marriage or nuptial ceremony of any kind, Mrs Fitzherbert continued to live with the Prince of Wales, and no considerable portion of the high society of England, reproaching the severity of the Royal Marriage Act, visited her and treated her as the lawful wife of the heir to the throne, but a change and disavowance of that connexion also was about to take place at the time when the Ecclesiastical Court nullified the marriage of the Duke of Sussex. The fair widow of two husbands had a friend, a bosom friend, a grandmother, not merely without a grey hair,* but with the full possession of that kind of beauty which was most to the taste of his royal highness of Wales. This was Lady Jersey, the daughter of an Irish clergyman, who had been celebrated and lasted a quarter of a century ago as "the beautiful Miss Twysden"†. The voice of common fame had for some time proclaimed that the Jersey had supplanted the Fitzherbert when, in the summer of 1794, a noticable separation took place. The Fitzherbert went to Marston, the Jersey to Brighton, her noble lord and husband was appointed master of the horse to the Prince of Wales. When the Fitzherbert returned to town she gave up her house in Pall mall, her devoted friend shone foremost in all the festivities at Carlton House, as she had recently done in the saloon at the Pavilion at Brighton. From that time forward the prince and the fair Catharine never met again. Upon this separation the king and queen renewed their instances to induce the heir to the throne to marry a foreign and protestant princess, and the prince, again encumbered—and encumbered more than ever—with debt, at last consented, upon the express condition it is said, of obtaining the payment of his debts, and a more liberal allowance of money for the future. As his royal highness had never been abroad, and had seen none of the ladies among whom his choice could be made (the whole number of them, what with political considerations and what with religion, was exceedingly limited), he appears to have left the choice of a bride to his father and mother. The queen, it is said, strongly recommended her own niece, the Princess Louisa Augusta Amelia of Mecklenburg (afterwards the fair, graceful, high minded, but most unfortunate Queen of Prussia), but the king preferred his own niece, his sister's daughter, the Princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, second daughter of the reigning Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, who had so unfortunately led the Prussians against the French republicans in 1792, and the choice was determined in favour of this lady. Even in the list of royal matrimonial alliances it would be difficult to find (at least in

modern days) one more unhappy than this, or one that more clearly promised from the beginning to be unhappy. If on the one side the prince, with his ties, connexions, pursuits, and habits of life, was a reluctant bridegroom, the princess was scarcely a more willing bride, and, if a report universally prevalent on the Continent, as in England, is entitled to credit, she had been warmly attached to a young German prince serving on her father's staff, and had for him rejected the proffered hand of the Crown Prince of Prussia, who, in 1797, became King Frederick William III, and espoused the Princess of Mecklenburg, whom Queen Charlotte of England had wished to select for her son the Prince of Wales. Whatever influences, paternal or extra-paternal (her father was subsidized by England at the time), may have been used to obtain her consent, or whether any such influences were necessary, the negotiation was soon settled by Lord Malmesbury, who went over to Germany for that purpose towards the end of the year 1794. After a circuitous route by land made necessary by the war on the Continent, and after a rough voyage by sea, not wholly without the risk of the British squadron that escorted her from the mouth of the Elbe being attacked by the French, the princess reached the British coast, where the squadron enveloped in a dense fog, was obliged to lay to for nearly forty eight hours. At last the ships glided safely into the estuary of the Thames and Caroline of Brunswick embarking in a royal yacht landed at Greenwich on Sunday the 5th of April 1795. On the evening of the 8th the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury at St James's. On the 27th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered a message from the king, recommending the settling of some suitable provision upon the Prince and Princess of Wales. His majesty at the same time expressed the deepest regret at the necessity of providing the means of freeing the Prince of Wales from encumbrances to a large amount, but said he entertained no idea of proposing to relieve him otherwise than by the application of part of the increased income which might be settled on his royal highness. It is said that the prince, in consenting to the marriage, had understood that his debts were to be discharged by a parliamentary grant, or a succession of grants, so as to leave his increased revenue entirely free, and that the course now proposed annoyed and irritated him beyond measure, making more and more unpalatable the union which he had contracted, and his dissatisfaction with which he took little care to conceal. Pitt simply moved the taking into immediate consideration his majesty's message, but Colonel Stanley observed, that, parliament having already paid the debts of the prince, it was proper that a call of the House should precede any further grant of this nature; and that the king's message, for the last payment of the Prince of Wales's debts in 1787, ought to be read. The minister opposed all this as unnecessary, the king's present intention not

* Among the glories and matchless beauties of such the great and first Duchess of Marlborough that pleasant great lady her enumeration her having been a great grandmother with out any more.

—Apology

† This lady was married to George Bussell fourth Earl of Jersey in March 1770. Her father whose business she was, died Bishop of Bath.

being to require a grant to discharge at once the whole of the debt, but only to enable the prince to pay it off gradually out of his increased allowance Pitt also spoke of the propriety of making an adequate provision for the splendour that ought to attend the heir-apparent of the British crown, remarking that the allowance which would now be asked for was smaller than that which had been settled on the prince's grandfather, Frederick Prince of Wales, while the value of money was far less now than then. The moment was not very favourable for prodigality: the expenses of the war were enormous, and constantly increasing, millions were wanted for subsidies, and services avowedly secret, new taxes, not very onerous in their several amounts, but considerable in the aggregate, perplexing in their number and variety, and vexatious in their collection, had been imposed, provisions were exceedingly dear, and, notwithstanding the prosperity of some branches of trade, many classes of the people were suffering severe privations. Many members of the House were dissatisfied and alarmed, and some of them expressed their feelings strongly. Mr Sumner thought that, before the Commons proceeded to vote the prince any more money, they ought to be informed how the preceding grant for the payment of his debts had been applied. Mr Curwen warned the House that one of the leading causes of the French revolution had been the unthinking prodigality of the princes of the royal family, and Mr Martin exclaimed, that the only sure way of maintaining monarchy, in times like the present, was to prevent it from becoming oppressive to the nation. It is said that the prince was exceedingly hurt by these and other discussions which took place in both Houses, and that he complained that the king and the minister had broken faith with him, but, while it is very doubtful whether he had not deceived himself as to the assurances and intentions of his father, it appears to be proved that Pitt had never pledged himself to ask, at so critical a moment, a separate grant for the liquidation of the debts. The amount of these debts the chancellor of the exchequer stated to be not less than 630,000*l*. He proposed that 65,000*l* should be added to his highness's income, which would thus be about 140,000*l* a year, that 25,000*l* per annum should be deducted for payment of the debts, which might thus be all paid off in the course of *twenty-seven years*, and that, in order to prevent the incurring of further debts, no future arrears should be suffered to go beyond the quarter, no claims should be admitted after its expiration, and all suits for recovery of debts due by the prince should be *against his household officers only*. Even the Foxite opposition were divided on these delicate matters, for, although the Prince of Wales had transferred his political confidence from Mr Fox to the Duke of Portland, some of them certainly hoped to see him wear the blue and buff once more, and calculated that his present irritation against Pitt would lead to that happy party result.

Mr Lambton boldly and broadly insisted that parliament ought both to pay the 630,000*l* and increase the prince's revenue to 150,000*l* clear. Fox, precluding that the allowances to heirs apparent had always been influenced by party motives, or had ever been sheer party matters, said he would vote for the additional 65,000*l* a year, as moved by the minister—provided only that requisite precautions were taken to obviate the necessity of future applications for money. He added, however, that he thought that a contribution from his majesty's civil list ought to have come in aid of the prince, and have obviated the necessity of any painful discussion, that he must object to the smallness of the sum set apart for the annual payment of the prince's creditors, and he proposed that not less than 65,000*l* a-year, together with the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, should be set aside for the liquidation of the debts. Mr Grey, on the contrary, said that, though the prince was entitled to a proper establishment, there would be more dignity in declining than in requiring an expensive one, that times of public distress ought to check the spirit of prodigality, that other means ought to be resorted to than the money of the people, that a refusal to liberate the prince from his embarrassments would doubtless prove a mortification, but it would, at the same time, awaken a just sense of his imprudence, and in the mean time his creditors no longer presuming on the facility of parliament, and deprived of expectations from the public purse, would readily agree to a cessation of their claims. Mr Grey concluded by moving, that in lieu of 65,000*l* proposed by the minister, the addition to the prince's revenue should be only 40,000*l*, but this motion, being put to the vote, was negatived by 260 against 90—a minority, however, larger than usual. Sheridan, who was not present at this debate, delivered a startling speech at a subsequent stage of the proceedings. He declared that from political differences, his intimacy with the prince had ceased, but that at the same time he must defend his royal highness from injurious imputations, and give it as his "positive opinion that the debts ought to be paid immediately, for the dignity of the country and the reputation of the prince, who ought not to be seen rolling about the streets, in his state coach, as an insolvent prodigal." He even declared that the prince had not really been a party to the promise and pledge given to parliament, in 1787, that he would contract no more debts. He said that, "on the subject of expense, and of keeping solemn pledges to the public, the prince would not suffer by comparison with the king." For these words Pitt called him to order, but Sheridan proceeded to say that the king, in the early part of his reign, had given a solemn assurance that the civil list should not be exceeded; and yet, since that promise, the debts of the civil list had been paid to an amount which would, at compound interest, make nearly 7,000,000*l*. He concluded with proposing that the king and queen should contribute, the one

10,000*l*, the other 5000*l* a year, and that the further deficiency should be made good out of sinecure offices, &c. In the House of Peers the Duke of Clarence delivered a very hot speech against ministers accusing them of having eagerly endeavoured to deprive his brother of the popularity to which he was justly entitled, and of having singled him out as an exception to the unbounded liberality with which they supplied the foreign princes who applied to them for pecuniary assistance.* In the end, and after two months agitation of the question, it was settled by a bill which received the royal assent on the 27th of June, that the Prince of Wales should have an annual revenue of 125,000*l* together with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall which were valued at 13,000*l* more that 73,000*l* should annually be set aside out of these sums for the payment of his creditors under the direction of commissioners appointed for that purpose by parliament, and

* The Duke of Clarence, in his speech, expressed his disappointment at the conduct of the ministers, and his regret that the Duke of Cornwall, who was justly entitled to the popularity which he had acquired, should have been singled out as an exception to the liberality with which the foreign princes were supplied. He also expressed his regret that the Duke of Cornwall should have been singled out as an exception to the liberality with which the foreign princes were supplied. He also expressed his regret that the Duke of Cornwall should have been singled out as an exception to the liberality with which the foreign princes were supplied.

that, in order to prevent the accumulation of future debts, the regulations suggested by the minister should be adopted and strictly enforced. All this had been carried by great majorities in both Houses but there were few who really thought that this settlement would be a final one.

On the same day (the 27th of June) the session was closed by the king in person, who expressed his hope "that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other powers," but he also said that our main reliance must be on our naval and military forces.

Long before this the wretched remnant of the fine but small and ill-commanded army we had sent to the Netherlands and the northern frontiers of France was collected in barracks at home or drafted off to other quarters of the world. The Dutch democratic party—which had done their utmost to facilitate the progress of the French, and discouraged the part and disorganised the forces which their stadtholder the Prince of Orange had collected after the fall of Namur and the retreat of the Duke of York behind the Waal—openly declared themselves everywhere for friendship and alliance with the Gallican republic and for the entire abandonment of the old connexion with Great Britain and the French connexion with Prussia.



COPY BY THE BRITISH INFANTRY IN 1790

Early in December, 1794, the Duke of York returned to London, leaving the command of the British and Hanoverian troops to Count Walmoden, a Hanoverian nobleman said to be closely, though illegitimately, connected in blood with the royal family of England. Walmoden, and the general officers under him, seem to have been fully possessed of the old notion that war was not to be waged in winter, and to have slept over the fact that, in the north of Holland, the frost was often severe enough to convert the canals, and all the smaller rivers, into solid high-roads, capable of bearing any weight that men could put upon them. The troops were in cantonments here and there, when, in the middle of December, after one or two nights of very hard frost, the French crossed the Waal on the ice, drove in the few videttes that were on the alert, and carried all the posts in the Isle of Bommel. But on the 30th of December, General Dundas, who was serving under Walmoden, advanced rapidly from Arnhem with only 8000 men, almost entirely British infantry, and drove the French, in spite of their vast superiority of number, and the batteries they had thrown up or taken possession of, back beyond the Waal, with a considerable loss in men, and the loss of several pieces of cannon. This affair was in the highest degree honourable to the staunch infantry of England, but it could be of little service to the common cause; for Pichegru soon collected a force of 200,000 men, the people of the country continued to favour the French, and the English army, with a miserable, and in part fraudulent, commissariat with an equally bad medical staff, was totally unprovided with most of the requisites indispensable in their hard and trying circumstances: the sick and wounded had neither medicines nor able surgeons to attend them, and often wanted food, covering, and proper places of shelter to receive them. The indignation of the army was the greater as it was perfectly well known that the government had provided, with a lavish hand, for all their wants, as far as money, orders, and injunctions could provide for them, and that a variety of those comforts needed by the soldiery in a cold, inhospitable country had been furnished by private patriotic subscriptions raised throughout England. The standing orders of the army, and the orders of the day issued by the Duke of York, were humane, clear, and altogether excellent, but, unfortunately, there was generally not only a want of an active superintendence over the execution of these orders, but also a want of knowledge and method in our officers as to the means of carrying them into execution. Moreover, England had not at that time any very numerous body of able well-trained surgeons to draw upon, and the pay offered was scarcely sufficient to tempt good surgeons into the service. Both on the medical staff and in the commissariat a great many French emigrants and other foreigners were employed *pro tempore*; and, although there is no cloaking the iniquity of some of our own native-born subjects, it is easy to under-

stand that most of these foreigners kept only in view the making of as much money as they could during the campaign. The medical department was improved more rapidly, but we never had anything like a good, honest, effective commissariat, until Sir Arthur Wellesey (the Duke of Wellington) was intrusted with the command of our forces in Portugal, and half of our military failures, and a very large portion of the excess in expense of all our expeditions, are attributable to this one great want. When the Duke of York quitted the army, and came home, matters became much worse, and the acts of cruel neglect and of peculation more flagrant and barefaced *

Five days after the French had sustained their unexpected and inglorious defeat at the hands of General Dundas, Pichegru crossed the Waal upon the ice with an enormous force. It became evident that nothing but a hasty retreat could possibly save the remains of the British army, and, after spiking their heavy cannon and destroying all the ammunition they could not carry off, they retired towards the Lack on the 6th of January. The French van pressed upon their rear. Though disheartened and in some of the disorder inevitable in a hasty retreat, the gallant English infantry halted, formed in order of battle, charged and, after four charges, attended with various success, drove the French from the field with a frightful loss, for the most of the battle had been fought as it were hand to hand. On the 10th of January fresh columns of the republicans crowded the Waal, and on the 11th Pichegru, with a condensed force of 70,000 men, fell upon General Walmoden in the defile of the Greb, between Arnheim and Nimwegen, in the confident hope of destroying or reducing to an unconditional surrender all that remained of the British army and of their German subsidiaries. But Walmoden, after sustaining an assault, which was long and general, made good his retreat. Four days after this Pichegru fell upon some posts which had been occupied to cover the retreating army; these posts were gallantly held until the retreat of the British was secured, and then the troops who had

[illegible]

held them drew off unpursued by the enemy, some of whose columns hastened to take possession of Utrecht and Rotterdam. By this time the English had lost nearly all their camp-equipage and baggage. The multitude of inferior commissary agents, who had been appointed to procure the requisites, had so grossly deceived their employers that no provisions had been collected. Besides the open enmity of the successful French, the English found concealed enemies in every Dutch town and village through which they passed for the majority of the Dutch people looked upon them as the original cause of the calamities inflicted on their country, and took every opportunity of insulting them in their misery, and of adding to their sufferings. These sufferings, particularly among the many sick and wounded, were as cruel as any that ever fell to the lot of a retreating army: they were, in the midst of a rigorous winter, carried in open waggons, exposed to the weather, and destitute of all comforts and accommodations. Many were frozen to death, many dropped and perished through want, especially during the day and night marches of the 16th and 17th of January, when they had to cross the sandy, desert, houseless districts that intervened between Utrecht and the towns of Deventer and Zutphen in the midst of an unceasing hurricane of wind, snow, and sleet. After a march of nearly two months through countries everywhere hungry and beggary, and in many parts churlishly inhospitable or mimical, the wretched fragment of the Duke of York's army reached the mouth of the Elbe and embarked at Bremen for England. Our ally, the Stadtholder, arrived in this country long before them. The democrats at the Hague began to threaten his person and his family, and the same triumphant party, shutting their eyes to the exactions and oppressions they must expect from the French, were everywhere insulting and menacing the aristocratic party, and preparing solemn entrances and public feasts for Pichegru and his generals. Taking with him his son, the Hereditary Prince of Orange, the stadtholder, not without difficulty, escaped from the Hague to the small port of Schevelling, where, on the 19th of January, he and his son embarked on an open boat.* The fugitives arrived at Harwich on the following day. The democrats of Amsterdam, who had appointed a provisional council of government, planted the tree of liberty in the chief places of their city, and mounted the French cockade, gave an enthusiastic reception to Pichegru, who made his entrance at the head of 5000 men on the 20th of January. The republican general went through the form of proclaiming the magnanimity of France (who only wanted to assist the peoples of Europe to break the chains of their despots), and the freedom and independence of their

Seven United Provinces. Haarlem and Leyden adopted the same measures as Amsterdam, and, while the opposite party of Dutchmen ran away or concealed themselves, or at the least kept close within their houses, the democrats in nearly every town and village welcomed the French, and declared themselves their disciples and friends. In the province of Zealand there lay a considerable squadron of Dutch men-of-war: the admiral, said to have been all along hot in the French interest, hoisted the French flag on the 30th of January, took possession of Flushing and Middelbourg, and, on the 4th of February, concluded a very agreeable negotiation with the republican general Michaud. The States General, or such portions of them as chose to assemble at the Hague, an open, defenceless town, where they were entirely at the mercy and under the dictation of the French army and the Dutch mob, issued proclamations, calling upon the people, in consequence, as they said, of the stadtholder's flight, to admit the friendly troops of the French republic. Scarcely one of the formidable and well-provided fortresses which lined and studded the country had made more than a show of resistance: they had nearly all opened their gates to the French before the Duke of York quitted the army, but some few fortresses on the frontiers of Brabant still remained in the occupation of Dutch troops, or of Germans who had been in the pay of the stadtholder. In this number was Bergen-op-Zoom, one of the strongest fortresses in the world, and at the time in an admirable state of preparation—if only the garrison within it had been true to their trust. But Bergen-op-Zoom, with all the rest of them, threw its gates wide open at the first invitation, and its garrison fraternized with the French. A requisition of clothes and provisions for the use of the republican army, to the value of one million and a half sterling, caused some consternation among the thrifty Dutchmen, but the republican party, or all the ultra-democratic Dutch, were in an ecstasy at their triumph by means of French bayonets over their countrymen who had triumphed over them by means of Prussian bayonets in 1787, and they were flattered by the convocation of a Representative Assembly on liberty and equality principles, which abolished the hereditary stadtholderate, with all the forms of the preceding constitution, published in good Dutch the Declaration of the Rights of Man, reversed the sentences passed against the democrats of 1787, and recalled all the exiles. It is to be supposed that this class of patriots were not greatly or immediately affected by the embargo which the English government immediately laid upon all Dutch ships and goods in the ports of Great Britain, Ireland, and our colonies, but the seizure or detention of the Dutch East Indianmen and cargoes was a terrible disappointment to the French, and at the same time a heavy blow to the monied interest and trading aristocracy, who abhorred the French and their principles. The Council of Government, the merest puppets of the

* On the morning of their departure from the Hague, a mob assembled and insisted that the stadtholder should be left behind just as he was. For the part he had taken in favour of the French, the mob, who were in the city, protected him from their violence and conveyed him to the sea side, where he was again in danger till the guards that accompanied him dispersed the populace.—*Am. Patriot*



H. P. 1735 / 1000

French, sent over two delegates to London to remonstrate and claim restitution. Lord Grenville, as secretary for foreign affairs, asked them in what capacity they wished to be received? The delegates replied, as representatives of the Saccigou People of Batavia. The secretary said, he knew of no such delegating power, and therefore must decline any further conference with them. The ministry soon took into consideration the important subject of the Dutch colonies: an expedition was prepared, and on July the 14th Vice Admiral Sir G. Keith Elphinstone, and Major General Crug, with a land force, appeared in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, and took possession of Simon's Town. From that point the troops advanced towards Cape Town: they soon carried by assault the strong post of Muzzenberg, which commanded the road to it, and there waited for some reinforcements from the island of St. Salvador. These forces, under the command of Major General Alured Clarke, arrived at the beginning of September, and then the whole army—still a very small one—pushed forward to Cape Town. The Dutch governor, who had rejected a proposal to place the whole colony under the protection of Great Britain (the only protection which could save it from the French) till the peace, yielded at once to this display of force, and surrendered the town and castle on the 23rd of September. Instructions were also sent out to our naval and military commanders in the East Indies to prepare for the reduction and occupation of the Dutch

settlements in that part of the world; and by the end of the year, or by the beginning of 1796, all the places the Dutch held in the island of Ceylon, with Malacca, C. elin, Chinsura, Amboyna, and Banda, were taken possession of, with scarcely any resistance. Other plans of easy execution were arranged for the seizure of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and on the coast of South America, so that it was made evident that the Batavian republic would soon lose all those foreign possessions and plantations which had once poured a continuous stream of wealth into the United Provinces.

Such, for a long time, had been the equivocal conduct of the King of Prussia, that it excited little or no surprise, when, in the spring of this year, he concluded a separate treaty with the French, whom he had been the first of all the coalition to assail. By this treaty, which was definitively settled at Basle, in Switzerland, on the 5th of April, the king ceded to the republic all the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and the republic restored to Prussia the territories she had overrun on the right bank of that river. Both the contracting powers pledged themselves not to grant a passage through their respective territories to the enemies of the other. All prisoners taken respectively since the commencement of the war were restored, including the prisoners taken by the French from the corps of Saxony, Mayence, the Palatinate, Hesse-Cassel, Darmstadt, &c., who had been serving with the army of his Prussian majesty. Until a treaty

the National Convention, calculated to re-establish his former neutrality for the benefit of his peaceful subjects, without encroaching upon the rights and interests of any of the belligerent powers, with respect to whom he had never taken upon himself any particular obligation. This treaty with a prince of the House of Hapsburg, the near relative of the emperor, flattered the pride of the republicans, but it was otherwise of little importance to the interests of the coalition, while it was quite certain that it would be of no benefit to Russia, which would be overrun by the French just as soon as it suited their purpose to overrun it. Overtures were made through Spain to detach the King of Sardinia and the King of Naples from the league, but the first of these sovereigns was heroically true to his treaties and obligations, and the second, though much less firm, rejected the propositions for the present.

The court of Sweden and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland recognised the French republic, and its dependency, the nominal independent Batavian republic, and, in consequence of the defection of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and even George III., in his quality of Elector of Hanover, were compelled to engage to furnish no more troops to the emperor. Although our diplomatists had not been idle, they had but little to set off against the breach of treaties committed by Prussia. Ever since the commencement of the war strenuous efforts had been made to bring into the coalition the Empress of Russia; that sovereign had possessed the greatest detestation and a scarcely credible dread of the French revolution and of its principles and propagandists, though she had at one time been the correspondent and professed friend of d'Alembert, Diderot, and others of the French philosophes, whose writings had helped to make the present state of things in France, and to furnish the principles and dogmas upon which that democracy was acting, she had put her interdict upon the introduction of all new French books into her not very literary dominions, had expelled a number of Frenchmen from Petersburg, and had made difficult the entrance of any individuals of that nation except royalists and emigrants, but, having a tolerably clear foresight that Russia had little to gain by becoming a party to the war in the west of Europe, she declined becoming an active member of the coalition. But at last she was induced to consent to a treaty of defensive alliance with Great Britain. This treaty, though not publicly announced or noticed in the British parliament till the next session, was concluded and signed at St Petersburg on the 18th of February. With most empty and unmeaning words it was stipulated that there should be a sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic majesty and her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, and between their heirs and successors. The contracting parties guaranteed to each other all their dominions, territories, &c., as well such as they might actually possess as those which they

might hereafter acquire by treaty. In case of one of them being attacked by sea or land, the other was immediately to send succour, and, "as the natural force of Russia consists in land troops, whilst Great Britain can principally furnish ships of war," it was agreed that her imperial majesty, whenever called upon, should send immediately to the King of Great Britain 10,000 infantry and 2000 horse, and that his Britannic majesty, whenever called upon, should send to Russia a squadron of twelve ships of the line. To draw still closer the bonds which united us to the Emperor of Germany, a separate treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with him also, and was signed at Vienna on the 29th of May. Each power guaranteed to the other all its dominions, territories, &c., and engaged to succour its ally without delay in case of any attack. As the House of Austria was not assailable by sea, no mention was made of ships, but the succours were to consist on either side of 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, which were to be paid for by the party demanding the succour at the newly-fixed rate of 10,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand infantry, and 30,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand cavalry. In case the limited establishment of land forces in Great Britain should not permit the king to furnish the succour in men at the time required, and the emperor should be obliged to take other troops into his pay, then the confidence which his imperial majesty reposed in the friendship and equity of his Britannic majesty left him no room to doubt that his Britannic majesty would grant him an indemnification in money, &c. Added to these treaties with high Christian powers and crowns imperial—treaties which meant little more than that Russia might require the assistance of an English fleet, and Austria an English subsidy—there was, towards the close of the year, a treaty or arrangement with the infidel and piratic Dey of Algiers. This last piece of diplomacy originated with Sir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy of George III.'s new and transitory kingdom of Corsica, who wished to oblige a people whom he had in many instances disobliged and irritated. There was an ancient antipathy and enmity between those islanders and the Barbary states, but now the Algerines were to be permitted to carry their prizes into the ports of Corsica, and to sell them publicly there, they were to grant freedom to all the Corsicans they had captured and made slaves of, and to permit those islanders to frequent the African coast for the coral fishery, &c., in return for which the Viceroy of Corsica was to pay to the Dey 179,000 piastres of Algiers, and a further sum of 24,000 piastres for a cargo of grain, the property of Algerines, which had been taken by the English. If this was a good arrangement for the Corsicans, it was far otherwise for the neighbouring Italian states, whose vessels might be picked up and sold almost within sight of their own coasts.

The French had fired out all the ships in dock or on the stocks at Toulon which Sir Sidney Smith had failed of destroying, some other vessels had stolen round by the Straits of Gibraltar from Brest, and on the 28th of February Rear Admiral Pierre Martin quitted the outer harbour of Toulon and took the sea with fifteen sail of the line, six frigates, and three corvettes—a force which he believed to be superior to our Mediterranean fleet under Vice-Admiral Hotham. The Frenchman had positive orders to engage Hotham if he met him, and to drive the English out of Corsica: he had a powerful body of troops on board, and was accompanied to sea by the conventional deputy and commissioner Letourneur, who was to look to the proper execution of the orders which the Convention had given. On the 2nd of March Pierre Martin gained sight of Corsica, but a gale of wind drove his fleet back, and damaged two of his ships. It was not until the 8th that Hotham, who was lying in Leghorn Roads, received intelligence that the French fleet was at sea. The British fleet, composed of thirteen sail of the line, four frigates, and two sloops, to which were added a Neapolitan 74 and two frigates of the same flag, commanded by the Chevalier Caraccioli, a veteran officer who had both courage and skill, instantly unmoored and went in search of the enemy. Through storms and contrary winds, it was not until the 12th that the English came fully in sight of the French between Corsica and Genoa. Martin, having the wind, might have attacked, but did not. During the ensuing night the 'Mercure' lost her maintop-mast in a squall, and was driven out of the French fleet, which she did not join again until after the battle. At eight on the following morning the 'Ça Ira,' an 80-gun ship, and the third ship from Pierre Martin's rear, ran foul of the 'Victoire,' and, in sight of the British fleet, carried away her own fore and main topmasts. Captain Freemantle, who was nearest at hand, in the 'Inconstant,' a 36 gun frigate, presently ranged up within musket-shot of the 'Ça Ira,' gave her a broadside and stood on. A French frigate, the 'Vestale,' bore down, and, after firing several distant broadsides, which did little or no harm to Freemantle's ship or crew, she took the 'Ça Ira' in tow. The 'Inconstant' got under the lee of the 'Ça Ira,' and fired into her, but by this time the Frenchmen had cleared away the wreck of their topmasts from their deck, and were enabled to open a heavy fire from their first-deck guns, which compelled Freemantle to bear up. Nelson, in the 'Agamemnon,' 64, now got abreast of the 'Ça Ira' and 'Vestale,' and, most of the time quite alone, and part of it aided by the 'Captain,' 74, he warmly engaged the French 80 and frigate from ten o'clock till past two in the afternoon. He so placed himself that the 'Ça Ira' could never get a single gun from either starboard or larboard to bear on him, and when the French fired their after-guns it was not with coolness and precision, for every shot went far ahead. A little after two

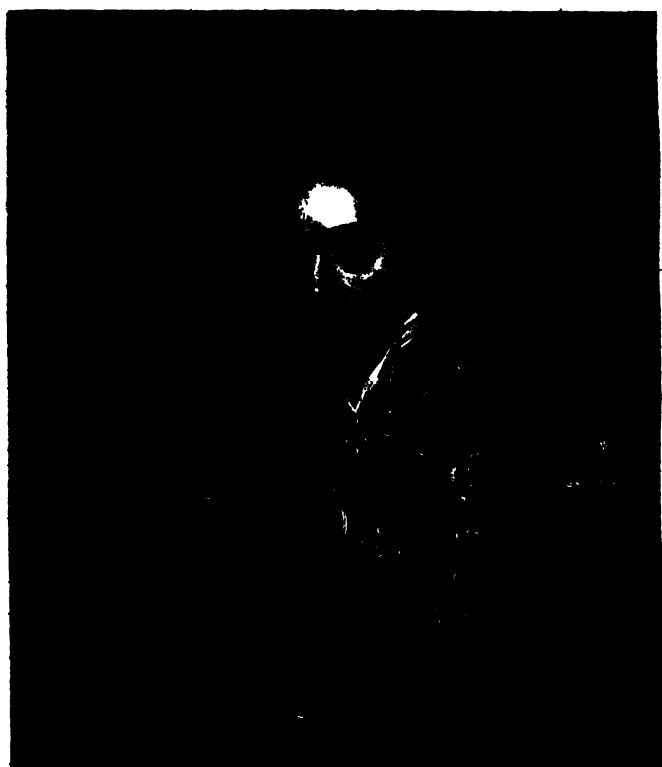
PM, several French ships of the line, including the 'Sans-Culotte,' of 120 guns, bore down to the protection of the 'Ça Ira'—this obliged Nelson to bear away and leave her, but he left her with her sails all hanging in tatters, her mizen-topmast and cross-jack-yards shot away. In the mean time there had been some partial firing between two English 74's and the three rearmost ships of the French, but, as soon as the 'Agamemnon,' Nel-



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son's ship, dropped into line, the combat ceased for that day, the French keeping to the wind under all sail, and being followed by the British as fast as four or five heavy sailing ships would permit. Rear-Admiral Martin and Deputy Letourneur, for the alleged purpose of better directing the manœuvres of the fleet, had removed from the great flag ship 'Sans Culotte' to the frigate 'La Friponne.'* In the course of the night the 'Sans Culotte' separated from the rest of the fleet (as if in spite of the admiral's having separated himself from her), and the crew, fancying or pretending that they were chased by five men of war, ran her into Genoa. On the following morning, soon after daybreak, a sudden change of wind gave Admiral Hotham the advantage of the weather-gage. The 'Ça Ira,' which had suffered so much from Nelson's fire, was now in tow of the 'Censeur' 74 and a good way astern of the retreating French line. The 'Captain' our foremost ship, closed and sustained the united broadsides of the two Frenchmen for fifteen minutes before she was in a situation to return a shot, the 'Bedford,' 74, came up to her assistance, but the 'Captain' was soon terribly cut up in her masts and rigging, and, becoming quite unmanageable, she made a signal for assistance, and was towed out of the reach of her opponents. About the same time Hotham, by signal recalled the 'Bedford' to her station, and the 'Bedford' fell into line, with her masts and rigging in nearly as bad a state as the 'Captain's'

* In general actions with ships of the line it is not customary for frigates to fire or, while they remain quiet, to be fired at. This calculated usage may have had something to do in inducing the French admiral and deputy to transfer themselves to a frigate from the ship of the line that was likely to attract most of the English attention—and cannon-balls.



The French van now came round in support of their rear, and to rescue the 'Ça Ira' and 'Censeur' they were so hotly received by the British ships that they were now foremost, that they soon abandoned their two sternmost ships to their fate, and crowded all sail to effect their own escape. After making a brave resistance, and sustaining a great loss in killed and wounded, the 'Ça Ira' and the 'Censeur,' with scarcely a spar left standing, struck, and Nelson's friend, Lieutenant Andrews, of the 'Agamemnon' hoisted British colours on board them both. Two or three French ships suffered severely but it seems to be proved, beyond a doubt, that all the rest, and M. Pierre Martin, their admiral, behaved very ill. Nor was Vice Admiral Hotham "quite awake enough for such a command as that of the king's fleet in the Mediterranean,"* or sufficiently emancipated from the old routine rules of his profession. Apparently through the fear of disordering his line, he had allowed two of his ships to be exposed a long time to the desperate firing of the 'Ça Ira' and 'Censeur,' when, by attacking in greater force, he might have carried them at once, and, when the French fleet fled, he rejected the bold proposition of Nelson, to leave the two prizes with two English ships of the line which had been crippled in the action, and with the rest of the fleet to pursue the enemy. With two prizes under his lee, and with the certainty that Corsica was saved, Hotham said, "We must be contented we have done very well." "Now," said Nelson, "had we taken ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done." The gallant Caraccioli, whose name will be again, and most unhappily, associated with that of Nelson, brought his 74, 'Tancredi,' into action in good style: his ship received several shots between wind and water, and had her foremast injured. The total loss sustained by the British and Neapolitans amounted to 74 killed and 284 wounded: the loss on board the French ships, which were rather crowded with troops and which, as usual, received more shots in the hull than they gave, was incomparably greater. The firing had first commenced between six and seven o'clock in the morning, it ceased altogether about two in the afternoon, and soon afterwards the two fleets were out of each other's sight, the French running for Hieres Bay, near Toulon, and the British retiring to San Fiorenzo Bay, in Corsica, to refit †.

In spite of our Channel fleet, and other blockading or cruising squadrons, six more ships of the line, two frigates, and two cutters, succeeded in getting from Brest into the Mediterranean, where they joined the Toulon fleet, which had thus a decided superiority over their adversaries. Great things were expected from Earl Spencer, the new first lord of the Admiralty, but, although in the

end some of these expectations were realized, there was no great immediate improvement in the material management of the navy, and, in spite of numerous representations, our Mediterranean fleet was left for some time in its state of inferiority. Hotham was joined by another Neapolitan 74; and, to the mortification of Nelson's national pride, this was matter of exultation to an English fleet. At last, however, on the 13th of June, three months after the battle with Pierre Martin, Hotham was joined by eleven sail of the line and several frigates from Gibraltar and England. The French, who had avoided an encounter even when they were superior in number, now shunned it more cautiously than ever. They had, however, put to sea before they learned the arrival of the British reinforcement, and, on the 13th of July, Hotham, who had now twenty-one sail of the line, got sight of them near Cape Roux. As they had only seventeen sail of the line, and six frigates and corvettes, they fled for the coast. The English pursued, but only a few of their van ships were able to get up with the French rear. Between these forces a smart action ensued, which terminated in the surrender of the 'Alcide,' French 74. The rest of the French ships got safely into Frejus Bay. Before the 'Alcide' could be taken possession of, a box of combustibles in her foretop took fire, and presently set the whole ship sails, masts, and hull, in a blaze, and, though the English boats that were nearest were put out to the assistance of the frantic crew, they could only save three hundred of them, and from three hundred to four hundred were blown into the air with the ship—those unhappy men thus experiencing "how far more perilous their inventions were to themselves than to their enemy"*.

Cornot and the other humane philosophers, who were presiding or who had presided over the Committee of *Salut Public* and the war department had introduced sundry novelties, with the view of making war more murderous. For obvious reasons the use of red hot shot at sea was not considered honourable warfare, but they ordered the French ships to be supplied with furnaces, and to fire red hot shot whenever it should be thought advantageous. They had also invented, or adopted the invention of, a certain preparation which was thought to have the same properties as the Greek fire—to become liquid when discharged, and to be inextinguishable by water, and this preparation with the consent and concurrence of the National Convention, they had sent to the Toulon fleet. In the action of the 14th of March the 'Ça Ira' and 'Censeur' had fired red-hot shot, and had also on board some of this new Greek fire; and they have been supposed to have fought the more desperately from a persuasion that, if they

* Letter from Sir W. Mordaunt, ambassador at Naples, to Captain Nelson, as quoted in Southey's Life of Nelson.
† James, Naval History.—Southey's Life of Nelson.

* Southey's Life of Nelson. It is said in this admirable memorial for Nelson, the author of which would not have hesitated such an assertion without good foundation, that the Agamemnon's ship, and the Cumberland's Captain Rowley, were just getting into close action a second time when Admiral Hotham called them off, and this too at a moment when a falling wind and a vexatious calm had been succeeded by a fresh wind blowing directly into Frejus Bay.

struck, the English sailors, incensed at their new methods, would have given them no quarter.

Except by Nelson, detached on some coast service, scarcely a gun was fired by our Mediterranean fleet during the remainder of the year.

Many encounters of detached ships took place in various parts of the world, and were, generally speaking, to the advantage of the English, but the only other approach to a general action at sea took place on the 23rd of June, off the French coast, near Port l'Orient, between the Channel fleet of fourteen sail of the line and eight frigates, under Admiral Lord Bridport, and a part of the Brest fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and eleven frigates, under Vice admiral Villaret. It was a running fight, the French flying for their own port and the protection of their own land batteries, and the English pursuing along a difficult and dangerous coast, but three French ships of the line struck their colours and were taken possession of. All the vigilance of our squadrons and cruisers in the West Indies was not sufficient to intercept the communications or foil the daring projects of Victor Hugues, who was in one single person the Marat, Robespierre, Carnot, and Barrere of the negroes, mulattos, Caribbs, and all the mixed populations of those parts. Pitt, in the last session, had repeatedly referred to our acquisitions in the West Indies as a set off to our losses and failures in other quarters: yet sufficient forces had not been sent to keep what we had gotten, and in the course of the year, we ran the risk of losing not only those new conquests but our old colonies including Jamaica, the oldest and most valuable of them all. Early in the year the French succeeded in gaining possession of St. Eustatius, and, having put that island into a good state of defence, they made it the basis and pivot of extensive designs and operations, which were all conceived by the teeming head, and in good part executed by the daring stop-at-nothing energy of Victor Hugues. He flew from island to island, preying, with more fire than Peter the Hermit liberty and equality and the Rights of Man to the negroes, and to all people of colour, and a crusade against the English, the French royalists, and all who adhered to them: he made the hot blood of the tropics boil over, he led his dark converts and disciples into the perpetration of the most horrible cruelties, and, when the deeds were done, he told them that they could never more hope for quarter, that they must now exterminate the English or be utterly exterminated by them. Other emissaries were sent among the slaves and the poorer part of the French colonists, to excite them to a universal and simultaneous insurrection. In St. Lucie the project succeeded completely, the English troops were taken by surprise and overpowered, the fort, after a blockade of three months, was compelled to surrender, such of the British as were not butchered were shipped off the island, and the tri-colour flag and the red cap of liberty (the new Mumbo Jumbo of the African slaves) were erected

triumphantly. The flame spread to Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent, but, after a fierce struggle, it was extinguished there by the British—save only in the interior and mountainous parts of St. Vincent, where the Caribb insurgents kept their ground for a considerable time. Under the same auspices, the Maroons of Jamaica—the descendants of negroes who had revolted and fled to the mountains in the time of the Spaniards—persecuted a long and cruel war.

The conflict of armies on the European continent, in which our troops had no share, may be briefly related. The old Austrian general Bender, on the retreat and dissolution of the grand army of the coalition, threw himself into Luxembourg with some 10,000 men. The republican government at Paris was certainly less active and energetic in war than it had been in the days of Robespierre and St. Just. Although Bender was entirely isolated and cut off from all succour, it was the 7th of July before he was reduced to capitulate, and then he and his numerous garrison were allowed to retire to Germany, upon condition of not serving against the French till exchanged. With the exception of Mentz, or Mayence, the republicans were now masters of the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, and of the estuaries through which the Rhine flows into the North Sea, from Holland to Strasbourg, and there was nothing on the right bank of that river to disturb this their *natural* frontier, except Mannheim and a few other weak places. In the month of August Pichegru the conqueror of Holland, undertook the reduction of Mayence, which was occupied by Imperial and Austrian troops as preparatory steps, he crossed the Rhine captured Dusseldorf, and occupied Mannheim. The emperor had kept his promise to England of making a great effort for this campaign, and old Wurmer, esteemed one of the best of his generals, was now advancing with a good army to effect a junction with Clairfait, succour Mayence, and drive the French from the left bank of the Rhine. Pichegru detached a division to prevent this junction: the division put a part of the Austrians to the rout, but, while the French were engaged in plunder, Wurmer's excellent cavalry advanced in full force, threw the French into confusion and drove them back to Mannheim. General Jourdan, who had followed Clairfait at the end of the last campaign from the Netherlands, came up to co-operate with Pichegru in the reduction of Mayence, and, crossing the Rhine, he established himself on the right bank opposite to the town, to cover the siege and assist in it. There was another urgent reason for Jourdan's movement: he had exhausted the country where he had been quartered during the winter, the treaty with Prussia forbade him to levy military contributions within the marked line of neutrality, and Mayence being once reduced, he must push forward towards the heart of Germany to find food and forage for his army. Clairfait, who had been strongly reinforced early in the spring, made a rapid and skilful advance took

Jourdan by surprise, obliged him to decamp hastily and leave part of his artillery behind him, harassed him by continually skirmishing with his rear until he reached Dusseldorf, and there re-crossed the Rhine. Clairfait then threw a considerable part of his army across the river into Mayence, in spite of the French lines drawn round that place. On the 29th of October Clairfait ordered a general attack on the French lines: part of the garrison of Mayence made a sortie with the fresh columns that had been thrown into the place, and, while these forces divided into two columns of attack, fell upon the lines in front and turned one of their wings, a flotilla of gun-boats ascending the river began to cannonade the French in their rear. The whole plan of attack was beautifully conceived, was admirably executed, and, if Clairfait had only brought over all his forces from the opposite bank and risked them all in this one great enterprise, nothing but a miracle could have saved the French army from entire destruction. As it was, the Austrians drove the republicans from their fortified lines with a terrible loss, captured their battering-train and most of their field-pieces, separated them into two divisions, and obliged one to retreat northward, while the other fled southward*. The pride and confidence of the French were sadly damped, but, if Clairfait had acted in force upon their retreating, disorganised columns, he might not only have annihilated them, but have cut off two other *corps d'armee* that were advancing by different lines of march towards Mayence. On the opposite side of the river old Wurmser, who was quite strong enough to have contended with Pichegru without the aid of that large part of his army which Clairfait had left on the right bank, obtained many advantages over the republicans, (who never properly recovered from the beating they got from his cavalry,) gained by a simultaneous attack the bridge of the Necker, and drove Pichegru within the walls of Mannheim. After the retreat of Jourdan, and the flight of all the French forces from the lines of Mayence, neither Mannheim nor any other spot on the right bank of the river was a proper abiding place for Pichegru after strengthening the garrison, he quitted Mannheim, re-crossed the Rhine, and was allowed to effect a junction with Jourdan Wurmser, who would have done better if he had followed Pichegru with his own and all the troops which Clairfait had left on that side of the river,—by rapidity of movement he might have rendered the passage of the Rhine a desperate or most costly affair to the retreating general,—sat down before Mannheim, which did not surrender until the 22nd of November†. Wurmser then formed a junction with Clairfait, and the two presently recovered the

whole of the Palatinate, and of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle*. The successes of the Austrians emboldened them to form the project of penetrating once more into Luxembourg, the loss of which weighed heavily on the emperor's heart. They made preparations to this intent, but were, as usual, slow in collecting and concentrating the necessary troops, and Jourdan and Pichegru advanced along the Rhine by forced marches, and kept them in check. Some obstinate and sanguinary encounters took place, but the winter was now setting in with great severity, both republicans and imperialists were much exhausted by a campaign which had commenced very late in the season, but which had been exceedingly active and fatiguing while it lasted, and it was thought expedient to agree to an armistice, which was not to be broken by either party without ten days' previous notice, and during which both belligerents were to confine themselves strictly to the positions they actually occupied.

On the side of Italy, where the French had gained such important advantages in the preceding campaign, their army, all through the spring and summer, was much neglected. The Austrians and Sardinians, or Piedmontese, now assisted by some troops from the south of Italy, comprising some brigades of Neapolitan cavalry that behaved very well, collected such a force in the passes of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines as gave them a decided superiority. Almost all that the republicans tried to do was to keep possession of the posts they had gained in 1794, and even some of these posts they lost, and they must have lost many more if the allies had been less sluggish and irrelative. Nelson, who had been detached with a small part of his fleet to co-operate with Devins, and who served on the coast of Nice, sometimes at sea, sometimes on land, doing soldiers' work (and much better than most soldiers did it), was driven almost frantic by the Austrian general to whom his Sardinian majesty had mainly intrusted the salvation of his kingdom. "This army," said he, "is slow beyond all description, and I begin to think that the emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money. As for these German generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them, therefore we cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. The politics of courts are so mean, that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way; all is trick and finesse, to which the common cause is sacrificed"†. Devins charged his inactivity upon the Piedmontese and Neapolitans, and these in their turn attributed it to the Tudesque dulness. A good plan had been formed for getting between the different French divisions that occupied the Nisard territory and a part of the western Riviera or coast of the Genoese republic, for taking the

* Considerable portions of these separated retreating columns fell into the interior of France where they spread the most alarming reports as to the French men always do when well beaten) that they had been treason in the camp that they had been betrayed by some of their own officers.

† Six or according to others eight thousand republicans, surrendered in Mannheim.

* Wurmser joined Clairfait previously to the reduction of Mannheim but he left the greater part of his force employed on that siege and very little was undertaken either on the right or left side of the river until the republican garrisons capitulated.

† Southey, Life of Nelson.

foremost of these divisions in the rear, and finally for blockading the important port and city of Nice. To work out this plan it was necessary that the allies should take possession of the town and bay of St Remo, but when Nelson proposed that Devins, who had again obtained free communication with several parts of the coast between the Nissard territory and Genoa, should embark a considerable force for this object, the general pretended to believe that Nelson only wanted possession of St Remo for the advantage and snug harbouring of the English ships of war, and told him that the Bay of Vado, which was open to our shipping, but which could be of no use in reducing Nice, was a much better and safer anchorage. At last, after many equivocations, which left Nelson no confidence in his word, Devins agreed to send 10,000 men to St Remo, if Admiral Hotham would only send him ships of war and transports enough to carry them. Nelson believed at the time that if the whole of our Mediterranean fleet had been offered him for transports, he would have found some other excuse. But Devins ought to have been put to the test on the point, and this was not done, for Hotham declined sending any more ships, and thus the old German was enabled to attribute a part of his inactivity, and the total evaporation of an excellent plan, to the British admiral.

It has been well said that the neutral, or pretended neutral, powers and states assisted France more effectually than the allies or coalesced powers assisted each other. We have seen what respect the French republicans paid to the neutrality of the Genoese republic in 1794. Great as had been the insults and wrongs suffered, the Genoese senate made no complaint against the French, their subjects continued to serve and assist them, and, while they presumed to claim from the British fleet all the rights of a strictly neutral state they allowed—without making a single effort or rumour to prevent it—all their roadsteads, bays, harbours and the strongly-defended port of the city of Genoa itself, to be crowded with French privateers, of nearly all sizes and riggings, but of which the most mischievous were swarms of long row boats and galleys. Larger privateers were allowed to be towed out of the port of Genoa, to board trading vessels bound to that very port, and then to return within the mole, which was bristling with cannon—with cannon the doge and his timid senate durst not fire upon the French. There was, from the first advance of the republicans, a strong party in their favour in the city of Genoa, but the greater part of these strange irregular proceedings were indisputably attributable to the weakness and helplessness of that small state—the neutrality was broken in every way, because the government could not help it. When a country is in this condition (and this was the condition in the course of a very few months of Tuscany as well as Genoa), when it is invaded and domineered over by one belligerent

party, it can have no reason to demand or expect that the other belligerent party should observe neutrality towards it. England and her allies respected the pretended neutrality too long, and suffered much by so doing they ought to have despised the pretension long before, telling the Genoese republic that, as it was not strong enough to defend itself against those who trampled upon it and laughed at every precept and principle of the law of nations, they would not permit it to be converted into a basis of operations against them. After all their scrupulousity the allies were driven into extreme measures, which might have greatly benefited their cause if they had resorted to them many months before, or as soon as it was made evident to the world that the territories and ports of the now small and contemptible republic were wholly controlled by the French. It required some most barefaced and outrageous acts to rouse them from their superstitious veneration for a visionary neutrality—some of them had been less scrupulous elsewhere. An Austrian commissary left the city of Genoa to go to Vado. It became known to the French minister at Genoa and to the captain of a French frigate in that port, that he carried about 10,000/ sterling with him, and that he was to sleep at Voltri. The boats of the frigate were sent out with some adroit privateers, the greater part of whom were probably Genoese subjects. A party landed, robbed the commissary, and brought back the money to Genoa. The very day after this buccaneering exploit men were publicly enlisted in the city of Genoa for the French army. 700 men, with 7000 stand of arms, were embarked in the French frigate and in other vessels, were to land between Voltri and Savona, there join a detachment from the French army, and invite all the Genoese peasantry to a liberty and equality insurrection. The opportune arrival of Nelson off the mole-head of Genoa prevented for the present the execution of this nice plan. The French frigate got within the inner mole, and placed herself behind the tiers of merchant-vessels of all flags that were there. The squadron of the English hero was far too small to perform all the duties required of it if he remained to blockade the port of Genoa, half a dozen other ports along the Riviera and the Nissard coast required watching. He had bitterly complained of Admiral Hotham, that admiral had now quitted the command, but Sir Hyde Parker, who had succeeded to it till the arrival of Sir John Jervis from England, was not more disposed than Hotham had been to reinforce Nelson, who only demanded two more ships of the line, with some frigates and sloops. And, in a very short time, Sir Hyde, instead of reinforcing the squadron, diminished it, leaving Nelson nothing but his own ship, the 'Agamemnon,' and one frigate and a brig. This reduction was made at the very moment that the French were rousing themselves from their comparative lethargy, and making immense preparations for recovering the advanced posts they had lost, for clearing the Alpine and

Apennine passes, and for carrying the war into the plains of Piedmont. They were in fact paving the way for the brilliant campaign of 1796. Nelson had destroyed many vessels on the coast, and, a few days before, being called to Genoa, he had chased a large convoy into a fortified harbour, round which 2000 French troops were stationed. While he lay watching Genoa other convoys got into the same port, which was strengthened by the French troops, with their accustomed activity and ingenuity—and there were now above 100 sail of transports, store-ships, gun boats, and ships of war collected in that one inlet. Nelson offered to go in and destroy the whole of this fleet, if the admiral would only send him two ships of the line. The admiral again returned a flat refusal, and the hero was left to deplore that he could have prevented the attack almost immediately after wards made upon the Austrian and Piedmontese army, if he had been permitted.* And what were the reasons of this strange conduct on the part of Nelson's superiors? The Toulon fleet, too happy at having been allowed to anchor unmolested in the Gulf of Frejus, had not taken the sea again, and our fleet was superior too, even numerically. But the truth was that, in good part through imprudence and ill management, amounting in some respects almost to imbecility, the Corsicans, who had received us as friends and deliverers, had been brought to regard us as their worst enemies, and even to desire a reunion with the French republic. The islanders were almost in an open state of hostility, were carrying on a secret but active correspondence with Toulon and with the French at Nice and Genoa, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy of a royalty which lasted some eighteen months, required nearly the entire service or presence of the British fleet. General Devins, after patiently bearing so many insults and injuries, demanded satisfaction of the Genoese government, a government only in name, for the seizure of his commissary, and then, without waiting a reply, took possession of some empty French magazines on the territory of the republic, and pushed his advanced posts forward to the very gates of the city of Genoa. If he had taken these steps at first he would have found the magazines full "but, timid as the measure was, and useless as it was to the cause of the allies, it was in character with the whole of this Austrian general's conduct, and it is no small proof of the dexterity with which he served the enemy, that, in such circumstances, he could so act with Genoa as to contrive to put himself in the wrong."† The mass of the Austrian troops was now collected on the shores of the bay at San Pier d'Arena, which lies so close to Genoa that it may be considered as a suburb of that city. Devins, who could not but see the storm about to burst upon him, implored Nelson not to leave Genoa, as, if he did, and if the Austrians should be worsted, their retreat by the Bocchetta pass would be cut off, seeing that the French frigates would

be sure to land the appointed troops between Voltri and Savona, and Nelson stood where he was, lamenting that his diminutive force would only allow him to act at one point at a moment when ships were required at several points. While Nelson was thus chained to one narrow spot—for, if he moved a mile from the mouth of the harbour of Genoa, the French frigates and transports within, with hundreds of galleys and row-boats to tow them out, must escape and land the troops only a few miles off—Devins was laid up with the gout, which became so bad, or so available an excuse, that, just before the French attacked him, or, as others say, while the battle was raging, he transferred the command to General Wallis, and got himself carried through the Bocchetta pass to Novi, a Piedmontese town at the foot of those Apennines. At the end of November the French army of Italy, commanded by Massena, a Nissard by birth, whom the revolution had raised from the condition of a corporal—a young man of rare energy and ability, and who knew thoroughly the country he was to fight in—put itself in motion, having been allowed to collect all its materials and to mature all its necessary preparations. Generals Scherer and Serrurier, commanding separate columns, and pursuing different lines, co-operated with Massena, and Generals Laharpe, Charlet, Victor, and Cervoni, Colonel Suchet, and other officers whose names were soon made famous, served under him.* Massena's great object was to get between the Austrians and Piedmontese, to cut them off from one another, and then beat them in detail, for, partly through their old stone-blindness, and partly through the necessity of watching several accessible passes, both armies were scattered over a wide extent of mountainous country. The attacks of the republicans, superior in number and in all essentials, but above all in the qualities of their commanders, were nearly everywhere successful. The fighting took place among rocks and precipices, and in the midst of hail and rain, sleet and snow. The centre and the right wing were beaten from post to post, and at last put to a general and ignominious flight. The left, stationed at San Pier d'Arena, and composed entirely of Austrians, behaved better, but, while attacked in front and on one of their flanks by the republican troops, flushed with their successes, they were assailed on the other flank by a swarm of French gun boats, which Nelson, though so close at hand, could not come round to scatter and annihilate. And, after a bold stand, these Austrians also broke and fled towards the Bocchetta pass. "From that moment," says Nelson, in his expressive style, "not a soldier staid at his post—it was the devil take the hindmost. Many thousands ran away who had never seen the enemy, some of them thirty miles from the advanced posts. Had I not, though I own against my inclination, been kept at

* Cervoni was a Corsican (there were a good many Corsican officers with this army, and most of them very [not daring, fellows] like Massena, he had been a non-commissioned officer in the service of the King of Sardinia).

* Southey

† Id

Genoa, from 8000 to 10,000 men would have been taken prisoners, and among them General Devins himself, but, by my means, the pass of the Bocchetta was kept open." Enriched and strengthened by the capture of all the artillery and most of the baggage, ammunition, waggons, and stores of the allies, the French went to winter in Vado and in Savona, being masters of all the Riviere di Ponente, and threatening at the approach of spring to descend into Italy and once more tinge with blood the waters of the Po." The Austrians and Piedmontese, driven from all that coast, were again deprived of every direct communication with the British fleet, and Nelson, being no longer of any use there, went away to refit. There was not a mast, yard, sail, or any part of the rigging of the 'Agamemnon' but what was wounded or cut to pieces by shot, and the hull was so damaged that it had been for some time secured by cables, served or thrapped round it †.

The pacification of the Vendée, effected during this year, was of inestimable advantage to the French republic. It stopped a drain of blood more copious than any that had flowed in her exterior wars, and enabled her to liberate a large army from a most wearying service, and to employ it next year beyond her frontiers against her foreign enemies. It also reduced to despair the royalists in all parts of France, and, coinciding with the fall and discredit of Jacobinism, and the altered tone and system of the government, it reconciled not a few of the royalists to the Convention, or to its successor, the Directory. The reverses and frightful slaughter which the Vendéans had sustained at the end of 1793 had not prevented their rising again. Impelled by the fierce spirit of revenge, and goaded to desperation by the cruelties of Carrier, Rosignol, and the Infernal columns, they began, early in 1794, to collect again in arms, and to make themselves formidable to the republicans, who had fondly believed that they were all but extinct.

When the fugitives who escaped from the slaughter at Savenay crossed the Loire, a brother of Cathelineau put himself at the head of a few hundred men of Angers, carried off the wounded d'Elbée, with his wife, and some other disabled officers, and they then all made their way to join the army of Charette, who was maintaining himself on Ille Normande. Charette set out on an expedition, in the hope of striking some blow in quarters which the republicans, in their long pursuit of La Roche Jacquelin's army, had left bare of troops, but all the sick and wounded Vendéans were left on the isle, with a garrison of 1800 men, to defend them and the important place—the more important because it was now almost the only place through which the insurgents could communicate with England, and the French princes and royalists there. The republican general Turreau opened a secret correspondence with the garrison—a correspondence which most probably consisted of a re-

mittance of assignats, and of more solid money—for Charette's garrison surrendered the isle without firing a shot, and thus left the wounded and the sick at the mercy of the Jacobins. D'Elbée was lying in bed between life and death, his wife might have escaped, but would not leave him: they were both taken. As Turreau's soldiers entered their chamber the wounded royalist exclaimed, "Yes, here I am! Here is d'Elbée, your greatest enemy! If I had been strong enough to fight or stand upon my feet, you would not have taken me in my bed!" They kept him for five days, treating him with execrable barbarity, and then carried him in an arm-chair to the place appointed for fusilading the prisoners, and there shot him. His wife was fusiladed the next day, and her brother and brother-in-law perished in the same manner. Charette, who, with all his bravery and ability, appears to have been a vain, jealous, selfish, and most irritable mortal, soon quarrelled with the gallant and generous La Roche Jacquelin, and that young hero, putting himself at the head of his own peasants and tenantry, quitted the main army and renewed the death-struggle by himself. But the young hero's career was soon terminated. On the 28th of January, 1794, as he was marching from Tremontaine towards Nouaillé, he fell in with two republican grenadiers. In an instant the muskets of his followers were at their shoulders. "Do not kill them," cried he, "I will speak with them." Running forward, he cried, "Only surrender, and you shall have quarter!" One of the grenadiers stepped back, presented his piece, and shot him through the brain. His followers sabred the grenadier, and, wishing to hide the dead, because a republican column must be close at hand, they hastily dug a grave, and buried in it their beloved chief and the soldier that had killed him. Henri de la Roche Jacquelin was only in his 21st year when he fell. Stofflet, the chasseur or huntsman, took the command of the young hero's party, but the hope and heart of the Roche Jacquelin peasantry died with Monsieur Henri. Dissensions and fierce jealousies, carried even to death and mutual assassination and attempts at it, broke out among the subordinate chiefs, hellish cruelties were committed wherever they had the advantage, and, after a few reverses, both Stofflet and Charette listened to overtures made by secret agents of the Convention. These negotiations, however, were soon broken off, for none of the royalists would trust the Jacobins and Terrorists. On the 24th of September, 1794, while Stofflet remained inactive, Charette attacked a republican corps d'armée in an entrenched camp near Challans, and cut it to pieces. This victory gave Charette the entire command of a considerable portion of the Vendée, but the overthrow of Robespierre, and then the restricted power of his rivals, gradually introduced more humane views and a milder system. An amnesty was published in favour of all such Vendéans as would lay down their arms, they were assured that they should have the free exercise of their religion, and that

* Carlo Porta

† Southey's *Life of Nelson*

their beloved priests should be molested no more. The plan of reducing the insurgents by burning their country, and exterminating them by means of infernal columns, was given up, and with comparative sincerity the reformed Convention renewed the efforts to bring about a pacific negotiation. At the end of February, 1795, Charette confided in the good faith of the government so far as to trust his person within the walls of Nantes, in order to open the negotiation. A treaty of pacification was concluded and signed. It soon, however, became evident that the enmi-

ties of the two parties were irreconcilable, that each suspected the other, and that both were preparing for another struggle. As usual in such cases, they accused one another of a breach of faith and of treaty. For some time Charette seemed to be leading the life of a quiet country gentleman, but all the while he was carrying on an active correspondence with the Bourbon princes, and receiving supplies of money from the emigrants in England. It would have been well for him if money had been all he got from this country, but a number of emigrants, of miserable intriguers and adventurers,



PEACE OF LA VENDEE

whose heads conceived the most absurd projects, and whose hearts in many instances were false to the cause, crossed the Channel, beset the Vendean chiefs, and eventually led them to their ruin. Some of these men were old officers, who, with professional pedantry and obstinacy, insisted upon making war in a scientific or systematic manner, as a prelude to which they wanted to drill and discipline, and convert into mere machinery, the fiery peasantry who had instinctively adopted the mode of warfare best suited to their country. About the middle of May an aide-de camp of Count d'Artois came over to announce that a descent was to be made on the coast of Brittany, where fresh insurgents, called the Chouans, had taken the field, by an army of emigrants, under cover of a great English naval force, and that Charette, who could justly complain of many infractions of the treaty of pacification, must fly to arms and renew hostilities in the Vendée, in order to create a diversion in favour of the Bretons and the coming expedition. Some money, which had come all the way from St. Peters-

burg, was distributed by the aide-de camp * but the cash seems to have been absorbed by the officers and hungry adventurers who had recently arrived in the country, and it was observed that, while the officers showed a great deal of ardour, the peasants, who had begun to taste the sweets of repose, were much less zealous than on former occasions. The entrenched camp of the Essarts was, however, surprised and taken, the republicans were defeated in two or three minor encounters, and obliged to draw troops from Brittany, in order to reinforce their army in the Vendée. Although the project had been repeatedly under discussion, the British government had declined sending any forces to this part of the Continent. We have ventured the expression of our opinion, that no regular

* Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.) had repaired to Petersburg with rather a numerous suite—all gay and handsome young men very noble very brave and all penniless. The Empress Catherine gave him a small sum of money to buy a military uniform and the services of the brave and skillful Count de Sautou. His royal highness d'Artois passed some time with the army of the Duke of York and then went over to England to prepare for the great descent at Quiberon.

army could have been made very available in such a country, or could have acted effectually with such irregular forces as the Vendéans. Certainly, such a petty military expedition as our ministers and their predecessors (not excepting even that famed war minister, the first Earl of Chatham) were in the habit of sending to the French coast, as if purposely to render our army contemptible, could not possibly have been of any use, even if it had been sent in 1793, before the dismal tragedies that occurred on the Loire and at Savenay—before the fall of Laval, Lescure, d'Elbee, and Henri de la Roche Jacquelein, yet, when all these heroes had perished when the heart had been taken out of their cause, when the bravest of the peasants had been exterminated and when the Vendéans were far weaker and more divided than ever they had been, Pitt, in an evil hour, allowed himself to be overcome by the sanguine representations and incessant importunities of the French princes and emigrants, and gave his orders for fitting out the fatal Quiberon expedition. The Counts d'Hervilly, d'Hector, du Dresnay, and Puissaye. Colonel Rothaler, and other royalist officers, collected in England and in our Channel islands a little army of 3000 men, partly royalist emigrants and partly prisoners who had been taken from the republicans, some by land, some by sea. Almost all of them had been trained to arms either in the French army or in the French navy, many of them were veteran soldiers, and there were 400 Toulonese artillerymen, well organized, and serving under the orders of Colonel Rothaler. The Bishop of Dôle accompanied the military staff, as legate from the pope to the faithful and devout Vendéans. Count d'Artois, after talking of taking the command in person, gave it to Puissaye, together with some 10,000*l.* in gold, or in letters of credit on London, and several millions of livres in assignments—a paper money which the Bourbon princes thought they had a better right to manufacture than had the *direct* government at Paris. In expectation of being joined by numerous bands of devoted royalists, Puissaye also took with him 27,000 muskets, 600 barrels of powder, provisions for three months for at least 6000 men, and complete uniforms for 17,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. A fine squadron of three ships of the line and six frigates under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, an officer in high estimation, having in charge 50 transports with about 2500 French troops on board, set sail from the Isle of Wight in the early part of June. Another squadron was appointed to go to Jersey, and there take on board, or under their convoy, another division of emigrants, who were to be landed at St. Malo, where Puissaye had royalist correspondents who hoped to be able to hoist the white flag of the Bourbons and deliver up that town, and still another squadron was to repair to the mouth of the Elbe, bring round some regiments of emigrants who had formed part of the army of Condé, and land them on another part of the western coast of France, somewhere in

Normandy, or Brittany, or the Vendée (the where was never precisely settled), and, when some good sea-port town or towns should be secured, then another expedition, with English troops and Count d'Artois, was to cross the Channel, and land. Thus, according to the inveterate and incurable habit of all who were contending with the republic, the British government and the French princes and the royalists made a bad plan worse by dividing their expedition into three or four separate parts. If they had collected all the forces proposed to be employed, and had attacked the coast at one point and at one moment, something might have been done, though not much. A few weeks' delay to collect these scattered forces would have signified little, for the secret of the expedition had been so badly kept that nearly everybody in France knew it was coming, and the disaffected Bretons, who, according to the plan, ought to have remained quiet until the arrival of the English fleet, had committed the imprudence of flying to arms, and had sustained several defeats before Sir John Borlase Warren quitted the Isle of Wight. On approaching the coast the English ships were discovered by a part of the Brest fleet, but, although Villaret Joyeuse had nine ships of the line with him, he did not venture to attack Warren, suspecting that Admirals Cornwallis and Lord Bridport, and that terrible commodore, Sir Sidney Smith, were not far distant.* It was on a bright sunny day—the 25th of June—that the English squadron and the transports cast anchor in the Bay of Quiberon. Two precious days were lost in debating how, and where, and whether the landing was to be made, and in petulant disputes that broke out among the French officers. On the 27th at day-break the troops began to land at the small village of Carnac, at the head of the bay, and this operation was completed without the loss of a single man, a handful of republicans running away from the place. Georges Cadoudal, d'Allègre, and other royalist insurgent chiefs of less name, hastened to the coast and joined Puissaye with from 4000 to 5000 men badly armed, raggedly dressed, looking more like robbers than soldiers, but brave and determined fellows. The Breton peasants of the neighbourhood also came into Carnac, shouting, 'Vive le Roi!' and bringing fresh eggs, poultry, and other provisions for the use of the liberating army that was come to restore to them their king and their religion. The muskets and the uniforms, the ammunition and some of the money were landed from the ships, and distributed with a liberal hand. The fame of this liberality attracted fresh bands to the Bourbon standard in two days 10,000 royalists, more or less sincere, were collected round Carnac, but terrible quarrels took place in the division of the arms and dresses and the other good things, and some of them, when they had got all they could, decamped to

* It was on his return towards Brest that Villaret Joyeuse lost three of his ships of the line and was driven into Port l'Orient by Lord Bridport. See ante, p. 480.



FORT PENTHIEVE

their own villages among the hills, while others took the same course because they could get nothing, or were dissatisfied with what they got. Puissaye understood matters better, and would have acted at once in an irregular manner with these very irregular troops, but d'Hervilly, who disputed his authority on all points, and who pretended to have the entire command of the *regular* troops which had been landed, wanted to make war according to the schools, and expressed a very lofty but very silly contempt for all the Chouan bands. Puissaye found it necessary to dispatch in a cutter letters and messengers to Count d'Artois, and some more precious days were lost in inactivity. At last, Puissaye being assured of the hearty co-operation of the English admiral and fleet, determined to attack Fort Penthièvre, situated on a small peninsula or promontory which encloses Quiberon Bay on one side, and which is only two leagues long and one broad, and joined on to the mainland by a low sandy isthmus called La Falaise. On the 3rd of July Sir John Boscawen, after landing 300 British marines, began to thunder at Fort Penthièvre, Puissaye threatened an assault with his Chouans, and the republican garrison, 700 strong, surrendered to the royalist general. But by this time the whole of Brittany was enveloped by three or four corps d'armée, under the supreme command of General Hoche, while General Canclaux, who had collected a large force to watch Charette and Stoffet, prevented the arrival of any succour from the Vendée, and even kept the Vendéans in a state of inactivity. Some of the Breton insurgents bravely attempted to check the advance of Hoche's columns but d'Hervilly refused to assist them with his regular troops; and on the 5th of July Hoche established his strong right wing on the heights of Ste Barbe, which command the sandy isthmus of La Falaise. On the 7th, d'Hervilly, with all his regular troops and with 200 British marines, attempted to drive the republicans from those heights, but he was repulsed

with great loss. The republicans then descended in dense column from the heights of Ste Barbe, and the royalists, regulars and irregulars, regimented troops and loose Chouan bands (many of the latter being accompanied by their wives and children), ran for the sandy isthmus, for Fort Penthièvre, and the farther end of the promontory. But for the good provision of the English admiral, who had stationed close in to the beach five launches armed each with an 18 or 24-pounder carronade, which kept up an unrelenting fire upon the republicans, the royalists would never have been able to cross the sandy isthmus. As it was, from 18,000 to 20,000 fugitives reached the promontory, and were there shut up, as in a bottle, by the numerous and still increasing forces of Hoche. The provisions brought by the fleet must be soon exhausted by this immense crowd, and nothing more could be expected from the country, except in the confined limits of Fort Penthièvre, there was no shelter or lodging for them, and the bare promontory scarcely furnished a stick or a twig for fuel they were obliged to eat their rice and their other rations raw. In this condition, crowded together and altogether comfortless, fresh quarrels broke out between the Breton insurgents and the regular troops, and while desertions became frequent, no new royalist troops arrived, and nothing was heard of the forces that were to come from Jersey, the Elbe, and the English coast. Had these forces all arrived together, it would now have been too late, for Hoche and Canclaux had collected between them two great armies, and such intrenchments had been made on the heights of Ste Barbe as would render the dislodgment of Hoche a most difficult enterprise. The British squadron in the bay and the many guns placed in battery on Fort Penthièvre might, however, have defied for some time all the forces of Hoche, if treachery had not displayed itself. At last, on the 15th of July, the English convoy arrived with the royalist troops from the mouth of the Elbe. These troops were

commanded by M. the Count de Sombreuil, a brave young man, son of the late governor of the Invalides, but their total number did not exceed 1100. Before these troops were well landed Puissaye detached Vauban with 12,000 Chouans to make a diversion on the right of Hoche's camp, and then to effect a junction with some other bands of insurgents that were said to be gathering behind the heights of Ste Barbe, and on the following day Puissaye himself marched from the narrow promontory, crossed the sandy isthmus, and attacked the republicans in front. Both Vauban's diversion, and Puissaye's sortie failed completely after some desperate fighting the main body of the royalists fled back once more to the isthmus of La Palaise and once more did they owe their preservation to the boats of the British squadron, whose untiring and correct firing kept the republicans at bay. Yet Colonel Rothaler lost nearly all his cannon, which sunk and stuck fast in the deep sands at the head of the isthmus. Still there were guns at Fort Penhievre, and the British fleet might have furnished more, the approaches to that place over loose sand and under the fire of the English sailors were far from being easy to the besiegers, but all the Frenchmen who had been prisoners of war in England, and who had enrolled in this strange army merely for the chance of escape, settled with the republicans to desert and put them in possession of Fort Penhievre. And on the night of the 20th of July—a dark and stormy night—a detachment of republican grenadiers having approached near to the spot, some of these sham royalists who were on guard betrayed the fort, helped in the republicans, and fell upon their own comrades, shouting *Vive la république!* In a trice the white flag was lowered and a tricoloured one put in its place, the timid laid down their arms and joined in the republican shout, the traitors massacred their officers and all such as did not reach the *Vive la république!* A scene of disorder and despair followed: about 1100 troops, led by Puissaye hastened to the shore and there waited the return of daylight and of the English shipping, which the tempest had obliged to keep at some distance from the shore. D'Hervilly, mortally wounded in the affair of the 16th, could do little more than complain, and de Sombreuil was ignorant of the ground and equally ignorant of who were friends or who enemies in the disorganized royalist army. In spite of the storm and the darkness, some of the launches kept their station and maintained their fire, and other boats of the fleet ran almost upon the beach to carry off the fugitives. But some of these boats were upset, some being overcrowded sank, the number of Frenchmen saved by their means was not very considerable. Not a few of the emigrants killed themselves with their own swords or pistols. With the fire and bayonets of the republicans on one side, and the raging sea on the other, de Sombreuil, after defending himself for a long time on the beach, surrendered and

made his men lay down their arms, for the republicans, who were suffering severely from the cannonades of the English launches, cried out, "Only surrender, and we will do you no harm," and Humbert, one of Hoche's generals, promised, or is said to have promised verbally, honourable terms of capitulation. Early on the morning of the 21st the British frigates, which on account of the gale and extreme darkness had been unable to approach the shore in the night, worked up to the south-east point of the peninsula, and there received on board, by means of boats, Puissaye and his 1100 troops, with about 2400 Chouans and royalists of that description. Nearly all the arms and uniforms, with the ammunition and stores, were left behind for the benefit of the republicans. The royalists who had surrendered were marched off to Nantes a sort of military tribunal, who denied that there had been any capitulation, or that any such agreement could be made with emigrants and royalists fighting with the English against their own country, condemned to death the brave young Sombreuil, the Bishop of Dol, and all the officers and gentlemen taken, and these being all shot, the common men enrolled themselves in Hoche's army. Sir John Borlase Warren next proceeded to take possession of two small islands on that coast, and to disembark near l'Orient, at their own request, some 2000 of the Chouans whom he had brought from Quiberon Bay, and these Chouans renewing their strange partizan warfare did much more mischief to the republicans than they had been able to inflict upon them while acting with the regular troops of the royalists. On the 29th of August another squadron consisting of one ship of 100 guns, two of 95, and two of 74 besides frigates, and having on board 1000 British troops, sailed from St Helens. Some time in September this new force joined Warren, who thereupon sailed to Ile Normoutier, which had at one time been the stronghold of Charette and his Vendéens, but which was now occupied by a republican force supposed to be 15,000 strong. General Doyle, the commander of our land troops, thought it prudent to decline any attack, and so, sailing away to Ile d'Yeu, a very small, defenceless, and worthless island about fifteen miles from Normoutier, the English took possession of it, and remained there for nearly three months, eating the bread of idleness and discontent. At the close of the year the troops were re-embarked, and ships and men returned to England. Perhaps Doyle and his little army might have done something if Count d'Artois had been more enterprising and more decided, and that 4000 of our soldiers were kept so long on that coast was certainly owing to the French prince, with whom they had been designed to co-operate, not in Brittany, but in the Vendée. As soon as Canclaux weakened his army to strengthen that of Hoche and crush the royalist expedition at Quiberon, Charette resumed the offensive, gained several advantages over the republicans, and looked eagerly for the promised

arrival of Count d'Artois. After the fusilading of de Sombreuil and the other emigrant officers at Vannes the civil war returned to all its old atrocities. Charette fusiladed all the prisoners he had in his possession, and vowed he would never more give quarter to a single republican. At length the same aide-de-camp who had visited him before reappeared with the positive assurances that the mournful failure at Quiberon had not discouraged the royalists and their allies, that Count d'Artois was coming very soon, and that an English squadron was bringing some arms and ammunition and a little more money for the loyal Vendéans. An English ship really landed some muskets and gunpowder, but weeks passed away, and were lengthening into months, before his royal highness came to the coast, and even then he would not venture to land on the continent. On the 10th of October d'Artois disembarked at Ile d'Yeu and took up his quarters with General Doyle. All that he heard of the murderous affair of Quiberon and of the savage executions at Vannes filled his mind with disgust, not unmixed with terror, and his courtiers had little inclination to risk the hardships and perils of a campaign in the Vendée with very loyal but very rough and uncourtly peasants, whose chief leaders were now an atrabilious ex-lieutenant of the navy and an ex-huntsman and gamekeeper. A place of rendezvous was, however, appointed, and Charette, fully assured that the prince would land at the little port of La Tranche, united his forces, dispersed some republican detachments, and cut his way to within a day's march of the appointed place. But here d'Artois's active aide-de-camp met him with the intelligence that his highness had changed his mind, and would choose a more opportune moment and a better place for landing. "My friends, we are lost!" said Charette, "this is my death sentence! To-day I have 15 000 men around me, to-morrow I shall not have 300!" Falling back from the coast, the Vendean chief saw his troops disperse rapidly and his enemies gather on all sides of him. Hoche, elated with his success at Quiberon, arrived from Brittany, and Stofflet, who had but badly seconded his chief, was demanding a conference with the republican generals. After some hollow negotiation—hollow on both sides—Stofflet, apparently without any concert with Charette, though not without instructions and pressing instances from some of Count d'Artois's people, collected an inconsiderable force in January (1796), fought a battle at Bressuire, lost it, hid himself in a secluded farm-house, was discovered or betrayed, was seized in the night of the 23rd of February, and, being carried to Angers, was there executed on the 26th of February, with four of his companions. Charette, abandoned by all his followers except an old body-servant and some twenty or thirty men, and hunted down like a wild beast, was surrounded in a wood by the light troops of General Travot, and was at last made prisoner as he lay stretched

on the ground by the aide of his faithful servant, who had been killed in attempting to defend and to cover with his own body his master. "Is it thou, Charette?" said the republican general. "By the faith of Charette it is even I," replied the Vendean chief. This was on the 23rd of March (1796). Charette seemed scornful, and quite indifferent to his own inevitable fate. Travot, who in other respects behaved like a man of honour and humanity in this horrible Vendean war, treated his prisoner with respect, and prevented his fierce soldiery from insulting and ill-treating him. Travot's superiors and the commissioners of the Directory were not so humane: by their orders he was carried to Nantes, and made to traverse that crowded city on foot, all the way from the gate on the Loire to the prison. He was covered with wounds, his grey dress was stained with blood, his head was bound up in a handkerchief, his left arm was in a sling, but, though pale and wasted, he was as haughty and as sarcastic as ever he had been. He said to the officer who escorted him through the streets, and who treated him with great inhumanity, "Monsieur, if I had taken you prisoner I would have had you shot on the spot, without fatiguing you with a long walk." He was put to death on the 29th of March, himself giving the word to the republican soldiers to fire, and to fire at his heart. The war of the Vendée, which had languished since the summer of 1795 and the failure at Quiberon, may be said to have expired with the death of Charette. According to General Hoche's own statement it cost the lives, in all, of 100,000 Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population of the country was left alive.*

In other parts of France the year 1795 was a red year. Though the guillotine was comparatively inactive in Paris, and though in that city the reaction against the Terrorists was not very sanguinary—the combat being principally carried on by Heron's Gilded Youth with their sticks and clubs—the retaliation was of a much more ferocious kind in many of the departments, and in some of the great towns of the South murders and massacres were committed by the royalists and Girondists upon the overthrown Jacobins almost as atrocious and as extensive as any that they had perpetrated during the Reign of Terror†. Many of these hot southern *re acteurs*

* *Mémoires de Madame la Marquise de la Roche Jaquelein*, *Baron de la Roche Jaquelein*, etc., *Biographie Moderne*.

The following anecdote has several times been cited to show the frightful state in which the Vendée was left.—Near Chollet there were extensive bleaching grounds the owners of which kept a great many watch dogs large and fierce. The town after having been repeatedly stormed and burned was at length abandoned by both parties. The watch dogs to the number of 400 or 500 took possession of the ruins and remained there for many weeks feeding upon the unburied bodies of republicans and Vendéans that lay scattered in the streets and all round the place in a horrid abundance. After the pacification when the disarmed townspeople of Chollet returned and attempted to rob the houses the animals had become so ferocious that they attacked them and would have devoured them, and a battalion of republican soldiers were obliged to march against the dogs and exterminate them before the place could be re-inhabited.

† The moderation of the Thermidorians in the capital has, however, been much overrated. Five days after the execution of Robespierre no fewer than ten thousand new arrests had taken place in Paris alone for imputed Terrorism. The same measures were applied

had little right to blame the excesses of the Terrorists. They regimented assassins, and, under the names of "Compagnies of Jesus" and "Companies of the Sun," immense bands spread themselves through all the South, on a mission to plunder and assassinate. Isnard, the fiery orator and habitual drunkard—Isnard, who had hastened the destruction of his party, the Girondists, by speaking, prophet like, of the destruction of Paris, participated in organising these terrible companies, and stood by, with Chambon, Guérin, Cadoux, and other *Moderates*, to be an eye-witness of many of the butcheries they committed. The prisons of Lyons, of Avignon, of Marseilles, of Tarascon, and of other towns, were broken open by these new Septemberers, who massacred in cold blood all they found within them. The perpetrators or directors of these massacres were of mixed colours and politics: some of them were Girondists who could not rest satisfied without a bloody and almost inhuman revenge, some were hot royalists, some merely religious fanatics, who held that they were honouring God by destroying wretches who had denied his existence, and a great many of them were merely apostate Jacobins and revolutionists, who after having played the part of terrorists as Helvidians or Dantonists or Robespierrists, now acted the same part as Thermidorians. The old but still popular names seemed to be combined in all eyes that violence and cruelty were to be avenged with cruelty and violence, and that no mercy was due to a party that had fallen and become a weak distracted minority. The worst parts of the national character displayed themselves in as glaring a light after the so-called termination of the Reign of Terror as during the most heinous part of that bloody regime. Nor could the bloodthirstiness and the other crimes be now imputed to the *emancipés*, to the ignorant needy, desperate mob, the *réacteurs* belonged principally to the respectable classes, and such of those classes as did not act, or applaud, watched what was done with calm indifference. In describing the Reign of Terror, and the scarcely less horrible system which preceded it, we have found it necessary to confine ourselves almost exclusively to Paris, the capital and centre of this revolutionary Pandemonium, we have said scarcely a word concerning the horrible doings at Arras, Troyes, and fifty other provincial towns, and have dropped a veil over the scarcely credible exploits in the south of Jourdan Coupe-Tête, over the towers and glaciers of Avignon, and all the unspeakable atrocities committed in that ancient city, and we must now leave untold the particulars of the Thermidorian reaction in the departments. Yet, before returning to Paris, we may add a few short sentences, that will enable the reader to form some faint conception of this dawn of French political moderation.

The assassinations began at Lyons almost im-

mediately after the 10th Thermidor and the decapitation of Robespierre. Lists were printed and distributed of the names of all the individuals who had distinguished themselves as Terrorists, or who were suspected of having denounced and accused non-Jacobin citizens, and on the same sheets, in a parallel column, there were lists of all the non-Jacobin citizens who had been denounced, guillotined, fusilled, or drowned in the Rhône. Guided by these lists, the respectable young men—the *Jeunesse Dorée* of Lyons—tracked the revolutionists from door to door, made them come out by pretending that they only wanted to conduct them to the Commune, and then shot them, stabbed them, cut them to pieces in the streets. The dead bodies were tied to the first cart or carriage that happened to pass, were dragged to the banks of the Rhône, and thrown into the river, to float down to Avignon and the Mediterranean Sea. If no vehicle was passing, the assassins—the Gilded Youth, the hope of their country—dragged the disfigured corpses with their own arms to the quays, and hurled them into the river with imprecations and curses. Not a voice was raised to condemn these atrocities. The *bourgeoisie*, the manufacturers, merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, who were now absolute masters of the town, contented themselves with saying, at every dead body that passed, 'Well, there is one villain the less!'—and at times they directly excited and encouraged the zeal of the assassins, who in many cases were their own brothers or cousins, sons, nephews, or clerks. The murderers—the members of a nation which, on very insufficient grounds had passed for the most gallant in Europe—made no distinction as to sex, treating the Jacobineesses even as they treated the Jacobins. Failing in finding one Richard, a picture-dealer, they seized his daughter, a girl of seventeen, and carried her to prison, where she was put to death, with scores of other victims. Three women were assassinated in the open streets. Madame Roux, a *ma chienne de modes*, was invited to step out of her shop, and then her brains were blown out before her own door. These excesses were not committed merely in the first madness which followed the overthrow of the Terrorists, they were prolonged through many months. Robespierre had died on the 28th of July, 1794, yet on the 5th of May, 1795, the *Jeunesse Dorée* of Lyons, fatigued with single separate assassinations and weary of the delay and forms of law as exercised by the new tribunals, determined upon a massacre *en masse*. The signal to begin was given at the public theatre. The young men divided themselves into three troops, marched instantly to the three prisons of the town, which contained real Jacobins and suspects, broke open the doors, and butchered ninety-seven individuals, inclusive of five women. At one of these prisons the captives made a desperate resistance, the *Jeunesse Dorée* lost twelve of their own number, and finished the battle by setting fire to the building. A woman with an infant in her arms was seen to throw her-

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self from the top of one of the prison towers into the midst of the flames. And what, under the boasted return of mercy and moderation, law and justice, were the judicial consequences of these monstrous proceedings? Fifteen young men, notoriously guilty, and conspicuous among the *egorgeurs*, were tried before the tribunal of Roanne, and were acquitted by the jury. On returning to Lyons they were honoured with a triumphal entrance, women, married and unmarried, and mostly of the *bourgeoise* or respectability class, went out to meet them, and strewed flowers on their path, and at night they were publicly crowned, like heroes of antiquity, in the resounding theatre. With such encouragement, it is not surprising that the Lyonesse *moderates* should continue their work of assassination for a very long time. At Aix, in Provence, the *Jeu-nette Dorée*, after making an attack with cannon and butchering a great many persons, set fire to the prisons in the hope of burning all that remained in them. Subsequent to this massacre, Isnard, the orator, the legislator, who chained to be at Aix, addressed the citizens from the balcony of an inn, and charmed them with one of his flashes of eloquence. "If," said he, "you have no arms if you have no muskets, dig up the bones of your fathers, and make use of them to exterminate all the Jacobin brigands!" At Fort St Jean, in Marseilles, one of the most frightful massacres was perpetrated under the eye of Cadroy, another Conventualist, a bosom friend and (in this reaction) a collaborator of Isnard. "Children of the Sun!" cried Cadroy to the *jaegers* in the act of butchering defenceless men, "Children of the Sun, I am at your head, and will die with you if necessary. But can you not do your work without making so much noise? You will disturb the town!" At Toulon the ultra Jacobins were treated with the same inhumanity that they had meted out to the royalists in 1793. The worst proceedings of the Parisian Septemberers were imitated and repeated upon different objects, and, taking the whole of the South, the quantity of blood spilt must have been prodigious, for slaughters or assassinations were committed in every town, in every village and hamlet, and this Thermidorien fury of revenge raged at intervals for months, and even for years, leaving family feuds which have not entirely ceased at this day.

The victory of the National Convention over the Mother Society in the Rue St Honore, obtained solely by Freron's *Jeu-nette Dorée*, had led directly to the trial and execution of Carrier, and that great event was soon followed by renewed and much bolder attacks on Billaud-Varenne, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Vadier. Chenier, a bad poet and a worse man, made another motion for the recall, to the loving bosom of the legislature, of all the Girondists who yet survived. He was seconded by Sieyes, who made a mathematical speech, and by Merlin de Douai, who thought that they ought to be reinstated not merely in the Con-

vention, but also in the governing committees. The Montagnards made some timid resistance, but Chenier's motion was carried, and twenty-two Girondists—all that had escaped the guillotine and famine or suicide—were readmitted to their seats in the Convention, after eighteen months of proscription. They associated themselves with the Thermidorians, but some of this party were so much alarmed and irritated at their recall, that they immediately went over and joined the Mountain. In this number were Thuriot, the mortal enemy of Robespierre, and draper Lecontere, who had so obstinately pursued Billaud, Collot, and Barrere. "You know not what you are doing," cried Thuriot to his colleagues, "these Girondists will never pardon you for what you did or suffered to be done to them!" On the 2nd of March, or 12th Ventose very soon after the return of the twenty-two Girondists, Saladin, in the name of the Committee of Twenty-one, reported that there were good grounds of accusation against Billaud, Collot, Barrere, and Vadier, and forthwith, on the motion of butcher Legendre, a decree of provisory arrest was launched against these four men, who had little to plead except that they considered all they had done as necessary to save liberty, republicanism, and their country, that in doing what they had done they had only executed the laws which the Convention itself had previously passed, and that, in many instances, they had been overruled and driven onwards by Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just. Vadier ran away and hid himself, the other three were laid fast in the dismal prison to which they had consigned so many hundreds of victims. The three executioners had their friends and partisans and the Thermidorians, who had stepped into all the governing committees, and filled every office with their allies or creatures, had so managed matters as to create many enemies in Paris. These new authorities and ruling powers were, almost to a man, corrupt, rapacious, and depraved in morals and habits of life, scoundrels that jibbed in the stocks, in the national contracts, and in almost everything else whereby money was to be made. Many of them, beggars before the revolution began, made a pompous display of their wealth and revelled in luxury and festivity, in banquets and balls of the most costly kind, while the people of Paris were almost starving, and assuredly suffering far worse privations than any they had known at the beginning or during any previous part of the revolution. The populace could not but remember that Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just were men that despised money and led quiet, modest lives, and that in their days the people of Paris at least had bread to eat, nor could they forget that, so long as Billaud, Collot, and Barrere retained their power in the committee of *Salut Public*, there was a comparative abundance of the first necessities of life. They nicknamed Bossy-d'Anglais, the present manager of the subsistence department, and a speculating money-making man, *Bossy-Famine*. Hungry and

desperate as they were, it was but natural that the real sans-culottes should make an effort to upset the new system. These Thermidoriens, said they, after taking all power from the people, have stopped the payment of the forty sous per day to the poor and only true patriots, and are spending each of them daily more money than nourished the revolutionary committee of a whole section. This must not be! We must release Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and the other members of the old governing committees, and send these Thermidorien intruders to prison or the guillotine. Such prompting as was needed was given by Vadier and his numerous agents. The 22nd of March, or 3rd Germinal, was the day fixed for the trial, before the National Convention, of Billaud and his companions. On the 20th of March, which was a decade, or republican sabbath, the sans culottes of the Faubourgs St Antoine and St Marceau collected in large bodies, and marched down to the Convention, shouting "Bread! Bread! Bread!" and the Constitution of 93! Bread, and Liberty to the imprisoned Patriots!" Near to the Tuileries they met a few of their antagonists Freron's Gilded Youth, but, being more merciful or more timid than in former times, they only threw these smart young men into the pond or basin in the Tuileries gardens. But, before these insurgents or very turbulent petitioners invaded the sanctuary of the laws, the cry was spread that the Convention was in danger—that the Jacobins were going to deliver their chiefs, and the whole of the fighting *Jacobins*, followed by some 5000 or 6000 citizens of the respectability sections, marched to the Tuileries, dispersed the mob, and mounted guard round the Convention. Being thus delivered, and yet warned of the danger they were supposed to have run, that merciful legislature, on the proposition of Sieyès voted the re-establishment of the old martial law, under the moderated name of *Loi d'exception*. On the appointed day, the 22nd of March, Billaud, Collot, and Barrère were brought to the bar of the Convention. The trial lasted many days. Their old colleagues, who now felt that they must support them or perish with them—that no mercy or compromise was to be expected from the Thermidoriens and revengeful Girondists—defended or excused their public conduct, and nearly all the present members of the Mountain supported them warmly. But the Mountain was now a minority, minorities never had any weight in representative France and it was evident to all men that nothing but a strong popular demonstration could prevent a sentence of condemnation. The patriots of the Faubourgs, who had been in a sort of permanent minor insurrection ever since the 1st Germinal, repeated their visit to the Tuileries on the 12th Germinal they were more numerous, and apparently more furious than before they wore on their hats, "Bread, the Constitution of 93, the liberty of the Patriots!" and this time they burst into the hall of the Convention, and seated themselves down among the members of the Mountain, many of

whom unequivocally declared for them. Crassous, a deputy from the island of Martinique, a decided Montagnard and ultra Jacobin, said that the Convention ought instantly to restore to liberty all the patriots who had been arrested since the fall of Robespierre, that the royalists were agitating France more than ever, that the aristocrats were showing themselves everywhere, and triumphing in all public places, preventing, at the theatres, the singing of patriotic airs, which was an evident proof that they were conspiring against the republic. Ruamps declared that the committees of government had given 30,000 francs to the muscadins or dandies, and that he would proclaim to all France that the committee men, the Thermidoriens, the restored Girondists, and all who sat on the *côte droit*, were so many tyrants. Bourgeois, another Montagnard, said that the new committees of government, after having organised famine, were organising a counter-revolution and, being interrupted by some of the Thermidoriens, who told him that he ought not to utter vociferations against the government, as such things irritated the minds of the people, he shook his fist at the *côte droit*, and then rushed to the tribune and struggled and wrestled and scratched with Tallien and Bourdon de l'Oise, who attempted to drag him from the speaking place. The Thermidoriens cried out for a decree to commit this pugnacious Bourgeois to the Abbaye the Montagnards shouted, "Vote the liberty of the imprisoned patriots!" and the galleries, and the so called deputations on the floor of the house, roared "Bread! Bread! Give us bread, and the Constitution of 93!" Thuriot announced that there was a system on foot for revising the democratic constitution of 93, and for driving France back to the monarchic constitution of 91. Leonard Burdon, Lecturer of Versailles, Cambon, Amar, and others, who had helped the Thermidoriens to overthrow Robespierre, but who had returned to their old seats on the Mountain, were equally violent, telling the people that they were purposely starved by the iniquitous committees of government, who were all in a conspiracy against liberty. The mob, which, as usual, comprised a vast number of women, kept increasing so rapidly, that every corner of the House was soon crammed to suffocation. Several deputies cried out that they were all but smothered, and implored the president to beg the citizens and citizenesses to desile through the hall, and leave the legislators space and air to breathe. Great as was the mob, it was more peaceable and more submissive to the law than many other mobs which had at various times invaded the august Areopagus, for they neither used nor even showed any pikes or swords, confining themselves to words, which were principally demands for bread but matters had changed now from what they had been, the Paris artillery was secured by the governing committee, the tocan, which had been removed from the Hôtel-de-Ville at the defeat of Robespierre and the Commune, was now placed on the roof of the Tuileries, just over

the Convention-hall, and at the order of the president that dreadful bell was set a-going to call the Golden Troop and the respectability sections to the rescue. And, at the sound *La Jeunesse Dorée*, the respectabilities, armed with muskets and bayonets, came marching and drumming to the Tuileries gardens and to the Place du Carrousel, and the quays between the palace and the river side. Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland, who chanced to be at Paris, and in the palace, was named commandant in chief in the capital until the danger should be over, with Merlin de Thionville and Barras for his adjoints. The unarmed mob slunk out of the palace, and dispersed as rapidly as they could, only giving two or three wounds and receiving two or three dozen in their retreat. The liberated triumphing Thermidorians then decreed that Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, Vadier were guilty of all the state crimes with which they were charged, and that they should be deported or transported for life to French Guiana. Nor did the victorious party stop here, but, continuing their work of vengeance, they decreed that Crassous, Ruamps, Bourgeois, Leonard Bourdon, Duhem, Amar, Choudrieu, Chasle, Lecomte, Cambon, and six other Montagnards who had taken part with the mob (called insurgents by the winning party, and petitioners by the party that lost) should be put under arrest and sent to the strong castle of Ham. The Thermidorians further declared Paris to be in a state of siege, and having done all this business, the warring Convention rose at six o'clock in the morning. Little time was allowed for making adieus and packing up portmanteaus: those condemned to deportation to Guiana, and those condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Ham, were all to take their departure from Paris this very morning, the 13th Germinal, or 2nd of April, 'slave style.' It was expected that an insurrection would be made to liberate them, and therefore Pichegru and his adjoints, Merlin de Thionville and Barras, were on the alert. Vadier, who had been tried and condemned *en contumace*, could not be found, Barrere, whose windings and shufflings had brought him to this sad pass, was, or feigned to be, extremely sick, but he, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois were moved from their prison and put into one carriage. Thuriot, Amar, Ruamps, Chasle and all of the seventeen Montagnards that could be seized, were placed in other carriages. The postillions mounted their horses, and the carriages rolled away, preceded and surrounded by mounted gendarmes with loaded pistols in their holsters and with drawn swords in their hands. An immense multitude had collected in the Champs Elysees, and as the coaches arrived there some of the sans-culottes cried that it was the Convention running away to Châlons with all the people's money, and others cried that it was the patriot deputies unjustly torn from the bosom of the Convention, and from the functions with which the people had invested them. In a trice the mob arrested the

carriages, dispersed the gendarmes, and conveyed the coaches and those in them to the committee-room of the section. At the same instant another mob fell upon the guard at the Barrier de l'Etoile, seized some cannons that were there, and pointed them along the road which led from the Tuileries and the Place de la Revolution, across the Champs Elysees. But presently the conqueror of Holland arrived with a great force, including some hundreds of the *Jeunesse Dorée*. Two or three guns were fired on either side (it is said that Pichegru ran some danger), and then the insurgents took to their heels, and the carriages with the prisoners in them were driven off rapidly through the Barrier de l'Etoile without further interruption. The victorious party then proceeded to disperse a great meeting of some of the sans-culottic sections, who had declared themselves to be a permanent assembly, and who were said to be plotting a new insurrection. In a few hours Pichegru appeared in the Convention, and, saying, with a most rare brevity, "Representatives, your decrees are executed," laid down his commandantship. The three ex-dictators were carried safely to Brest, and the authorities there were ordered to ship them off by the first opportunity for the pestilential swamps of French Guiana. But Barrere's shiftiness saved him from this dreadful voyage: he contrived to be left behind at Oleron when the other two set sail with a fair wind—which made a wit observe that this was the first time Barrere had neglected to go with the wind. After two or three other revolutions or insurrections, the revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (1799), when Napoleon Bonaparte upset the Directory with grenadier's bayonets, and established a new kind of tyranny under the name of Consulate, restored him to entire liberty. He returned to Paris and set up a Bonapartist newspaper, entitled the 'Anti Britannic.' This journal was not very successful, and his employer was far from liberal: he led but a poor life in the coffee-houses and garrets of the centre of the universe. He reappeared for a moment on the political scene in 1815, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, but after the battle of Waterloo he was exiled by a royal ordonnance, and he died at last in a foreign country in poverty and obscurity. Collot d'Herbois died of fever and drink, on the 8th of January, 1796, or very soon after his arrival in Guiana. Another deported or transported republican—an innocent victim of the tyranny of the Directory—describes him as lying upon the ground in a raging fever, and exposed to a burning sun: in his agony or delirium he had swallowed a whole bottle of brandy, and the negroes who had been appointed to carry him on a brancard from Kouron to Cayenne, a distance of six leagues, had thrown him down to perish. To a surgeon who found him in this sad state, he said, "I have the fever and a burning sweat." "I believe it," rejoined the surgeon, "you are sweating crime!" He expired vomiting froth and blood, invoking the Virgin Mary, and vainly calling for a priest. The

pestiferous climate proved less fatal to Billaud-Varennes, who probably drank less brandy than ex-legislator and dictator betook himself to the taming and educating of parrots and parrots, with which the country abounded, and the new batch of revolutionists that were sent to Guiana after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor found him surrounded by a numerous family of these noisy loquacious birds, which he had taught to speak French. It appears that after some years he escaped, or was let go, and that he was seen to arrive at New York, in May, 1816, with an appearance very like that of Robinson Crusoe.

The Thermidorians rapidly organised a strong guard for the protection of the Convention, and by adroit management got all the military force in Paris and its neighbourhood under their immediate control. They then, at first cautiously and afterwards boldly attacked the principles of democracy, and announced that the constitution of 93 was a Decemviral constitution, dictated by terror, and altogether unfit for France. They named a committee of eleven members to prepare what they called organic laws intimating very plainly that the sans culotte order were to be excluded not merely from power and office, but also from the right of voting. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was treated as a delusion and an impracticability, and the axiom was emitted that, for the good of the people themselves, there must be a power distinct from and above the people. Foiled and beaten as they had been, the sans culottes would not submit without a struggle: the faubourgs were again agitated, and the poor were rendered more and more desperate by the continued scarcity of bread and the dearth of all provisions*. They still had some leaders who knew the whole business of revolution-making, and these leaders, as far as their restricted means allowed, organised a new insurrection. On the 1st Prairial, or 20th of May, "in the name of the people in insurrection to obtain bread and to repossess themselves of their political rights," they proclaimed, at a great meeting in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the establishment of the democratic constitution of 93, the dismissal and arrest of all the present members of government, the liberation of all the patriots, the convocation of primary assemblies for the 25th Prairial, the convocation of a new legislative Assembly to replace the Convention, which ought to have dissolved itself long before, and the immediate suspension of all authority that did not emanate from the people. They resolved to create a new municipality, to seize the barriers, the telegraph, the alarm-guns, the weapons, and all the drums, and not to allow themselves any rest until they had secured food, tranquillity, liberty, and happiness to all the French. They invited the

Parisian cannoneers, the gendarmes, and all the troops on foot or on horseback to rally round the banner of the people, and with an immense multitude at their heels they marched down once more to the Convention, where again many members of the Mountain were ready to favour them, and, in case of success, to make common cause with them against the Thermidorians and the Girondists. The Conventional guard, strong as it was, was not strong enough to oppose the insurgents: the door was soon broken open, and the hall and the galleries were inundated, chiefly by market women and other patriottes, who shouted, "Bread and the Constitution of 93!" According to the accounts of the victorious party, which were published after their victory had been secured, the president and the great body of the Convention preserved a calm and a sublime countenance, but according to other accounts, entitled to just as much credit, a good many of the legislators ran away at once out of the perilous Bédlam. There was more cause for fear than at the irruption of the 12th Ventose, for now most of the sans culottes had brought their pikes with them, and some of them had muskets and sharp bayonets. The boldest of the deputies called in gendarmes and respectability sections, who, entering the hall by inner doors, charged the petticoat patriots, and drove them out. Then the cry arose from the Place du Carroussel and the Tuileries gardens that the Convention was assassinating the women and, fired at the words, the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine, St. Marceau, and the Marais fell to work upon all the closed doors of the palace with hatchets and axes, hammers and crow bars—the doors flew open, rattle into pieces, the insurgents entered, and, sweeping away the gendarmes and the sectioners, penetrated into the august Arcopagus. The gendarmes tried another charge, and fired a few musket shots from the galleries—but not many, as the insurgents and the Thermidorians were mixed, and some of the faubourg men soon dislodged the gendarmes. In this confusion Deputy Leraud who came running in from one of the corridors, was shot by a pistol fired by one of the insurgents, and mistaking him for Freron, the renegade journalist, the patriots fell upon him with their pikes and swords, and then, dragging him into a passage, cut off his head and stuck it upon a pike. By this time the Thermidorian deputy had taken his flight, except Boissy-d'Anglas, or Boissy-Famine, who probably considered himself safer in the interior of the Convention than he would have been out side among the mob. About sixty approving Montagnards remained on their benches to finish, and in their manner legalise, what the people had begun and were doing. Romme, the mathematician, who had made the republican calendar, took the president's chair, and made himself the organ of the sovereign people. The Montagnards, acting as though they were a House, and upon the principle that the Thermidorians and restored Girondists, having lost the people's confidence,

* It would be difficult to find one of the newspapers of the 19th Prairial, or just eleven days before this insurrection. I find to-day on the whole surface of the globe a people who are like us who inhabit the city of Paris. Yesterday we received only two or three of bread a piece, and to-day this miserable ration is as here diminished. All our streets are resounding with the complaints of those who are tormented by hunger!—*Amazons Patriotiques.*

could no longer have a voice in the representation, voted and decreed everything that the insurgents demanded or suggested. They named an executive committee or provisory government, composed of their friends Bourbotte, Duroi, Duquesnoy, and Prieur de la Marne, and appointed Soubrany to be commandant-general of the armed force of Paris. They decreed the recall of Thuriot, Amar, and of all their comrades who had been arrested, the imprisonment of all their enemies in the Convention, the democratic constitution of '93, and the immediate re-establishment of the Jacobin Club. One of the insurgents kept bawling for the space of an hour, "I demand the arrest of all rogues and cowards!" This would have comprehended every man then sitting, or that had been sitting during the last two years in that legislature, but it appears that the demand was not attended to.

But, while the Montagnards were voting and decreeing, and the insurgents were shouting and hugging one another for joy, the Thermidorians who had fled out of the House were bestirring themselves in the city, and, as evening was setting in, Burras, Kervilegin and butcher Legendre returned to the neighbourhood of the place with an immense force of respectability sectioners, and occupied the Place du Carrousel, the Tuileries gardens, the quays, and all the avenues. The Parisian citizens had not joined the patriots, but were now drawing their cannon along the streets to point them against them, and the silly insurgents, who had been besiegers in the morning, were now besieged. They made some resistance, but not much, the sectioners and Ieron's Gilded Youth soon penetrated into the Convention Hall with charging bayonets, and Legendre, who was at their head, ordered, in the name of the law, the armed citizens to retire. The insurgents hesitated for a moment, and then making a rush to every door and window, they ran or leaped out in terrible confusion. Most of the Montagnards vacated their seats and followed the mob at the risk of being crushed to death; the Thermidorien deputies returned, annulled all that their adversaries had done, and ordered the arrest of thirteen or fourteen of the most active of the Montagnards, a number which was more than doubled in the course of the two or three following days, so that the Mountain was purged out as the Gironde had been, until the scarcely visible minority submitted to and was lost in the majority, a *pot pourri* of all parties and opinions. On the following day, the 2nd Prairial, or 21st of May, the sans-culottes of the faubourgs returned to the charge: they were still better armed, and they had procured some cannon, but the sectioners also were better prepared, more numerous and had a better park of artillery. The respectabilities were also the first to arrive in force at the Tuileries, and, before the insurgents could point their guns at that unhappy edifice, the artillery of the sections, from behind the iron railing, from the garden and the courts of the palace, was pointed at them. On either side, however, there seemed a

reluctance to begin fighting, and, instead of putting their lighted matches to their guns, they began to call one another names, the respectabilities calling the faubourg men "Drinklers of blood," and these calling them "Dandies" (*muscadins*). The Thermidorians sitting in the House proposed terms of accommodation, sent commissioners to treat with the insurgents, and admitted to the hall, and accommodated and fraternized with, St Legier, a commissioner the mob sent in to announce what would satisfy the faubourgs. These terms were as high as they had been yesterday—the people must have bread and the constitution of '93—the patriots must be released and restored, and the non patriots sent to Guiana and to prison in their stead—the members of government must be changed, and their places be supplied by true democrats,—and St Legier vowed that the insurgents had made up their minds to die at their posts rather than lower these demands. But, while he was speechifying and receiving the Judas accolade of the president, the Thermidorien commissioners were cajoling the armed mob, and the respectabilities and the Gilded Youth were increasing and still increasing their forces: the men of the faubourgs, who were only capable of an alacrity in fighting when the odds were decidedly in their favour, were easily induced to retire on the Convention's promising to provide bread and preserve the principles of the constitution of '93. This retreat was fatal to sans-culottism and the Montagnards. Many of the faubourg men were gained over in the course of that day and the following night, and some of the bravest of them resolved never again to join an *emeute*, since they were now to begin and end in mere talking and calling of names. The man who had shot, or was said to have shot, deputy Feraud was sent to the guillotine. A party of friends rescued him and carried him back to Faubourg St Antoine. But the heart and strength of that once terrible faubourg had departed, and the sectioners and Gilded Youth not merely recaptured the man, but executed with surprising ease the decree of the Convention to seize the guns, and entirely disarm St Antoine. The Montagnard deputies now saw that it was not their deportation to Guiana that would satisfy their enemies. Old Ruhl, who had helped to organise the last insurrection, blew out his brains. Romme, Bourbotte, Duroi, Duquesnoy, Soubrany, and Goujon were put upon their trial before a military commission. On hearing the sentence of death, Goujon drew a sharp knife which he had concealed about his person, and, stabbing himself, handed it to Romme, Romme, after making the same use of it, passed it to his next neighbour, and the next to the next—but only Goujon, Romme, and Duquesnoy struck with a firm hand, and died on the spot; the other three, with their wounds open, were carried to the scaffold. The six were fanatics, but far, very far from being the worst men of the Convention: they had been infinitely less sanguinary than many of the Thermidorians, and their honesty and disinterestedness in money matters were above all

suspicion Jean Bon St Andre, Vouland, Robert-Lindet, and David the painter were thrown into prison as dangerous Montagnards and ultra-Jacobins, and Carnot had a very narrow escape.* Some of this fallen party fled and concealed themselves till the storm was over, and two or three shot or poignarded themselves, declaring that the blessed hope of liberty and equality, and of the peaceful reign of a virtuous democracy in France, was gone for ever. Like the flying and self-murdering Girondists, not one of them appears to have confessed that he and his party had committed imbecile errors and monstrous crimes. The surviving Girondists, who had learned vengeance, but not mercy, from the dreadful sufferings they had undergone during their proscription, were now among the most active and pitiless of the proscribers, and there were men among them who would have been satisfied with nothing less than the utter extermination of their adversaries. As it was, between the 10th Thermidor and the 10th Prairial nearly one hundred Montagnards were militarily condemned and executed, or transported, or incarcerated, or compelled to fly and hide themselves from the sight of man. The victory of the Thermidoriens, and the measures they adopted after it, entirely secured the dominion of the respectability or middle classes. The Parisian gendarmes and cannoneers, who were too closely connected with the poorer inhabitants of the capital and its faubourgs, were dissolved and completely disarmed, the national guard was to be re-organized, none being admitted into its ranks that could not show some property or respectability, or some other good proof of their aversion to sans-culottism and to a perennial state of turmoil and insurrection, a regular camp, with artillery constantly in battery, was established in the Tuileries garden under the windows of the Convention,† a strong garrison of troops of the line was cantoned in and round Paris, and finally the entrance to the galleries of the Convention was closed to the mob, who had made so fearful a use of their privilege—it was decreed that women should be wholly excluded, and that men should only be admitted by members' tickets.

While these things were doing, and while the Thermidoriens and restored Girondists were riding rough-shod over the prostrate democracy, that hapless boy the Dauphin, whom the royalists now fondly called their king, expired in the Temple, in the twelfth year of his age. He had been slowly dying for many months, but it was on the 20th Prairial, or 8th of June, that he was released from his sufferings. Reports were spread that he had been poisoned—idle reports—for the close confinement, and the affliction, and the frightful usage he had undergone were more than sufficient to account

for his death, and must have killed him long before if his constitution had not been a very strong one. On the 9th of June his body was opened and examined by four surgeons and physicians, in presence of several commissaries, and their *procès verbal* was published in the *Moniteur*. On the 10th of June, in the dusk of the evening, two civil commissaries, and the commissary of the police of the section, repaired to the tower of the Temple "to carry away the body of the son of Louis Capet." They found it naked, and in their presence it was put into a common wooden coffin or shell, and then carried forthwith to the cemetery of Ste. Marguerite, in the street of the Fubourg St Antoine. It was escorted from station to station, on the way, by detachments of infantry, and was buried in darkness, without prayer or ceremony, like the carcass of a dog. All this was done by the orders and precise directions of the committee of *Surveillance Générale*, which was not now composed of Maratists or Robespierrists, but of your generous and humane Girondists, and your excellent counter-revolutionary Thermidoriens, who had no longer anything to fear from that rabble to which the brutalities of all parties have been so exclusively and so falsely attributed.

Monsieur, the eldest of the dauphin's uncles, now took the title of king, and, in a religious ceremony which took place at the head-quarters of the emigrant army of Condé, the Prince of Condé pronounced the ancient formula "Louis XVII is dead, long live Louis XVIII." The Committee of Eleven, appointed to prepare organic laws, and modify and make fit for action the constitution of '93, soon produced a very new and a very different constitution, which was accepted and decreed by the purged Convention on the 22nd of August. These philosophical statesmen had been brought at last to recognise the necessity of two houses or chambers, and therefore there were to be two elected chambers, one of ancients or seniors to be called *CONSEIL DES ANCIENS*, and to consist of 250 members of the age at least of forty full years, and one of juniors, to be called *CONSEIL DES CINQ CENTS*, and to consist of 500 members, all of the age of thirty years at least. All the powers of legislation were to be divided between these two elective chambers or councils, and there was to be no third estate, or president,* or any other authority with the faculty of confirming or rejecting laws. As if to place the two councils in a state of direct antagonism and perpetual collision, the *Cinq Cents* were to have the sole right of proposing and discussing decrees and laws, or *seul l'initiative et la discussion des lois*, and the *Anciens* were to have the sole right of confirming or rejecting the decrees and laws, their negative being made as absolute as any royal veto. The committees of government were to be suppressed, and the executive power, separated from the two councils, was to be vested in a directory, consisting of five mem-

* Carnot was denounced and his name was set down on the first lengthening list of proscriptions, but a Thermidorien deputy, hearing that Carnot had been a good administrator for the army and had often led victory, and at these words the name of Carnot was struck out of the list.

† This camp was afterwards transferred to the plain of Sablon, just outside Paris.

* If we admit a president, said Paulias Louvet who was again figuring as a lawyer "some day a Bourbon might be elected to that office."

bers, who were all to be elected by the two councils—or, as they expressed it, the directors were to be named by the Council of Ancients, on the presentation of the Council of Five Hundred. These directors were to have the management of the army and the finances, the nomination of public functionaries, and the conducting of negotiations, but they were to do nothing by themselves, but must employ ministers, generals, negotiators, &c., for whose conduct they would be responsible. The judges were to be elective. The Declaration of the Rights of Man had been put in mourning and veiled in crape many times before, but now nearly every principle, line, and word of it were blotted out by this constitution ink, or painted over, all one black, by the Thermidorian brush. Universal suffrage was declared an abomination, the old distinction of active and passive citizens was to be revived, and the money qualification made necessary both in electors and in electors, and this money qualification was fixed high enough to exclude totally the great body of the common people. The elections, as before, were not to be simple and direct like ours, but the constituents, in primary assemblies, were to elect electoral assemblies, and those bodies were to elect the representatives.

Assuming that the revolution could only be defended by the men that made it and that this new constitution could be made to mar it properly only by its authors, the Convention issued two supplementary decrees, importing that two-thirds of the present members must remain or be re-elected, and that for this time the active citizens, sitting as electors in assemblies, should only have free choice of one-third, and that, in default of the re-election of those two-thirds, the Convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. It was further decided and decreed that the primary assemblies should meet on the 21th Fructidor, or 6th of September, to accept the constitution and its supplement, or reject both. Abbe Sieyès, who had had the chief hand in the concoction of this new scheme of polity, felt convinced that he had now produced the most ingenious, the most perfect, and most enduring of constitutions.

On the appointed day the constitution was accepted and ratified by the townships of France, the primary assemblies voting with overwhelming majorities for a thing they neither understood nor had examined. Oaths again volleyed through France—oaths to live or die by this glorious republican charter. But in Paris a very mixed opposition instantly began to show itself, for each party had hoped to gain something by a new election, and now there was to be only the third of an election. Ultra-Jacobin republicans, men who continued the party or the principles of Robespierre, Ruhl, and Bourbotte, the shuffling middle men of the Convention, who never knew what party to be of, and who were of all parties by turns, the constitutional monarchists, and the disguised ultra-royalists, all joined in shouting usurpation, in declaring that the supplementary decrees plainly showed that the

ruling Conventionals were determined to preserve their tyrannical power at all hazards—that they wanted to perpetuate themselves. The journalists of these strangely mixed parties wrote *con fureur*, their orators spouted *con fureur*. Section Lepelletier, under the direction of Richer-Serizy, La Harpe, Lacroix, Jun, Vaublanc, and other men of note and literature, flatly declared that they would not accept the supplement, invited the other free sections to join them, and formed a central committee. The majority of the sections accepted the invitation, and agreed at a numerous meeting that the electoral assemblies of Paris should meet on the 10th Vendémiaire in the Théâtre Français, that they should be escorted thither by the armed force of the sections, who should swear to defend them unto death, &c. And, in effect, on the very next day the electors assembled in the theatre to elect new representatives without regard to the decree of the two-thirds they were precluded over by the Duke of Nivernois, a decided royalist and an ancient minister of state, and they were protected by strong detachments of the national guard. In the evening the Convention sent to dissolve the meeting by force; but before their troops arrived the assembly of electors had adjourned for the morrow, and had quietly retired to their several sections. During the night the Convention voted two decrees, one dissolving, as illegal, this meeting or college of electors, and the other embodying, under the name of patriots of '89, some 1500 or 1800 ultra-Jacobins, who had been driven out of the departments, or exposed to great persecution in Paris during the fiercest part of the reaction, and who now seemed ready to fight for any party that would give them bread. These decrees carried terror and consternation through the sections which had committed themselves section Lepelletier beat its arms, and during the whole of the 12th Vendémiaire, or 4th of October, the committee sat in the convent of Filles St Thomas, in the Rue Vivienne, surrounded by guards with fixed bayonets and muskets primed, and calling upon all the sections to arm and fight for the freedom of election, and the overthrow of a set of greedy, ambitious, bloodthirsty usurpers. With a consternation as great as that of the section, the Convention ordered Menou, the general of the interior, to march, disarm, and disperse the conspirators. Menou marched accordingly, and with a considerable force, but he was brought to a dead halt in the Rue Vivienne by seeing the muzzles of muskets protruding from every door, gateway, and window, and by hearing a terrible chorus of most resolute shouts, and after hesitating for a few minutes, during which a good many of his volunteers skulked away, he returned speedily to the Convention, who deprived him of his command, and ordered him under arrest as a traitor. Next they named Barras as a proper man to take the command of the troops and put down the insurrection. Barras had acted in this capacity before and particularly on the critical night when

panic-stricken insurgent, being followed into their several sections, were disarmed during the night.*

The victory was complete, the ill-combined sectioners, who would soon have turned their arms against each other if success had attended them, could never rise again. The victors, though not very moderate in their vengeance, were incomparably less sanguine than any triumphant party had hitherto been. Tallien and some other conventionalists would have annulled the elections of the third or of all the new deputies returned in virtue of the constitution and the supplementary decree, and would have suspended the new constitution itself before it came well into action—setting it aside as they had formerly shelved *Herauld de Sechelles'* masterpiece, or the democratic constitution of 1793—but the majority, after some furious debating, negatived both these propositions. The House then formed itself into an "Electoral National Assembly," to complete in its own bosom the two thirds—that is, to name themselves the members that were to remain, and the members that were to go out to make room for the third who had been elected by the people or by their electoral colleges. Next they divided themselves, according to their several ages, into Council of Ancients and Council of Five Hundred, and, all this being done, they proceeded to elect out of their own body or bodies the five directors. The Directors thus chosen were Sieves, la Revellere-Lepaux, Rewbell, L'etourneur, and Barras. They were to preside, turn and turn about, each for three months at a time, and he who presided was to keep the great seals and sign for the whole Directory. Every year one fifth of this Directory was to be renewed, that is, one director was to retire annually and make room for a new one. By this rapid rotation all the leading members of the convention might hope to be directors in their turns. A military guard and a sort of civil list were conferred upon them, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for their residence. Sieves, out of antipathy and hatred to his colleague Rewbell, or through calculation, or perhaps out of a vain desire to show that if his perfect constitution did not work quite so well as its admirers had anticipated, it was because those entrusted with its execution did not perform their duty ably or honestly, very soon resigned, and was succeeded by Carnot. Except la Revellere-Lepeaux, all these first directors had been Montagnards and ultra Jacobins. They published an amnesty for political offences, changed the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde, and they intimated in sundry speeches and diplomatic papers that the French republic, all conquering as it was, was not averse to peace upon fair and honourable terms. Yet, on the 30th of September, when the Convention had organized the new constitution, and was sliding into its new names and appointed forms, it had been decreed

that the Austrian Netherlands were for ever incorporated with the republic. And the instant that Carnot became director all his attention was directed to plans of conquest for Germany and Italy. The Directory offered to liberate the sister of the dauphin (afterwards Duchess of Angoulême), the sole sad survivor of the prisoners of the Temple, upon condition that the emperor should restore the commissioners of the Convention whom Dumouriez had given up to him—I amarque, Drouot (the hero of Varennes), Quinette, Bancal, Beurnonville, and starch Camus. The exchange being agreed to, the young princess, with a face and a heart already made old by grief, was removed from the Temple on the 19th of December, by the minister of the interior, who carried her to his own house, whence she immediately departed for Germany. She arrived at Vienna on the 9th of January (1796), as poor and forlorn as well might be. The only property she brought with her was a small parcel of linen, some miniatures, some hair of her father, mother, and the Princess Elizabeth, her aunt, with a few other relics she had gathered and preserved in her horrible prison.*

Notwithstanding the confident predictions of ministers in the last session of parliament, the dearth of bread and general scarcity of provisions had increased in Great Britain, and the poorer classes had certainly suffered severe privations ever since the beginning of the year†. The successes of the French and the defections from the coalition, together with some harsh practices used at home for recruiting the army, had to some extent rendered the war unpopular and hopeless. We had no brilliant victory by sea to set off against the triumphs of our enemies by land, nor could ministers quote so much as the acquisition of one unheld by sugar-land. The common council of the city of London passed, by a vast majority, a petition for peace, wherein was contained a severe criticism on the origin and conduct of the war, and Southwark and various other cities and boroughs followed this example. Counter addresses were made procured by ministers, but their tone was thought to be but faint and languid. The political societies took advantage of the prevailing discontents and laboured hard to give them growth and increase. At the end of June a numerous meeting was held in St. George's Fields to petition for annual parliaments and universal suffrage: a riot was apprehended, and the volunteers of the metropolis were drawn out on Kennington Common, but the

* Thiers in his attempt to show that the directors behaved with respect to the king and queen at the trial of women. He says as they provided for the safety of the army. He however states that the king and queen were taken from the Grand Duke of Tuscany (the maternal uncle of the princess) applying for leave to see the released captives, and from the Directory no other answer than an immediate order to quit Paris. Thiers indeed interprets this striking as redoubt a suspicion that the directors suspected Charles who was always boasting his love for France and for republicanism, fleeing at heart no friend to the French.

† The distress of provisions had caused a riot at Birmingham in which one man had been killed by the soldiers. There had been riots in other places but they had been put down by the civil power without any bloodshed.

In the month of June the city was so severe as to kill many thousands of newly-shorn sheep in different parts of the country. It was computed that in Wiltshire one fourth of the flocks were destroyed.

• T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*—Mignet—A. Vissieux, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*—Documents in Hist. Parliament.

day passed over with nothing worse than some very bad speeches. The harvest, however, had been very abundant, bread was becoming comparatively cheap, and the worst cause of alarm was gradually subsiding by the month of October. On the 26th of October the London Corresponding Society called a general meeting in the fields between Islington and Copenhagen House. The multitude that assembled was vaguely computed at 50 000, but it was a fine day, and it appears that the majority of those present were merely seeking a little amusement. Three rostra were erected, and one John Binns was called to open the business of the day, which he stated to be—an address to the nation on its critical and calamitous state, a remonstrance to his majesty on the neglect and contempt shown to some previous addresses presented to ministers, and certain resolutions as to the best mode of remedying the existing evils of the country. The multitude were informed that every man among them who chose to make a speech might do so, and was invited to do it, whether he were a member of the Corresponding Society or not. But not a single individual of all those thousands accepted the invitation, so that wall, who had been so recently acquitted of high treason at the Old Bailey got upon one speaking place, Gale Jones got upon another, and one Hodson occupied the third, and these three Society-men (no doubt, much to their own satisfaction) had all the speech-making to themselves, with an occasional word from Mr. president Binns. The addresses, remonstrance and resolutions were all agreed to—though many of the men and women and little boys and girls present could hardly hear a word of them—and it was ordered that they should all be printed and distributed at the expense of the Corresponding Society. It was a glorious day for Copenhagen House, for the other nearest taverns, and the meeting dispersed with the most perfect tranquillity. Ministers had, however, taken the alarm and had convoked parliament for an unusually early day.

On the 29th of October, as the king was going down to the House of Lords, to open the session in person, he was surrounded by a numerous mob who had previously hissed the Earl of Chatham, the Duke of Portland, and his Royal Highness of Gloucester and who now shouted and growled at his majesty, and clamorously demanded peace and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt and the present bread. As the state coach came opposite to the Ordnance Office, then in St. Margaret Street, a public or a noble thrown by a vigorous hand, or a ball discharged from an air-gun, went through one of the glasses, and passed between the king and Lord Westmoreland, who was in the coach with him. His majesty said, "That's a shot!" and on entering the House of Lords he said to the chancellor (Loughborough), "My lord, I have been shot at!" A number of persons were immediately arrested and carried for examination into the Duke of Portland's office, the

glass of the carriage was examined, and the clean round hole in it seemed to leave little doubt that it had been made by a bullet. Waiting the result of these examinations, no business was done by the Lords till near six o'clock, when Lord Westmoreland, having previously moved that strangers should withdraw, related in a formal manner the insult and outrage with which the king had been treated, adding that his majesty and those who had accompanied him were of opinion that the glass had been broken by a ball from an air-gun, which had been discharged from a bow-window of a house adjoining the Ordnance Office, with a view to assassinate the king. On going back from the House to St. James's Palace, a stone was thrown which struck the wood work between the windows of the state coach, there was a good deal of hooting and shouting, "Bread! Bread!" and no Pitt!" some of the mob, either by design, or because they were driven forward by the living heaving masses behind them (the crowd having swelled prodigiously), got so near to the coach that the king, somewhat agitated, made a motion to the horse guards who rode on either side of him, to keep them off, and, as his majesty was about to alight at St. James's, one of the carriage horses taking fright threw down an old groom and broke one of his thighs. After the king had entered the palace some fellows in the mob threw stones at the carriage and did it much injury. Staying but a short time at St. James's, the king put himself in a private coach and drove to Buckingham House, the usual residence of the queen and the princesses. He was again surrounded in the park, but, while part of the crowd cried "Bread, Bread! Peace, Peace!" another part cheered and applauded him and a detachment of horse-guards presently dispersed them all. No bullet—though we believe one was used—was ever found, and neither air gun nor plot was ever discovered, although the most determined search was made for both. All that was clear was that there were some ill-mannered ruffians in London (no surprising fact in a population of near a million), and that some one villain or madman had fired at the king. The great mass of the people of London, as of the whole nation, were filled with disgust and horror, and were really animated by a loyalty which suspicion ought not to have reached. The king himself seemed to show that he did not suspect them for he went the very next night with the queen and three of his daughters to Covent Garden theatre, where he was received with enthusiastic bursts of applause, and where the audience made the actors sing "God save the King" three times over. Some few critics in a corner of the gallery, venturing a few hisses at the third call for the national anthem, were presently ejected with torn coats and sore bones. The nation in no way merited the strong coercive bills which ministers immediately prepared for it—bills which were almost enough to provoke and create the evils they were intended to prevent.

In the meanwhile the speech from the throne

had made the most of the check which the French had received from the Austrians on the Rhine. It also said that the ruin of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled financial embarrassments of the French seemed to have induced them to have some wish for peace, and it gave the assurance that any disposition on their part to negotiate for a general peace on just and suitable terms would not fail to be met on the part of his majesty with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. The directorial government, which had certainly put down anarchy, had scarcely yet been tried in its foreign relations and the speech held out a hope (a most unfounded hope) that the rage of foreign enmity was abating in France. Still, however, a war was recommended, in order to meet the possible continuance of the war, and improve our maritime superiority.

The first consequence of the late riot was a proclamation offering 1000*l*. for the discovery of any person guilty of the outrages against his majesty's person. This was followed by another proclamation enjoining all magistrates and well affected subjects to exert themselves in suppressing all unlawful meetings and the dissemination of seditious writings. These were but preludes to more stringent measures. On the 6th of November Lord Grenville introduced in the House of Lords a bill "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts." And on the same day a bill was brought into the Commons by Pitt, "for the prevention of seditious meetings." These bills, which went to restrict the right of the people to assemble for petitioning the crown and the legislature, and for discussing political subjects, were warmly opposed in all their stages and in both Houses, as violent and unnecessary encroachments on popular liberty and the privileges granted or acknowledged by our constitution, but they were both carried by majority even larger than usual for many men with an unflinching link, had chosen to connect the meeting in the Copenhagen fields with the outrages offered to the king, and others were of opinion that the unchecked harangues of the Thelwalls and H. H. Joneses, might lead the people into excesses. In this frame of mind the majority would probably have voted the bills in perpetuity, but it was thought proper to limit their duration to three years. With the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, with these new enactments, and with a fast increasing shoal of spies and informers, it can scarcely be denied that the freedom, tranquillity, and domestic enjoyment of Englishmen were placed in great jeopardy, and a reference to the accumulating prosecutions and trials of the day will show in uncivil and unhappy state of society, the result of the political intemperance and madness of a few, and the fears and suspicions of the many—for the majority of the nation more than shared in the panic of those who governed them.

On the 8th of December a message from the King was delivered to both Houses, stating that the present order of things in France would induce his majesty to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to conclude a treaty for a general peace, and that his majesty hoped that the spirit and determination manifested by his parliament, added to the recent and important successes of the Austrian arms, and to the continued and growing embarrassments of the enemy, might speedily conduce to the attainment of this great object. In the debates on the address to be returned to this message the opposition insisted that it was absurd to pretend that any of the recent changes in the French government rendered that nation either more or less fit to be treated with now than it had been last session or the session before, or at any other period when that side of the House had recommended entering into pacific negotiations. The address was, however, carried in both Houses, by the usual high majorities, and thus a most delusive hope was held out to the people that the war was really about to be terminated.

IN 1796. After the Christmas recess Mr Grey, in the Commons, made a motion to bind the country to a peace complying that, contrary to general expectation in the ministry, in lieu of opening negotiations, were making preparations for continuing the war. Pitt said that there was a sincere desire of peace if it could be obtained on honourable terms, but that the country could not break her faith with the allies that remained true to her, or consent to any arrangements which should leave the French in possession of Belgium, Holland, Savoy, Nice, &c., and he added, rather laughingly, that it was for ministers to determine when and how negotiations should be opened. Mr Grey's motion was negatived by 190 against 50.

On the 10th of March the same honourable member moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the nation. In his speech he dwelt upon the enormous expenses and the hopeless prospects of the war. Within the last three years 77,000,000*l*. had been added to the national debt, to pay the interest of which taxes had been imposed amounting to 2,600,000*l*. per annum. The American war, from first to last, had not cost us so much as this—the debt contracted on that account did not exceed 63,000,000*l*. He represented our commerce as declining, and the country as reduced to a state in which it could bear no new taxes. Pitt and his adherents insisted that the commerce of the country had increased and was rapidly increasing, and with bold faces they attempted to justify an expenditure which was in good part unjustifiable, for large sums had been thrown away in absurd projects, and still larger sums had been allowed to be robbed by jobbers, contractors, commissaries, and the other harpies that were fattening on a misconducted war, or reaping a golden harvest at every blunder committed in the conduct

of it. The opposition, however, committed a political error in constantly repeating that England was ruined and never could compete with France, and Pitt bitterly accused them of taking pains to encourage the French to assume the arrogance of dictating the terms of peace. Mr Grey's motion was negatived by 207 against 45. A few weeks later, on the 6th of May, he moved a long series of resolutions charging ministers with numerous acts of misappropriation of the public money, in flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of presenting false accounts calculated to mislead the judgment of the House, but the order of the day was also carried against this motion by a majority of 209 to 38. On the 10th of the same month a motion was made in the House of Commons, by Fox, and another in the Peers, by Lord Guildford, for an address to the crown upon the manner in which the war with France had been misconducted, and against its continuance. Mr Wickham, our envoy to the Swiss Cantons, had already had some communication with Barthelmy, the French negotiator in chief; ministers urged that these communications were quite sufficient to induce the republic to treat, if it really had any pacific intention, the opposition said that Mr Wickham had not done enough to *convince* the French: the ministerial majority was, in the Lords 110 against 10, in the Commons 216 against 42. In the course of the session two budgets were produced, and two new loans contracted, amounting together to 25,500,000*l*. The supplies granted for the year were, for the navy, 7,522,552*l*. for the army, 11,911,699*l*. for the Ordnance, 1,954,665*l*. for military and civil service, 13,521,430*l*. An absurd tax upon printed linens and cloths was removed, a poultry tax upon *d*, and a still more poultry one upon hats (estimated to produce together 140,000*l*) and a tax of 20*l* a tun upon wine, which was calculated to produce 600,000*l*. were laid on. On the 19th of May the session was closed by a speech from the throne, which expressed the happy effects experienced from the provisions adopted for suppressing sedition and for strengthening the progress of principles subversive of all established government.

In the course of the summer, Burke, to persuade us to snare a part of the country out of its fears, and to prove that there was more danger in treating with the French than in fighting with them, published the two first of his celebrated 'Letters on a Rigid Peace'. These two Letters, the last of his writings he lived to give to the world, and the two others that were published after his death, are to be classed among the most splendid efforts of his great mind. The war had been conducted on a very different system from the one he had proposed, but the monstrous errors which had been committed did not make him despair of the final result, provided only a check could be given to that despondence which had seized upon many minds, and which the opposition were inculcating and promoting. "To a people," said he, "who have been once

proud and great, and great because they were proud, a change in the national spirit is the most terrible of all revolutions!" The Letters which were soon to be looked upon as a dying legacy to his country, had a decided effect in re-animating those whose spirit had been drooping. Nevertheless Pitt considered himself obliged to continue the overtures which had been made to Barthelmy at Basle. Mr Wickham asked whether the Directory were desirous to negotiate with Great Britain and her allies on moderate and honourable conditions, and would agree to a meeting of a congress for this purpose. Barthelmy replied that the Directors sincerely desired peace, but must positively insist on keeping Belgium, or all the Austrian dominions in the Low Countries, as they had been formally annexed to the French Republic by a constitutional decree which could not be revoked. It was after these overtures that the Directory, who had already adopted the principle that England was to be ruined only through her commerce, issued and enforced a severe decree, preventing the admission of English goods, not merely into any part of France and Belgium, but into any of the French dependencies, among which were now to be reckoned Holland and the German States on the Rhine. In the very country where the pacific overtures were made, the French were dictating the law and domineering in the most insolent manner. In the preceding year a democratic revolution, under their auspices, had been effected in Geneva, where the sans culottes established a revolution tribunal, which capitally condemned several of the principal citizens, and banished or imprisoned many more, and it was already made evident—by much by the mad fury of the native democrats, by the tone and the increasing power of the French—that all the cantons of Switzerland would be converted into helpless dependencies of France. Never had the Gallic propagandism been more insidious and active, and, perhaps, at no previous period had it been so successful, for, although the Thermidorians and the Directors had blotted out the vaunted Rights of Man, and every day and hour proved the fallacy of the popular dream of liberty and equality and the unlimited sovereignty of the people, both their public and their secret agents in foreign countries were still repeating the old naked Jacobin principles, in order to excite the people to insurrection against their governments, and to co-operation with the *liberating* armies of France. Moreover, at the very same time, the Directors were fostering and entertaining at Paris a number of Irish revolutionists, and were contemplating a grand expedition to Ireland, to co-operate with our rebellious subjects, and to convert that country into another small dependency. Nay, to such length had matters gone, that in the preceding month of June the Directory had concluded a treaty with Wolfe Tone, Arthur O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the leaders of the Irish revolutionists, who had smuggled themselves over to Paris for that purpose, and, though

all unknown to his lordship, a copy of that secret treaty was lying not many yards from the spot where they, in October, pretended to enter upon a pacific conference with the noble English envoy. This they were doing while pretending a desire to treat, and yet they indignantly complained of an English mission sent to the court of Berlin, which mission, they said, could only be intended to bring Prussia back to the coalition. Afterwards they affirmed that it was on account of the failure of this mission that Pitt was induced to renew his overtures to France. In the autumn, not, we believe, with the slightest hope of bringing the negotiation to any admissible end, our government actually applied for passports for an ambassador and suite to go to Paris. "Thus," says Thiers, who can still chuckle over the matter, 'the English aristocracy were reduced to sue for peace to the regicide republic!'. This striking proceeding on the part of our most implacable enemy had something glorious in it for our republic!" As Thiers feels now, even so felt—but only much more intensely—the republicans then. The step raised their presumption and confidence by many degrees: it was a gigantic faux pas in politics, from which the trumpet-tongue of Burke ought to have warned every state-man, every Englishman; its effects were likely to be as mischievous as all the blunders united which had been committed in the conduct of the war, but the opposition had driven for this, and Pitt had thought it necessary to prove to the nation that a peace with France was not attainable. Lord Malmesbury and his numerous retinue arrived at Paris on the 22nd of October. The five kings of the Lowlands—the Directors were fast assuming a very regal state—appointed their minister of foreign affairs to confer with his lordship, who proposed mutual restitution of conquests as the fundamental principle of a treaty. The successes of England in the East and West Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope &c., placed her out of the condition of requiring restitutions for herself; but, as France had made large acquisitions from the allies of England and the present negotiation must turn upon the compensations France would expect for the restitutions she was expected to make. England, on her part, would make restitutions, but not without some compensations. Delacroix, who had not the shadow of a power intrusted to him, withdrew to consult the Directors. These honourable men intimated that England had better treat by and for herself, and leave her allies to shift for themselves, considerably adding however, that, if he could obtain credentials from those allies, they would take into consideration any specific proposals his lordship might have to make. With a contempt for all the rules of diplomacy they published in the *Moniteur* the notes and observations of Lord Malmesbury, and the answers of Delacroix. After several discussions his lordship, on the 14th of November, stated that it was usual for the ambassador of one allied power to demand to treat in

the name of its allies, without being named plenipotentiary by each and all of them; that, for the rest, England was sure of obtaining the consent of her allies to all that was reasonable, and that he must request the Directory to explain themselves clearly as to the principle of restitution and compensation, as without restitution of territory on the part of France there could be no treaty. The directors replied, that they admitted the principle of compensations, but that his lordship must instantly state what compensations he had to offer. On the very next day the directors hurried off to Anna General Clarke* to endeavour to lead the emperor into a separate negotiation, or, failing in that, to render the English cabinet doubtful and jealous of their stoutest ally. Clarke failed completely in his mission, he was even refused admission into the Austrian capital. When the mock negotiations had lasted six or seven weeks, Lord Malmesbury intimated that Belgium must be restored to the emperor that Holland must be evacuated, and the Prince of Orange reinstated in the stadtholderate, and that Russia and Portugal must be included as parties to the new treaty, as well as all our other allies, that in return, England would give up the Dutch and French colonies she had seized in the East and West India, only requiring some compensation, or an equivalent for the half of San Domingo, which Spain had ceded to France. The directors required him to define what this compensation or equivalent was to be, and to state categorically all his demands within four-and-twenty hours, telling him that they could never listen to terms inconsistent with the constitution, and the engagements formed by the republic, meaning thereby that as by the constitution the republic was one and indivisible, and as a decree, called the constitutional act, had annexed Belgium, Luxembourg, &c. to the republic, they must never be ceded. As the unfortunate King of Sardinia had been compelled to sue for a separate peace in the spring, no restitution was demanded of the states of Savoy and Nice, although England could hardly have intended at that moment to submit to the French occupying those two countries, yet to recognise the spoliation of an ally who had kept his faith to the utmost limits of his power. To the last haughty message Lord Malmesbury replied, that their requisition precluded all further negotiation, and on the next day, the 19th of December, his lordship was told that his further presence in Paris was totally unnecessary, and that he and his suite must take their departure within forty-eight hours. Rejoicing in the opportunity of insulting a lord, the low-bred directors added, that a common courier could do the business as well as he, if the English government were disposed to

* This Clarke was descended from an Irish family settled in France. In his youth he had been a page to the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalité), and was a captain of dragons when the revolution broke out. As this movement he was a general officer and employed in the war office under Carnot, who was his warm protector. Under the empire he became Duke de Fitzgibbon and obtained the reputation of being one of the greatest flunkeys in Bonaparte's army.

ascept the conditions of the republic.* Between the overtures made to Burthelemy at Basle and the journey of Lord Malmesbury, Bonaparte had obtained most of his brilliant successes in the north of Italy, Spain had been driven to declare war against Great Britain (on the 8th of October); Genoa had just shut her ports against our shipping; and the King of Naples had concluded a peace with France. With their hopes elated, with the plunder of Italy flowing fast into their coffers, with a confident and happy belief in the assertions of our parliamentary opposition, that Great Britain was exhausted and undone, the directors thought that they had everything to gain and nothing to lose by continuing the war. At the same time they had much to fear from any discontinuance of it, for in case of a peace what could they do with the countless armed legions they had on foot? These hosts were now supporting themselves on the countries they overran, and even paying the Directory for their licence to plunder, but should they be recalled to France, there was slight provision for them there, and any sudden influx of them must inevitably lead to fresh revolutions, and the destruction of the present system, with its Cinq Cents, its Ancients, and its Directory.

Persevering in their old system, the English government sent out some large reinforcements to the West Indies. We had already more sugar colonies than we needed, and most of the French and Dutch colonies were wretchedly unhealthy—chamber-houses to the British troops that were sent to them—but the managers of the war are entitled to the benefit of the doubt, whether without actual possession of the French islands, at least, we could have put down the terrible system of Victor Hugues, or kept Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other really valuable islands in anything like a tranquil and thriving state. In the month of March, General Nichols recaptured from the French insurgents the island of Grenada, and in May, General Abercrombie, who was fitted for a wider and more glorious field, regained entire possession of St Lucia. General Whitte captured the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, and these, with the addition of some skirmishes with French republicans and negro republicans in San Domingo, where a small English army was perishing rapidly of the diseases of the climate, were all our operations for the year in this part of the world.

The Dutch or Batavian republicans made a bold effort to recover possession of the Cape of Good Hope. They fitted out in the Texel two ships of 64, and two of 54 guns, six or seven frigates and sloops, and embarked in them some of their best land troops. The Texel was blockaded by a British squadron, but, taking advantage of a temporary absence, the Dutch squadron escaped to sea on the 23rd of February. A French squadron had engaged to join them, but failed in so doing

Where the Dutch had passed the spring and summer months no one could tell, but on the 3rd of August they appeared, with nine sail, off Saldanha Bay. Rear-Admiral Sir George K. Elphinstone immediately set sail from the Cape, with seven sail of the line, one 50 gun ship and three frigates, and to this superior force the Dutch admiral, surprised in Saldanha Bay, and unable to escape out of it, surrendered without firing a shot on the 17th of August.† Toward the close of the year some frigates belonging to the Cape of Good Hope squadron destroyed a French settlement on the island of Madagascar, and brought away five merchant vessels that were lying there.

There were numerous encounters between single ships and small squadrons, attended with the usual amount of success to the English, but there was no great battle fought at sea in any part of the world, the British fleet keeping in port till the end of the year, and the French fleet doing the same. In October the Spanish admiral Don Juan Langara sailed from Cadiz as the ally of the French, and, chasing the squadron of Admiral Mann before him, entered the Mediterranean with nineteen sail of the line and ten frigates. At Carthagena the Spaniard added seven more sail of the line to his fleet. He thence proceeded to Corsica, and there covered the landing of a French invading force which had been shipped off from Leithorn. The English Mediterranean fleet had been madly divided and scattered on various detached services, so Don Juan would never have ventured thus far. As it was, as soon as he had seen the French troops safely landed, he made haste into Toulon harbour, and there joined Admiral Villeneuve. The united French and Spanish fleets, thirty-seven sail of the line at the least, made no very heroic use of their immense superiority: they only kept a few cruizers out at sea, and when Sir John Jervis, who had succeeded Admiral Hotham in the command of our fleet, was quitting the Mediterranean with troops and stores, and suffering a variety of misfortunes, no attack was attempted, and, after little more than a parade of his formidable numbers, Don Juan de Langara returned to Carthagena. Commodore Nelson hung off the Riviere of Genoa, at last attempting to assist the Austrians and Piedmontese—who were not to be assisted—until the battle of Montenotte. Months after that affair he discovered between Toulon and Genoa six vessels laden with cannon and stores for the siege of Mantua: he drove them under a battery, followed them, silenced the battery, and captured the whole. The loss of this artillery is said to have been one of the main causes which compelled the French to raise their first siege at Mantua.‡

* The Dutch ships that were taken were two 64's, one of five frigates and sloops, and one store ship.

† The English ships were not merely divided by a multiplicity of services rendered necessary by the rapid progress of the French army in Italy, but also by the various councils the rapid and unsteady orders and counter orders they received. Nelson was urged,

‡ Do his majesty's ministers know their own minds? The question might certainly have been answered with a negative.

§ In the captured convoy were found military boxes 1,000, and

* Just two days before this message General Hoche stole out of Brest harbour with 25,000 men for Ireland.

landed at Cape Corso under cover of the Spanish ships, marched into the citadel of Bastia only one hour after the rear of the British had spiked the guns and evacuated it. Nelson was the last man that left the shore, having thus, as he said, seen the first and the last of Corsica. He was then sent with only two frigates, the 'Blanche' and the 'Minerve,' to superintend the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo in the Isle of Elba. On his way he fell in with two Spanish frigates, the 'Sabina' and the 'Ceres.' After a desperate engagement, which lasted two hours and fifty minutes, the 'Sabina' struck. Her captain, Don Jacobo Stuart, an illegitimate descendant from the royal line of Stuart, the only surviving officer on board the 'Sabina,' was removed to the 'Minerve,' where Nelson treated his brave foe with all possible respect; and two English lieutenants and forty men were put into the prize, which was taken in tow by the 'Minerve.' The other Spanish frigate, the 'Ceres,' had made her escape from the 'Blanche,' and the 'Blanche,' in pursuing her, had got to a great distance from her consort the 'Minerve.' At this juncture another Spanish frigate, the 'Matilda,' came up and engaged the 'Minerve,' who was compelled to cast off the prize she had made, and in retreating which she had sustained great damage in her own masts, rigging, and sails, and had had one midshipman and six seamen killed, and one lieutenant, the boatswain, and thirty-two petty officers and men wounded. Yet, after half an hour of close action, the 'Matilda' was compelled to wear and haul off. Nelson was following with a certainty of capturing her, when an immense Spanish ship of the line, of 112 guns, and two fresh frigates, came in sight. It was now Nelson's turn to haul off and, crippled as the 'Minerve' was, she must have been taken if the Spaniards had not been more anxious to recover her now lost prize, the 'Sabina,' than to fight her. The consort English frigate 'Blanche,' who before this time had come up with the flying 'Ceres,' and with eleven broadsides had made her call for quarter and strike her colours, was equally deprived of her prize, and ran the same risk of being captured, but both the English frigates got safely in to Porto Ferrajo, and the small prize party on board the 'Sabina,' being readily joined by part or by the whole of the surviving Spanish crew, manoeuvred her with great skill in the hope of bringing her to Elba, and did not surrender the frigate until her fire and main masts went over the side. General De Burgh, who commanded our troops in the Isle of Elba, hesitated about abandoning the place, as he had received no specific instructions from England. He complained—and most of our commanding officers in all parts of the world might have re-echoed the complaint—that he was utterly unable to decide between the contradictory orders of government, or to guess at what their present intentions might be. Had the Spaniards stood in to Porto Ferrajo with even a small portion of their immense fleet, De Burgh's hesitation might have

cost him dear, and might very possibly have cost the country the life of its greatest hero, for strike or surrender were words which Nelson had expunged from his vocabulary. But the Spaniards had not put their heart into this war, and both Don Juan de Langara and the admiral of the Toulon fleet were evidently haunted with the dread that Sir John Jervis might suddenly unite his scattered fleet, which they fancied to be much stronger than it was and bring them to a general action, and at last, General De Burgh's scruples being removed, Nelson was enabled, without any molestation, to embark the troops and stores to repair his crippled frigates, and to remove the naval establishment which we had formed at Elba. Then, late in the year, he sailed down the Mediterranean with a numerous convoy for Gibraltar, and was fortunate enough to rejoin Admiral Sir John Jervis in time to take part in the great battle off Cape St. Vincent.*

The only important advantage (and that a very inglorious one) obtained by the French marine during the year was this—Rear-Admiral Richery, who had escaped from Toulon with six sail of the line in 1795, and who, together with some English prizes he had picked up, had remained closely blockaded at Cadiz until the great Spanish fleet put to sea from that port, stretched across the Atlantic to Newfoundland, plundered and set fire to our fishermen's huts, destroyed their vessels and fishing stages, and then returned for Europe, without seeking for Vice-Admiral Sir James Wallace, who was on the Newfoundland station with only one fifty-gun ship and three or four very light frigates. On his homeward voyage Richery picked up a great many English merchant vessels, and was so fortunate as to get through our Channel fleet and blockading squadrons in a haze, and to make Rochefort and Brest with his sweep of prizes. In the latter port he joined his flag to those already flying, and moved with that great Brest fleet on the 17th of December. This fleet numbered forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line, four were frigates, six corvettes and brigs, and the remaining six large transports. On board were 25,000 men, choice infantry and cavalry, who had been tried in the war of the Vendée, a great quantity of field artillery, ammunition, and stores of every description, a good many spare muskets and bayonets to put into the hands, and some red liberty nightcaps to put upon the heads, of the Irish patriots, or insurgents, or rebels. The fleet was commanded by Vice-Admiral Morard de Galles. Rear-Admirals Richery, Nielly, and Beauvet,† the commander-in-chief of the army was Hoche, a young serjeant in the Gardes Français when the revolution began, a man full of courage, energy, ability, and ambition, who, though very unfortunate against the Prussians, had acquired

* Southey's Life of Nelson.—James Naval History.
† Villaret Joyeuse had been displaced for representing to the Directory that, in the indifferent way in which the fleet was manned (almost entirely by landmen), it could never encounter the British weather to be expected at this season of the year.

great fame in the civil wars of Britany and the Vendée, where he had had the handling of a republican army of 100,000 men, stretching all along that western coast from la Rochelle to Brest. Hoche was accompanied by many distinguished officers, including Generals Grouchy, Humbert, and Adjutant-General Bruix. According to their usual custom—to which we have already made allusion—the French commanding officers, naval as well as military, admirals as well as generals, did not embark in ships of the line, but in several frigates. At about dusk the fleet got under weigh, and, in a very dark night, it rounded the Saintes, and stood away to the southward. Sir Edward Pellew, in the ‘Indefatigable’ frigate, who had been watching all their motions in the very jaws of the port, and who by skilful and daring manoeuvres watched them on their progress to the Saintes, being frequently within half gun-shot of their leading ships, now went away in search of Admiral Colpoys, who with a large squadron of our Channel fleet, had fixed a rendezvous eight leagues to the west of Lshant. The ‘Indefatigable,’ carrying a crowd of sail in a gale of wind, and burning false fires and blue lights all the way as signals, reached the spot of rendezvous at about midnight, but no Colpoys was there, nor was there a single English ship to be seen, or to answer to Pellew’s signals. In the course of the night the whole of the French fleet came to anchor in Camaret Bay—and there, if our Channel fleet had been united and at hand, it ought to have been annihilated. On the following afternoon the French again weighed and put to sea in a gale of wind, and in evident haste and confusion. In getting out, one of their ships of the line struck on the rock called the Grand Stevenet, and was totally lost, only 60 being saved out of the 1400 souls she had on board. Instead of keeping well together, the fleet separated, some running through the Passage du Raz to the southward, and others running through the Passage du Four. The gale increased, and, the wind chopping round to the south-west, these divided forces could not join again. The commanders-in-chief never got near Ireland, but, on the 24th of December, having now the wind at N N E, Rear-Admiral Bouvet rounded Mizen Head, at the southern extremity of Ireland, and entered Bantry Bay with seven ships of the line and ten other vessels. His own ship and two or three others got to a safe anchorage, but the rest dropped where there was no holding, and a strong gale from the east came presently to tell them the mistakes they had committed. Most of these ships had to cut their cables, all were driven out to sea, and in the confusion an eighty-gun ship ran foul of a frigate and carried away her masts. Bouvet remained at anchor until the 30th, refusing to comply with the requisition of some of Hoche’s officers (who thought anything preferable to the horrors of sea-sickness and the chance of being drowned) to land that portion of the troops he had brought to the appointed place, and, seeing no chief commander arrive, and divided

between doubts whether Vice-Admiral Morard de Galles and General Hoche had gone to the bottom of the sea in the tempest, or had gone back to Brest Harbour, or had been intercepted by a British fleet, he gave a few curses to Ireland, and to those who had sent him thither, and, heaving anchor, sailed away for Brest, where he arrived safely on the 1st of January (1797). In the meanwhile Rear Admirals Nielly and Richery had reached the Irish coast, and there they remained beating about, and hoping to be joined by the commander-in-chief, until another terrible gale scattered them. Three or four were driven into Bantry Bay, as far up as Whiddy Island, and eight or nine showed themselves off the mouth of the Shannon, a frigate went on shore, and was lost, with all her crew except seven, a cut-down seventy-four foundered, but her crew was saved by another ship, and a frigate or large corvette, being found unseaworthy, was scuttled and sunk, some of the transports went down at sea, with all on board, and others, scattered all about, were afterwards picked up by English cruisers, as was also a frigate of Richery’s squadron. One seventy-four, the ‘Droits de l’Homme,’ remained at sea, to be intercepted and destroyed when close to port, but the other ships, in scattered portions, reached Brest, l’Orient, and Rochefort. Among the last ships that arrived was the ‘Fraternelle’ frigate, with Morard de Galles and Hoche on board, who had not seen anything of their fleet since their first leaving the French coast. Of forty three sail, thirty-one returned.*

The immense preparations which had been making at Brest during the whole summer could be no secret, but, although our government had an almost unlimited command of secret service money, they threw away that money so badly that they never penetrated into the secret of the destination of that threatening force at times they thought it was intended to invade the western coast of England, and so strong was this impression, that even at the last moment, or when the expedition was quite ready to sail, the Duke of Portland sent a circular to the lord-lieutenants of counties on the coast to take an account of live and dead stock in all parishes within twelve miles of the sea, and to communicate with the military commanders of their districts respecting the measures to be adopted for the removal of that stock and all articles of provision, if necessary, at other times they thought the mighty armament was destined for the West Indies, or for Ireland,† or for Portugal, or for Gibraltar, and thus, to be pre-

* In all “we caught 212, strove 2, wrecked and 1 foundered. A wreck or a frigate left the Brest fleet sailed our ministers ought to have been full aware of its destination. Early in December an American vessel laden with 20,000 stand of arms and cannon was taken by an English man-of-war on the shore of a bay, of being bound for Ireland—with she unquestionably was. She was a good emblem of American peace—her name was the *Olive Branch*—with a covered cargo of arms. —Letter from Laurence to Burke, in ‘Epistolary Correspondence of the Rt Hon Edmund Burke and Dr French Lawrence.’

Our American kinsmen had made very strenuous efforts to revolutionise Ireland on their own account during their war of independence, and now a very numerous party of them, partly through spite, but more through the love of lucre, were willing to assist the French.

pared for whatever might happen, they had divided the Channel fleet into three squadrons—one, under Rear-Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, to cruise well to the westward, another, under Colpoys, to cruise off Brest, and the third, under Admiral Lord Bridport, to remain at Spithead, to be dispatched wherever the surer intelligence received by government might render expedient. Colpoys had 13 sail of the line—a force more than sufficient to have destroyed the badly manned, crammed, and confused French fleet—but he was left with only two frigates, for some time with only one, and it should appear that this want of scouts contributed, if not as much as the tempestuous weather, at least very considerably, to the comparative impunity with which the French were allowed to traverse, in almost every direction, the English and Irish Channels. When Colpoys got the necessary information, he endeavoured to regain his station off Ushant, in the hope of picking up stragglers separated by the tremendous gales that were blowing, but in the continuance of these gales most of his own ships parted company, and all sustained damage. Sir Roger Curtis's squadron had its attention occupied by Villeneuve, who, with five sail of the line from the long idle Toulon fleet, had descended the Mediterranean and stolen through the Straits of Gibraltar to the western coasts of France, in order to co-operate with the grand Irish armament. Curtis discovered him as he was crossing his path, gave him chase, and drove him into Port l'Orient, but he could neither take nor touch one of his five ships, and such a force, requiring watching, kept Curtis for some time in shore and away from the chance of falling in with any portion of Morard de Gille's scattered fleet. Owing to the tardiness of his information, to the baffling state of the winds, and to accidents which occurred in putting to sea in stormy weather, it was the 3rd of January before Lord Bridport could get furly out with the Spithead squadron, composed of 10 sail of the line. By the time he reached the Irish coast, the bulk of the French fleet had quitted it, and, though his lordship made all possible haste to Ushant, he was too late to do any good, and he was soon obliged to return to Spithead, with his ships greatly damaged by the severe weather. The only fighting that took place was between the stray 'Droits de l'Homme,' a 74-gun ship, and two English frigates—the 'Indefatigable,' of 44 guns. Captain Sir Edward Pellew, and the 'Amazon,' of 36 guns, Captain Robert Carthew Reynolds, but never was combat more desperate than this, or attended with more horrible circumstances. The French two-decker was without a poop, and through a fault of construction, and the terrible sea that was rolling, she could make but little use of her first-deck guns, being obliged to keep most of her lower ports closed. In the dusk of the evening, on the 13th of January (1797), Pellew, whose ship was the better sailer of the two English frigates, brought the French 74 to close action, and sustained it, alone, for a full hour. Then the 'Indefatigable'

unavoidably shot a little ahead. Captain Reynolds, in the slower and smaller frigate, the 'Amazon,' came up, and poured in a well-directed fire, but, being under a press of sail, the 'Amazon' too glided ahead. The 'Droits de l'Homme' then nearly ran the 'Indefatigable' on board, and kept up a tremendous fire, frequently using her guns on both sides at the same time, and pouring in from her lofty decks and (having on board 1050 land troops) from her tops incessant volleys of musketry. But, in brief space, the 'Indefatigable' got clear, and placed herself on one quarter, the 'Amazon' got upon the other quarter and both maintained a fire—often within pistol-shot—for five hours, the storm raging all the while, the night being dark, and everybody ignorant of the precise part of the coast on which they had run in pursuing the enemy, but all of them knowing that a lee shore and perilous rocks could not be far distant. At the end of the five hours the 'Indefatigable' and the 'Amazon' sheered off, to secure their wounded masts and loose rigging. The sea was running so high that the men on the main decks of the frigates were up to their middles in water, the 'Indefatigable' had four feet water in her hold, the 'Amazon' three, and scarcely a stick was left standing in either of them.* In hauling off they left the 'Droits de l'Homme' in still worse plight, and when they renewed the action her foremast was shot away by the board, and the main and mizen masts were tottering, her rigging and sails were all cut to pieces, and her crowded decks were strewn with the killed and wounded. At about half past four in the morning, the two frigates being close under the 74, starboard and larboard, the moon opened through the clouds with some brightness, and Lieutenant G. Bell, who was keeping an eager look-out from the 'Indefatigable's' fore-castle, caught a glimpse of the land, and had scarcely reported to Sir Edward Pellew, ere the breakers a head were visible to all. With admirable coolness and self-possession, Pellew's crew hauled on board the tacks, and the ship in an instant made sail to the southward. They still knew not where they were, but calculated that the land they saw was the Isle of Ushant, in which case there would have been no danger. But they had not run long to the southward, ere breakers were seen upon their other bow. The ship was then wore to the northward, and the lingering approach of daylight expected with intense anxiety. When it came, the land was close ahead, but the ship was again wore to the southward. They now discovered that they were, and had been nearly all the

* So terrible was the motion of the two frigates, that some of the 'Indefatigable's' guns broke their breechings four times, some drew their rims, bolts from her and many of the guns owing to the water being hung into them were obliged to be drawn in immediately after loading. All the 'Indefatigable's' masts were wounded, her main topmast was completely unrigged, and was saved only by the astonishing coolness and alacrity of the men. The 'Amazon' had her mizen topmast, gaff spanker boom, and main topmast shot away, her two main masts cut through by shots, and all her sails and rigging more or less injured, and she had expended during the action, every inch of her stores of powder. The crews of both frigates, whose exertions, between the chase and the battle, had lasted nearly ten hours, were almost worn out with fatigue.—James

night, in Audierne Bay, half a degree to the south of Ushant. As they looked in-shore they saw their late enemy the 'Droits de l'Homme,' lying broadside uppermost, with a tremendous surf breaking over her, and their consort, the gallant little 'Amazon,' at the distance of about two miles from the Frenchman, in the same predicament. Pellew passed at the distance of about a mile from the French ship, but could do nothing to afford the crew any assistance, as he must weather the much dreaded Penmarck, or drive on shore himself, and in the crippled state of the 'Indefatigable' it seemed next to impossible to keep her from the breakers. Pellew, therefore, by the aid of a gale—a gale now loaded with shrieks—and by force of skill and steadiness, passed a short half-mile to windward of the dreadful rocks, and was safe. The 'Amazon,' which wore to the northward at the first alarm of breakers ahead, and which was far too crippled to work off the land, had struck the ground at nearly the same moment as the 'Droits de l'Homme,' but, going higher up the beach and the men preserving better order (not being so crowded, and crammed, and mixed), and making use of better means to save themselves, the officers and crew, with the exception of six men who selfishly stole the cutter, all got safely on shore by nine o'clock in the morning.* The awful shrieks which Pellew had heard proceeded from the 'Droits de l'Homme,' which had grounded much farther from the beach, and which became at once a scene of hopeless confusion, for, between the ship's complement and the land troops, there were upwards of 1800 souls on board when the night battle commenced, and of the multitude that remained alive, many were disabled by their wounds, or driven frantic by their pain and their despair. Many threw themselves into the surf, many were presently washed away by the waves which broke over the ship incessantly. The country-people lined the shore, but could render no help. At low-water rafts were constructed, and the boats were got in readiness, but it was found impossible to hoist them out, and the day closed and another night of horror ensued. At low water on the following day, an English captain and eight English sailors, prisoners on board the 'Droits de l'Homme,' ventured into a small boat, and succeeded in reaching the shore. A number of the Frenchmen, thinking they might do what those daring fellows had done, now launched out on rafts and in boats, but not one of them reached the beach alive. Another night of cold, hunger, and maddening thirst followed. On the third day larger rafts were constructed and the largest of the ship's boats was got over the side. This boat was intended for the women and for the wounded, but, heedless of the voice of their officers, soldiers and sailors leaped into it, to the number of 120, and the billows soon rolled over and swamped the boat. Nearly 900 souls had perished, when the fourth

night came with such an addition of horrors as made men envy the fate of those whose lifeless corpses were driving on the shore. The sense of hunger was, in most cases, deadened, but a parching thirst made them madly drink salt water. The ship began breaking to pieces, falling away from the stern-posts. On the next morning some of the famishing survivors began to look at each other with cannibal eyes, and were on the point of casting lots, when the sky cleared, and the winds and waves subsided, and a French man-of-war brig and a cutter stood in to the bay. These two vessels soon anchored near the wreck, and sent off boats and large rafts, on which about 150, of nearly 400 who attempted it, were saved that evening. About 380 were left upon the wreck, to endure the miseries of another night, which proved to be their last to more than half of them. Of the 1800 and odd souls, not many more than 300 were saved.*

Canot, as one of the five directors, now entirely monopolised the war department. Under his auspices, but not at his original suggestion—for the idea, obvious, in itself had occurred to Dumouriez, Moreau, Pichegru, Napoleon Bonaparte, and a hundred officers besides—it was resolved, early in the year, to attack Germany and Italy at the same time, in order to divide the emperor's forces, and, in case of the complete success of both the attacking armies, that of Italy was to move through the passes of Tyrol or of Carinthia, effect a junction with the army of Germany in Bavaria, or farther on in the hereditary states of Austria, and then the two were to advance upon Vienna, and impose their terms of peace there. Pichegru, who had fallen out of favour with the Director, was superseded by Moreau, and this able general and Jourdan, who had been foiled and beaten by Clairat in the preceding year, undertook the German part of this great plan. Jourdan, who had 63,000 foot and 11,000 horse, driving back some Austrian corps from the ground they had conquered on the left bank of the Rhine at the end of the last campaign, invested the renowned fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of that river immediately opposite to Coblenz. The Emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles, who had taken the command of Clairat's army, which now amounted to about 70,000 foot and 20,000 horse, advanced rapidly with a part of it to the Rhine, defeated one of Jourdan's divisions under General Lefebvre, and forced Jourdan to relinquish his siege and take up other positions. But, while the archduke was thus occupied by Jourdan, Moreau, who had about 72,000 foot and between 6000 and 7000 horse, dashing across the Rhine

* In Naval Hist.—E. Ouler. Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth.—Ann. Re.

The particulars of the terrible wreck are derived from the narrative (published in the Naval Chronicle) of a British officer, Lieutenant James Ligonier, of the 68th regiment, who was a prisoner on board the 'Droits de l'Homme.' The lives of the captain of the ship, Jean Raymond Lacrosse (a chevalant baron) and the republican general Hamblart were saved. The English prisoners in consideration of their sufferings, and the help they had given in saving many lives, were sent home in a cartel, without ransom or exchange. The 'Amazon' frigate went to pieces, like the 'Droits de l'Homme.'

* They were of course all made prisoners, but the people of Brittany, among whom they had fallen, treated them kindly. Their corpses from the wreck were collected by means of a raft, which went and came with great order and regularity.

at Strasbourg, some hundred and fifty miles higher up the river than Coblenz, captured on the 24th of June the fortress of Kehl, and after a series of victories advanced towards the heart of Swabia, his progress being facilitated by the rapid drafts made upon the army of his opponent, old General Wurmsier, to reinforce the emperor's armies in Italy. When the campaign opened Wurmsier had not 60,000 foot to oppose to Moreau's 72,000, but his cavalry was superior in number, as in nearly every other quality—he having at one moment upwards of 20,000 horse. At one draft 25,000 men were withdrawn from Wurmsier's army, and sent through the Tyrol into Italy, and in a short time the veteran general himself was obliged to hurry to the defence of Lombardy. On the 26th of June the archduke, with the mass of his forces marched up the Rhine in order to check Moreau. Jourdan thus disembarassed, recrossed the Rhine, and, finding nothing to oppose him except a small army of Imperialists under Wartenstein, he pushed forward and, after a series of skirmishes rather than battles, took Frankfort, Wurtzburg, and other towns. Moreau kept advancing on nearly a parallel line, his army and Jourdan's, *en echelonné*, presenting a front which extended more than sixty leagues. It was by the imperative order of Carnot that the two armies thus spread themselves in order to turn both wings of the Imperialists. The Archduke Charles perceived the error, and, narrowing his own front, and gradually bringing nearer to a convergence, joined the separate forces of Wartenstein and Wurmsier. He slowly retreated, frequently disputing the ground but determined not to hazard a battle until his retreating forces were all brought so near to each other, that he might fall with a superior force either upon Jourdan or upon Moreau. As the French advanced triumphantly, and with the appearance of so little opposition some of the contingent corps, who, on the whole behaved indifferently, joined the Imperial army and disbanded, and several of the states of the empire sued to the Directory for a separate peace, which they obtained upon condition of paying enormous contributions. Still extending his front, and moving over a good deal of the ground which our great Duke of Marlborough had traversed in his Blenheim campaign, Moreau captured Ulm and Donauwert on the Danube, and was preparing to cross the river Leck into Bavaria, and thence to move onward to the defiles of the Tyrol, on the Italian side of which the republican army was at the moment completely victorious, when, on the 24th of August, the Archduke Charles, who had gathered some reinforcements in the valley of the Danube, and who had rapidly executed his admirably designed movements, fell upon Jourdan with a superiority of force, and completely defeated him at Amberg. The Austrian prince then followed the flying republicans to the Maine, and gave them another tremendous beating, on the 3rd of September, at Wurtzburg. Still pressing

on the rear of the republicans, who fell into a miserably disorganised state, he defeated them again on the 16th of September, at Aschaffenburg, and drove them with terrible loss to the opposite side of the Rhine. In his retreat Jourdan had lost 20,000 men, and nearly all his artillery and baggage. Moreau, who was too far away to the right to render any assistance to Jourdan, could neither advance nor maintain himself where he was, on the Bavarian frontier, without Jourdan. He therefore began his famed retreat, which lay through the Black Forest, on the 25th of September. Moreau had still 70,000 men, who had suffered no serious disaster. The imperial general Latour, who was nearest at hand to follow him, had not above 24,000 men, and some scattered corps did not join his standard with sufficient rapidity to enable him to contend successfully with the republicans. Latour, pressing too close on Moreau's rear, sustained a defeat on the 2nd of October at Biberach. The republicans got safely through the valley of Hell and the whole of the Black Forest, but when they reached the banks of the Rhine they found the victorious Archduke Charles ready to meet them, with a force equal, or perhaps somewhat superior, to their own. Moreau, at the end of his too much praised retreat, found himself compelled to fight two battles, and both battles were to him defeats. On the 19th of October he was beaten at all points, at Emmendingen, and, on the 20th, in spite of his formidable position among the rocks and cliffs of Schliengen, he was beaten again, and nothing but a violent storm and the pitchy darkness of the night and the roughness of the ground, which prevented the splendid Austrian cavalry from acting, enabled him to get his disheartened columns to the safe side of the Rhine.

The Archduke Charles had saved Germany, but, owing to the invasion of Jourdan and Moreau on this side, the much smaller republican army of Italy had subdued all the north of the Italian peninsula. The command of this smaller army, which took the field much earlier than the army or the two armies on the Rhine, was given to the aspiring young man who had "killed the people for the regicide,"* on the critical 13th Vendémiaire, and who had since then married Madame Josephine Beauharnais, a native of Martinique, widow of Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais, who had served as a general in the republican armies, and who had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror, which had also consigned his fair relict to a prison. This very graceful, captivating woman was linked in a close friendship with the fascinating Cabarus, who now bore the name of Tallien, the daring man who had been the first to beard Robespierre in the Convention, and who, in consequence of that deed, had obtained a large share of political power and patronage. The Beauharnais was also exceedingly intimate with Director Barras, and enjoyed the friendship or patronage of other powerful individuals. It was unfair to

* Victor Hugo 'C'est Lui'

say that the young Corsican owed his appointment to this marriage, but it would be unreasonable to doubt that Josephine contributed to it.* It was Burras and Carnot that proposed to give the command of the army of Italy to Bonaparte, as the fittest man for it, and the other three directors, after some hesitation, assented. He arrived at head quarters at Nice, on the 26th of March. He found the disposable forces amounting to about 50,000 men, but badly provided and in a wretched state of indiscipline. The combined army of the Austrians and Piedmontese amounted to 60,000—in Bonaparte's reckoning to 75,000 men—and was now under the command of Beaulieu, a gallant veteran. It was stretched along the ridge of the Apennines, at the foot of which the French, as in the preceding campaign, were advancing. Not waiting to be attacked, Beaulieu descended from the heights, and on the 11th of April he met the advanced guard of the French at Voltri, near Genoa, and repulsed it. At the same time d'Argenteau, who commanded Beaulieu's centre, traversed the mountains of Montenotte to descend upon Savona, and thus take the French in flank. But, when more than half his march was completed, d'Argenteau met a French division of 1500 men who threw themselves into the old hill redoubt of Montenuovo, which in a manner shut up the road of Montenotte. The fate of the campaign, and perhaps of the then young republican general, lay within that old redoubt. d'Argenteau attacked it three times with all his infantry, but Colonel Rampon maintained the post, and this gave time to Bonaparte to march round by night by an ungarded road to d'Argenteau's rear, and, before Beaulieu, who was on the left, or General Colli, who was on the right with the mass of the Piedmontese troops, could come up to his support, d'Argenteau was defeated, and driven in disorderly retreat beyond Montenotte. The young republican general had now pushed into the valley of the Bormida, between the two disjointed wings of the allied army. Beaulieu and Colli hastened to repair this disaster, by re-establishing their communications, but Bonaparte was too quick for them, and by two attacks, one at Millesimo on the 13th of April, the other at Dego on the 14th, Colli and the Piedmontese army were completely separated from the Austrians, and Provera, with an Austrian division of 2000 men, was obliged to lay down his arms. On the 15th, a mistake committed by Wukassowich nearly retrieved the fortune of the allies: that general, with 5000 Austrians, came suddenly from Voltri, where Beaulieu had been victorious over the French, ran upon Dego, where he expected to find his countrymen, but where, instead, he found Massena, with a division of the French army, little prepared for any attack.

* All his friends and particularly the cunning Talleyrand whom the assembly had allowed to return to France, strongly recommended this marriage as a means of promoting his interests with the governing powers of the day. At the time of the marriage Bonaparte was 26, and the lady—the mother of two fine children Eugene and Hortense Bonaparte—was in her 39th, or according to other accounts in her 30th or 31st year.

Wukassowich made a brilliant charge and scattered the French division, but General Laharpe came down with reinforcements, and Bonaparte himself, dreading the fatal consequences of a defeat in his rear, hastened to the spot with still more troops. Then, after the most heroic conduct, Wukassowich was obliged to retire. As the republicans debouched through the valley of the Bormida into the rich plains of Piedmont, Beaulieu retreated in good order to the Po, to defend the emperor's Milanese territories, leaving Colli and the Piedmontese army to shift for themselves. Bonaparte instantly turned against Colli who had taken post on the western declivities of the Apennines at Ceva, drove him from that post, followed him to Mondovì, dislodged him there, and pursued him beyond Cerasasco. Betrayed by a part of his army who had been proselytised, and now badly served by the rest, pressed by a superior force, and looking in vain for aid from Beaulieu, Colli at length retreated to Cune, close to Turin. By this time all the provinces of Piedmont south of the Po were open to the republican invaders, the capital itself was almost at their mercy, and the resources of the country were consumed. Victor Amélio sued for a truce, which Bonaparte granted in consideration of having the key fortresses of Cune and Tortona put into his hands. The Directors soon afterwards extended the truce into a treaty of peace, which his Sardinian majesty paid for by delivering up all the other Piedmontese fortresses and all the passes of the Alps, and by ceding to the French republic for ever Savoy, Nice, and some Alpine tracts of country. The poor old king did not long survive this ruinous peace, dying broken-hearted on the 16th of October. Immediately after concluding the truce Bonaparte marched against Beaulieu, drove him from the Po, beat him in a sharp battle at Lodi, between Piacenza and Milan, and made him fall back upon the river Adda. The Austrian general occupied the town of Lodi and its bridge across the Adda, which last he defended with a numerous and excellent artillery—but, with that want of *ensemble* or co-impactness which attended nearly all the operations of all these generals, he stationed his infantry too far off to be able properly to support the artillery. On the 10th of May Bonaparte, after a terrific conflict, carried the bridge of Lodi, when, as he said himself many years afterwards, the idea first flashed across his mind that he might become a great actor in the world's drama. Beaulieu, with an army now demoralised and panic-stricken, made a faint attempt to defend the line of the Mincio, but, after throwing a garrison into Mantua, he withdrew behind the Adige into the Tyrol. On the 15th of May Bonaparte made a triumphal entrance into Milan, where the French had many converts and partizans. All Lombardy was now at the feet of the conqueror except Mantua, and that fortress was soon blockaded. Piedmont had been pitilessly plundered, in a regular manner, by the commissaries of the army and the commissioners

of the Directory, and in an irregular manner by the soldiery. As a good part of Lombardy seemed to receive the republicans as friends and deliverers, Bonaparte endeavoured to stop the irregular plunder here, but the regular plunder which he ordered himself was enormous. He imposed at once a contribution of 20,000,000 of francs, which fell chiefly on the nobility and clergy, he authorised his commissaries to seize whatsoever provisions, stores, waggons, horses, &c the army might want, merely giving cheques (which for the most part were never paid at all), to be paid out of the contributions, the horses and carriages of the nobility were seized because they belonged to aristocrats, a great deal of property which belonged to the late viceroy and the Austrian government, and a great deal which did not belong to them, was sequestered as public property, and, to finish the accursed climax, the Monte di Pietà was broken open by express orders from Bonaparte and his countryman Saliceti, and all the property in it that was worth sending was sent to Genoa to be converted into money for the benefit of the Directory. In passing through Piacenza Bonaparte and Saliceti (that most rapacious and terrible of commissioners) had already treated the Monte di Pietà there in the same manner, and it afterwards became a rule to plunder all these charitable institutions. The five directors at the Luxembourg were incessantly calling upon the general for money — money — more money, and Bonaparte himself saw, that, besides clothing and feeding and abundantly paying his army, he remitted to them 50,000,000 of francs during his first Italian campaign. The petty principalities, into which so much of the beautiful country was so unhappily divided, had never made war, but they were all obliged to purchase what was called a peace, at prices which might have saved Italy from this invasion, if she, had been collectively poured into the treasury, of the keeper of the keys of the Alps, the King of Sardinia. Thus the Duke of Parma was made to pay 1,500,000 francs, to furnish clothing for the army, and to surrender twenty of his best pictures, the Duke of Modena was made to pay 6,000,000 francs in cash, 2,000,000 more in provisions, cattle, horses, &c, and to deliver up fifteen of his choice paintings, and, as he could not stee the voracity of the republicans fast enough, they took his whole duchy from him a few months later. Until the emperor should send another army, there was absolutely nothing in Italy to offer any valid resistance to these insatiable plunderers. An insurrection of the peasantry of Binasco, and of the common people of Pavia, provoked less by the plunder carried on privately by the soldiery than by the outrages offered to their women and their religion, was quenched, by Bonaparte's express orders, in torrents of blood, and for a night and a day the city of Pavia was given up to plunder, debauchery, and every sort of violence and crime.*

* We have no exact authority that Napoleon Bonaparte for some of the horrors that are reported to have been committed. Luchan was VOL. III — GEO. III.

Advancing southward Bonaparte showed how the Directory respected neutrality by overrunning Tuscany, taking possession of Leghorn, putting a garrison in it, seizing and selling by auction the English, Portuguese, and other goods found in the warehouses of that great free port, and commanding the native merchants to deliver up all the property they had in their hands belonging to any enemies of the French republic. To escape the infamy of this last, and to screen themselves from further exactions, the merchants of Leghorn agreed to pay 5,000,000 francs. The next to be plundered were the states and possessions of the poor old helpless pope, and about this work the unbelievers went with great zeal. On the 18th of June a marauding column entered Bologna, and at once laid hands on the Monte di Pietà. Another division entered Ferrara and did the same, the papal authorities were ordered away, a municipal government composed of French partizans was set up, and right and left, in town and in country, contributions were levied at the point of the bayonet. Pius VI dispatched envoys to sue for terms, and, on the 23rd of June, Bonaparte granted an armistice at the following price — 15,000,000 francs in cash, and 6,000,000 in provisions, horses, &c &c, a number of paintings, ancient statues and vases, and five hundred manuscripts to be selected out of the Vatican library by commissioners sent from Paris, the cession of the provinces of Bologna and Ferrara, the cession of the port and citadel of Ancona, and the closing of all the Papal ports to the English and their allies.

Bonaparte was recalled from this easy and profitable work by intelligence that Wurmsier was coming against him with part of the imperial army, which had retreated before Moreau. The German veteran descended from the valley of Trento with from 50,000 to 60,000 men, consisting of some divisions he had brought with him from the Rhine, the scattered remains of Beaulieu's troops which he had collected in the Tyrol, and some Tyrolese levies. Blind as ever to the fatal consequences of dividing his forces, Wurmsier split his army into two, moving himself with the larger half along the eastern shore of the Lake of Garda, and sending Quosnadovich with the other division along the western bank. Bonaparte, who had raised his blockade of Mantua and concentrated his forces, instantly threw their entire weight upon Quosnadovich, crushed him at Lonato, drove him back into the mountains, and then, turning quickly round, faced old Wurmsier with a force now nearly double that of the Austrians, and in two

an eye witness. He had obtained leave to go to Milan and, not finding his brother Napoleon there was following him to Pavia. He says: "Upon the road my eyes were struck with the distant reflection of a vast fire. It was the flag of Binasco delivered up to the flames to expiate the assassination of some of our soldiers. I traversed the burning ruins. It was presented me with a spectacle still more deplorable. That great city had been delivered up to pillage, the towers of blood had not been effaced, the bodies of the peasants who had refused to surrender were not carried away; people were occupied by funeral rites which in the late by which entered. The streets and squares were turned into a perfect fair where the conquerors were selling to hideous speculators the spoils of the vanquished. — *Mémoires*

bloody battles fought near Castiglione, on the 3rd and 5th of August, the dull but brave old man was defeated, and driven back into the Tyrol with the loss of his artillery and of several thousand men. Bonaparte followed him up the lower valley of the Tyrol, defeated an Austrian division on the 4th of September, and entered as a conqueror into the city of Trento. Wurmser then suddenly struck away across the mountains to the east of Trento, and, descending the valley of the Brenta, again entered Italy and advanced to Bassano, where he was joined by some reinforcements from Carinthia. But his active young opponent followed close upon his rear, and all that the veteran could do was to throw himself into the important fortress of Mantua with some 18,000 men, the wretched remnant of his army.* It was the 14th of September when Wurmser got within the walls of the Virgilian city. By the end of October, as the snows were beginning to whiten the ridges of those Alps, two fresh Austrian armies were descending into Italy. The British government had supplied the court of Vienna with some more money, the emperor had made a solemn appeal to his hereditary subjects and to the bold Hungarians, and, misuse them as she would, the warlike resources of Austria were immense, and the loyalty and firmness of the people untouched. But, again, these two armies, instead of being united in the mountains, out of the reach of the enemy, and then poured down on the plain as one torrent, were allowed to come dribbling in different directions, and to get into the presence of the French divided and far apart. Marshal Alvinzi descended from Carinthia upon Belluno with 30,000 men, while Davidowich with 20,000 men moved down from the Tyrol. The two armies united would hardly have been a match for Bonaparte, who could bring at the least 45,000 men into action, but, as it was arranged, they had between them to traverse nearly one half of the breadth of Italy before Alvinzi and Davidowich could join at the appointed spot, between Peschiera and Verona, whence they were to march together to Mantua, where Wurmser was to be released,—and the general with the Slavonic name moved at a snail's pace. With the mass of his forces Bonaparte rushed to meet Alvinzi, and gave him battle at Le Nove on the 6th of November, but, instead of defeating him, he himself sustained a terrible repulse, and retreated, next day, towards Verona to pick up the shattered columns of Vaulbois, who was retreating before Davidowich. Contrary to what might reasonably have been expected, Alvinzi, overcoming every obstacle, reached the heights of Caldiero, in front of Verona. But, instead of finding Davidowich there, he learned that that sluggish and blockhead, or arch-traitor,

had been reposing himself for ten blessed days at Roveredo between Trento and the Lago di Garda, and was still there or far away in that neighbourhood.† Thus left to himself, Alvinzi was attacked, on the 12th of November, by Bonaparte, who attempted to dislodge him from Caldiero. This effort proved fruitless, the Austrians stood on those heights like rocks, and after considerable loss the French were compelled to retreat again into Verona. For a moment the young Corsican's heart failed him, and he wrote a desponding letter to the directors.‡ But he soon roused himself, and, marching quietly out of Verona in the night of the 14th of November, and moving rapidly by a cross road that ran through a marshy country, he got close to Villanova, in the rear of Alvinzi. The Alpone, a mountain stream, almost dry in some seasons of the year, ran between the French and Villanova, and was traversed only by the narrow stone bridge of Arcole. Bonaparte made a rush at the bridge, but found it defended by two battalions of Croats and Hungarians with some artillery. Three times the French column attempted to storm it amidst a shower of grape-shot and musketry, and three times reeled back with terrific loss. Many of the men ran away along the narrow causeway which led up to the bridge and plunged into the marshes for safety. Bonaparte himself was thrown from the causeway into a marsh, and was very near being taken, for the Croats and Hungarians rushed across the bridge and swept everything before them. A charge of French grenadiers drove back the enemy, and extricated their general when he was up to his middle in mud and water, and almost surrounded. By this time Alvinzi had changed his front, and advanced from the heights of Caldiero, upon which the battle became general. It lasted for three days, and was by far the hardest fought in all these Italian campaigns. If Davidowich had been at hand with only half of his 20,000 men, or if old Wurmser, leaving Mantua to take care of itself, had come up while Bonaparte was sacrificing his best men in obstinate and fruitless efforts to carry the bridge of Arcole, or when the French army was divided, one part on one side of the Alpone and the rest on the other side, there would have been an end as perfect as could have been desired—the invaders must have been exterminated. But so bright an hypothesis was not to be realised by Austrian generals, or by any other generals for many a year to come. Intimidated by those ter-

* Davidowich as we have seen had driven in Vaulbois who had been stationed between Trento and Roveredo to block up that narrow pass into Italy, and if he had only followed up his success, he might have pushed on to the right bank of the Adige near Verona, and thus have placed Bonaparte in a most critical position with Alvinzi in front himself (Davidowich) on his left flank, and Mantua in his rear within which fortress Wurmser had at that moment 18,000 men at the very least.—*A. Vassiere, Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*.

† In this latter he expressed his dread of being surrounded—as he ought to have been and must have been if Davidowich had but done his duty—he recapitulated the great losses he had sustained, saying that his best officers were either killed or wounded and his men exhausted by their hard fighting, by their rapid marches and counter-marches.

• From Bassano to Mantua was a very long and very difficult march, but going at what for an Austrian army seemed a miraculous pace and marching by night as well as by day, old Wurmser outstripped his light pursuers, avoided the divisions which were advancing against him from various quarters, surprised the bridge of Legnago got safely across the Adige and thence into Mantua. Had he only made use of this skill and activity six weeks before when he opened this campaign and but kept his army together in one mass!

rible Croats and Hungarians and the well-served guns on the bridge, the French detached General Guyeux with 2000 men to cross the Adige lower down, at the ferry of Albaredo, which is below the confluence of the Alpone, and thence to march by the left bank of the Alpone, where the ground was firmer, to the village of Arcole. All this Guyeux did successfully, but in the evening, the Austrians in that quarter, being reinforced, fell upon him and drove him out of the village. Next day (the 16th) Bonaparte obstinately renewed his attacks upon the fatal bridge, which he did not carry after all, and every attack on which cost him many officers and heaps of men. On the 17th he did what he ought to have done at first—he threw a bridge over the Alpone, just above its confluence, and, sending Augereau across to advance along the left bank with a strong column to take the defenders of the bridge in flank and in the rear, and then push forward for the village of Arcole, he himself charged with another strong column along that unlucky causeway flanked by marshes, on which he had been so long detained. Bonaparte's column was met in the teeth by such a fire that men or hounds could not stand it, and again they reeled back, but Augereau, after a sharp contest, succeeded in his objects and gained possession of the village. Alvinzi then made his retreat upon Vicenza and Bassano, where he took up his winter quarters. The French estimate his loss at 4000 in killed and wounded, and as many in prisoners, they do not state their own loss, but it must necessarily have been immense*. On the same day that Alvinzi began his retreat from the left bank of the Adige, Davidowich, as if waking from a drunken sleep, came blundering down by Ala to the right bank of that river, and entered the Italian plains between Pischiera and Verona, but Bonaparte, who had now nothing else to do, turned against him with his superior and victorious forces, and presently drove him back to Ala, to Riveredo, and the steep hills that overhang the Tyrol pass. Thus ended what was not incorrectly called the *third* Italian campaign of the year 1796, and thus Bonaparte had beaten successively Beaulieu, Wurms, and Alvinzi. Of the future campaigns we shall say little or nothing, having already said enough to explain how these matters were managed by or for Austria, and there having been for a long time no change of system, no wisdom taught by a fatal experience and an accumulation of disgrace.

The British parliament had been dissolved by

* Bonaparte wrote to Carnot — Never was a field of battle so obstinately contested, our enemies were numerous and resolute. I have hardly any general officers left. They were nearly all killed, wounded, or prisoners. General Lannes had received three wounds. Bonaparte aide-de-camp Meuron was killed in covering his general with his body.

The young general has been strongly censured for attempting so many times to carry the bridge of Arcole in front instead of forcing it by throwing the temporary bridge over the Alpone as he was obliged to do at last. We have not seen any satisfactory excuse for this dogged obstinacy, but it at least appears to have been part of the system already adopted by Bonaparte to disregard the loss of human life and to precipitate coolly an after-colum attack upon attacks upon every important point and never to swerve from a plan once formed except under the most imperious circumstances.

proclamation soon after the close of the last session. Ministers had been more occupied by the elections than by the war. The new parliament assembled on the 6th of October, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty repeated his anxious wish for an honourable peace, and announced the intended fruitless and degrading mission of Lord Malmesbury to Paris. Allusion was also made to the success of our arms in the East and West Indies, and to the brilliant campaign of Archduke Charles. The usual addresses passed without a division. As the French fleet and Hoche's army were at this moment lying at Brest, and as it was not yet known whether the English coast was not the object of attack, Pitt, on the 18th of October, moved "that a bill be brought in for raising a certain number of men in the several counties of Great Britain, for the service of his majesty," and proposed a plan for augmenting the national force, by a levy of 15,000 men from the parishes, to be divided between the sea and land service, and by a supplementary levy of 60,000 men for the militia, and 20,000 men for irregular cavalry, not to be immediately called out, but enrolled and gradually trained. Many bitter remarks were made by the habitual opponents of government, who, numerically, were scarcely stronger now than they had been in the last parliament, but after the alteration of a clause which proposed forcibly to convert gamekeepers into soldiers, the plan was adopted, without any division. On the 20th of October, Windham, as secretary at-war, announced that the whole military force of this country consisted of 195,674 men, the expense of which would amount to 5,190,000*l*. Of this number the whole army, counting regulars, guards, invalids militia, fencibles and all, amounted to 67,760 the troops abroad (excepting those in the East Indies, which fell under a separate head, and were otherwise provided for) amounted to 64,271, all regulars, and some of them veteran regiments.

On the 7th of November, Pitt opened the budget. The money required by ministers was 27,945,000*l*. Among the ways and means they proposed was a new loan of 18,000,000*l*. There seemed to be, on the whole, a good English spirit in the House. Whatever Pitt said that was animating, as to the courage and resources of the country, and our capability of achieving the safety of Europe, our own glory and permanent advantage, was well cheered, but Fox, on the other hand, was heard in dead silence when he endeavoured to attribute the zeal shown in the new loan, called the Loyalty Loan, to a desire of peace*. It had been stated by Pitt, in his speech on opening the budget, that ministers had made an advance of 1,200,000*l* to the hard-pressed emperor. On the 13th of November, Fox triumphantly moved "That his majesty's ministers, having authorised and directed, at different times, and without the consent and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money for the service of his im-

* Dr. French Lawrence to Burke. *1st* Parliamentary Correspondence.

perial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Conde, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this House." At first Pitt took up good ground, by admitting that it was an irregular act which he had hazarded, knowing his responsibility, but not doubting his duty, that he had had only a choice of difficulties, from the exigencies of our ally on the one side, and from the public panic on account of the scarcity of specie at home on the other. But afterwards he quibbled, attempting to bring what he had done within the authority of the ordinary vote of credit, and endeavouring to find a principle in other discretionary and indefinite expenditures. When Pitt sat down, the Hon. Charles Bathurst Bragge, treasurer of the navy, moved an amendment upon Fox's resolution, to the effect that the advance to the emperor, "though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe," and this was carried by a majority of 285 to 81.

The precipitate return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris was followed, on the 26th of December, by a message from the king to parliament, in which his majesty declared that the rupture of the negotiation did not proceed from the want of a sincere desire on his part for the restoration of peace, but from the excessive pretensions of the enemy, which were incompatible with the permanent interests of this country and the general security of Europe. Copies of all the memorials and other papers relating to the negotiation, from the first overtures made by Mr. Wickham to M. Barthélemy, were laid before parliament, and on the 30th of December the king's message was taken into consideration in both Houses. Although Fox, it is said, confessed in private that this would have been the very worst moment for making a peace with France, and that he thought that England might possibly be enabled to carry on the war two or three years longer at the most, he himself in the Commons, and his friend Lord Guildford in the Lords, moved an amendment to the address to be returned to the king's message, full of imputations of ministers for not having concluded a treaty with the French republic. The amendments, however, were rejected by great majorities.

A.D. 1797.—During the last year the directors of the Bank of England had several times represented to the chancellor of the exchequer their inability of supplying his rapid and increasing demands. The dread of an invasion had, moreover, produced a run upon the bank for specie, and certain opposition pamphlets and journals had done their best to increase this panic, as a likely means of overthrowing Pitt, not bearing in mind that it might

have overthrown the country as well. On the 9th of February, the bank directors informed Pitt that to comply with his new request of making a further advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland would most probably force the directors to shut their doors. In this alarming state of affairs the Privy Council, on Sunday, the 26th, sent an order prohibiting the directors of the Bank of England from issuing any cash or specie in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken, and measures be adopted for supporting public credit. This decisive step was announced to parliament on the next day by a royal message, and the subject was immediately taken into consideration by both Lords and Commons. The opposition testified as much glee as a noted smuggler is said to have done at seeing the old Custom-house on fire. This must crush the cold proud minister, who prided himself most of all on his financial ability, or nothing would. Fox exultingly gave notice that he should feel it necessary to move an inquiry into all the past transactions between the bank and the minister, and said several things very proper to keep up the panic, and destroy what little credit there was left at that moment. "I thought," says a member of the House, "that his tone should have been, in common policy, subdued, solemn, even alarmed at the state of the country, professing a desire to take all measures which the exigency might justify for the support of our credit, and postpone personal considerations, but he plainly showed himself to have hardly any feeling but the ruin of Pitt."* Sheridan, Whitbread, and others made motions with the same animus. The history of Pitt's paper system belongs to another chapter. We need only mention here a few immediate measures. Ministerial motions were carried in both Houses for appointing by ballot a secret committee to examine into the affairs of the Bank. In the meanwhile the Bank was authorised to issue small notes. The secret committee soon reported that there was a clear balance or surplus belonging to the Bank, of 3,826,890*l.*, exclusive of a debt from government of 11,666,800*l.*; that the Bank had lately experienced a drain of cash, owing to the prevalence of alarm, that, as this alarm might continue, the Bank might be deprived of the means of supplying the cash necessary for the exigencies of the public service, and that therefore it was proper to continue the measures already taken, for such time and under such limitations as should seem expedient to parliament. The Commons having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House to take this report into consideration, Pitt moved for a bill to continue and confirm for a limited time the restriction of the issue of specie by the Bank of England; and, after various clauses had been added, chiefly by ministers themselves, this bill was passed. The Bank was to be authorised to issue specie to the amount of 100,000*l.* for the accommodation of private bankers and traders, and, saving and ex-

* Dr. French Lawrence.

cept to the army and navy, who were to be paid in cash, bank notes were to be a legal tender to all. At starting—when one of the bank directors declared in the House of Commons that there was every reason to hope that the bank would soon be enabled to resume its payments in specie—the bill was limited in its operation to the 24th of June but the restriction was afterwards continued from time to time by a succession of new acts, and the return to cash payments did not take place till 1819, when Mr (now Sir Robert) Peel carried his well-known bill.

Having established a precedent of two budgets for one year, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 26th of April, demanded and obtained a further supply. The whole of the money voted this session amounted to 42,786,000*l*. Another loan was to be made for 16 000,000*l* of this money, and government was to guarantee besides a further loan of 2,000,000*l* for our ally the emperor. New taxes were imposed, or old ones increased, to the amount of 2,544,000*l*. The sum of 80,000*l* was voted as a marriage portion to the king's eldest daughter, Charlotta Augusta, who was married on the 18th of May to Frederick William, Hereditary Prince of Wurttemberg. The navy was still further increased, the number of seamen and marines for the service of the year was 120,000, and the total sum voted for that service, in all its branches, was 13,133,673*l*.

While parliament was sitting mutinies broke out in the fleets, which gave far greater alarm than the Bank's suspending cash payments. For some time discontents had prevailed among the seamen, the principal subjects of which were the miserable smallness of their pay and of the Greenwich pensions, neither of which had been augmented since the reign of Charles II., the very unequal distribution of prize-money, which gave almost everything to the admirals and superior officers, leaving next to nothing to the petty officers and the crews, the excessive harshness and severity of the discipline, and the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of many of the officers. Within three days, at the beginning of the month of March, Lord Howe, who still held the chief command of the Channel fleet, but who was then at Bath for the benefit of his health, received four petitions, from the 'Royal George,' 'Formidable,' 'Ramillies,' and 'Queen Charlotte,' soliciting the interposition of his lordship, as the seamen's friend, with the Admiralty, in order that the seamen might in their turn experience an act of munificence like that which had been shown to the army and militia, in the provision made for an increase to their pay, and for their wives and families. Lord Howe, considering their tone rather mutinous, submitted the four petitions to Earl Spencer, the head of the Admiralty, and wrote to the port-admiral, Sir Peter Parker, and to Lord Bridport, who was holding the command of the Channel fleet* under him (Earl

Howe). Sir Peter and Lord Bridport replied, that the petitions (three of which seemed to be in the same handwriting) were the work of some ill-disposed person, and, in consequence of this reply, both Lord Howe and Earl Spencer thought that no danger was to be apprehended. But on the 12th of April the Board of Admiralty were startled by Sir Peter Parker, who reported that intelligence had been communicated to him of a regular plan, concerted some time before, by the seamen, to take the command of the ships from their officers, which plan was to be carried into execution on the 16th of April. Instantly orders were given by telegraph from London to Portsmouth for the fleet to proceed to sea. But, when Admiral Lord Bridport made the signal to prepare for sailing, the seamen mounted the rigging, instead of going to the capstan, and gave tremendous cheers—cheers of defiance. This astounding act was followed by others still more decisive: the men took all command from their captains and officers, they appointed "delegates," two from each ship, who met in council in the great cabin of the 'Queen Charlotte,' Lord Howe's flag ship, and there they wrote and issued orders to all the seamen of the fleet to take oaths of fidelity to the cause. By the 17th every man was sworn. They put on shore a good many officers whom they accused of oppression, keeping the others on board as prisoners or hostages, but at the same time they passed resolutions to maintain order and sobriety, and to pay all due respect to the officers on board from whom they had taken the command. To strike terror ropes were then reeved (the sailors' preparation for hanging) at the fore-yard-arms of every ship, but they found no occasion to use this tackle, except for ducking minor offenders. There is no denying or concealing the fact—the men had been ill-paid, ill-fed, shamefully neglected by the country which depended upon them for its all, and, in many instances, harshly and brutally treated by their officers, and belly-punched and plundered by their pursers, and, with a tube of their wrongs, or with no wrongs at all, if the French sailors had made this mutiny, they would have murdered most of their officers, as in fact many French crews had done on the first promulgation of liberty and equality and the other Jacobin principles. But here not a drop of blood was spilt, nor, after the landing of the obnoxious officers, was there so much as an insult offered. Punishments were inflicted on all who got drunk, or misconducted themselves in any way. The mutineers allowed all frigates with convoys to sail, in order not to injure the commerce of the country. The thirty-two delegates drew up and signed a petition to parliament and another to the Admiralty: their language was respectful, and their demands were very far from exorbitant*.

* They prayed that the wages of the seamen should be increased, that their provisions should be of a better quality, and be weighed and estimated as provisions were ashore 16 on the 15, that their measures should also be the same as those used in common trade, that while in port vegetables instead of flour should be served with

* Letter of Lord Howe in Life by Sir John Barrow

On the 18th of April a Board of Admiralty, consisting of Earl Spencer, Lord Arden, Rear-Admiral Young, with Mr. Deputy-Secretary Marsden, met at Portsmouth, and discussed with Admirals Lord Bridport, Sir Allan Gardner, Colpoys, Pole, and Halloway, the proper means of putting an end to this perilous and (to the government) humiliating state of things. It might have been expected of them that previous care and attention to the condition of the seamen should have prevented the undeniable evils of which they complained. As it was, they frankly admitted among themselves the existence of those evils, and agreed to grant the sailors some of the terms they demanded. But they certainly stinted their generosity—*perhaps* intending to extend it, when they might give with a less appearance of giving under compulsion. They offered additional allowances of pay, namely, four shillings to able, three shillings to ordinary seamen, and two shillings to landmen, per month, and their full pay to seamen wounded in action, until they were either cured or pensioned off, or received into Greenwich Hospital. The only answer the delegates would give was that they would take the terms into consideration, and return an answer to-morrow morning. The next morning the delegates sent their reply: they urged that there never existed more than two classes of men in the navy, “able” and “ordinary,” and that the distinction between “ordinary” and “landsmen” was an entirely new distinction (which it certainly was, and introduced only in the view of making a paltry saving—so economical was this government in some things, and so profuse in others), and they demanded that the wages of able seamen should be raised to one shilling a-day, and the wages of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the same proportion, and that the marines, while embarked, should have their pay augmented in the same ratio as that of ordinaries. They also demanded that the Greenwich pension, which was now less than 7½, should be raised to 10½ per annum, that the weight and measure on board should not be curtailed, as they had been, by one eighth (which some pursers made a sixth), that they should have provisions of a better quality, with an allowance of vegetables, essential to their health, whenever attainable, and they concluded with a declaration that, until their grievances should be redressed, and an act of indemnity passed in their favour, they were determined not to lift an anchor. On the following day, the 20th of April,

the Board of Admiralty sitting at Portsmouth informed the mutineers by letter that they had resolved to recommend to his majesty the increase of wages they demanded, the full weights and measures, their full pay while laid up with wounds, and an entire pardon, but still they took no notice of those two most capital and reasonable demands, the augmentation of the Greenwich pension, and the allowance of vegetables while in port. On the same or the following day the delegates expressed, in a note exceedingly well written (as all their papers were), their utmost satisfaction and gratitude for what had been granted, but persisted in demanding the two omitted conditions, as also the redress of grievances in some particular ships,* repeating their firm resolution not to lift an anchor until all this should be granted. In the hope of removing these obstacles, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole went on board the ‘Queen Charlotte,’ in the state cabin of which the delegates were assembled, with sentinels at the door, who paid the said delegates the military honours usually paid to superior officers. The delegates were evidently irritated at the still stinted bounty of the Admiralty,—were not satisfied with what, in fact, was only the promise of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and not law without the sanction of higher authorities, and some of their heads were turned by their brief possession of power and dignity. On the other hand, there were circumstances enough to exasperate the superior officers, and when one of the delegates, in an insolent tone, told the admirals that they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire compliance with their demands, and that no arrangement would be considered as final, until sanctioned by the king and parliament, and guaranteed by a proclamation of pardon, Sir Allan Gardner lost all command of his temper, and, seizing the man by the collar, swore he would have all the delegates hanged, together with every fifth man in the fleet. The delegates in the cabin, and the crew upon the decks, were thrown into a fury by this intemperance. According to one account his brother admiral pacified Gardner, but according to another the difficulty lay in pacifying the mutineers, and saving Gardner’s life from their rage. As soon as the two delegates named by the crew of the ‘Royal George’ (Lord Bridport’s flag ship) returned on board their own vessel, they summoned another meeting there, and immediately hoisted that dreadful signal, the red or bloody flag †. Forthwith all the crews in the fleet loaded all their guns, set their watches, and cleared their ships as if for action. But on the 22nd, the men having become more tranquil, the delegates wrote two letters, one to the Admiralty, in which they stated their provocations, and the other to Lord Bridport, in which they styled him their father

fresh beef that the sick should be better attended to and their necessary nurses not be embarrassed and that the men on returning from a voyage or long cruise should like their officers have short leaves of absence to visit their friends &c.

The common pound had but one been only 16 oz. the remaining two being retained by the purser to allow for waste leakage &c. A similar reduction took place in the mess rate. Not only was government privy to this but it was actually a financial or economical arrangement with them; for the pursers who keep and distribute the provisions had no other pay than the difference if any between the real and the assumed loss by waste leakage &c. If, in this system we add the villainous practice of navy or military contractors &c., who passed (but too often) bascule salt beef and salt pork which a decency fed dog on shore would not have touched we may conceive that the poor sailors were very frequently supplied with the worst food and in scanty quantities.

* This appears to have meant the immediate change of the captains and some of the officers of certain ships of the fleet.

† The blood red flag which is rarely hoisted except by renegade privateers and pirates is considered as an intimation that no quarter will be expected or given.

and friend, and disavowed any intention of offending him. Earl Spencer, with Lord Arden and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, had returned to London on the 21st, and in consequence of their representations a royal proclamation was agreed to by ministers, and, having received the sign manual at Windsor, this document was forwarded with all speed to Portsmouth. Furnished with the proclamation, which contained a free pardon, but which said not one word touching the redress of grievances, except in an oblique manner, by referring to the measures taken by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, Lord Bridport, on the 23rd, went on board the 'Royal George,' and re-hoisted his flag, and having done this he delivered an address to the crew, informing them that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation, arising out of the silence of the proclamation as to their demands, the crew of the 'Royal George,' and then the crews of all the ships in the fleet, hauled down the red flag and returned cheerfully to their duty. All disputes being now considered as settled, the fleet dropped down to St Helens. But, on the morning of the 7th of May, when Lord Bridport, who had just received intelligence that the Brest fleet was ready for sea, and was dropping into their outward harbour, gave the signal to weigh anchor, the crews of every one of his ships refused obedience, and the fleet stood stock still. The reasons alleged for this second great act of mutiny were, that the king's proclamation was not sufficiently explicit, that government had been altogether silent respecting the concessions demanded, and that no act of parliament had been passed to secure the redress of their grievances, from all which they suspected an intention to deceive them. They had been confirmed in this suspicion by certain inflammatory libels, which had been printed on shore by some hired traitors, or by some mad reformers, and widely circulated through the fleet. But the suspicion was further excited by other strong causes, little honourable to the wisdom and discretion of the government and parliament. In the House of Lords ministers had deprecated any mention of the complaints of the sailors and the disorders in the fleet, and Earl Spencer had said that he was not aware of any intended message to the House from the king on that subject. In the Commons Pitt had indeed made a motion to increase the wages of seamen, but the House had not gone into the matter with any alacrity, and the supply to cover the increase of pay had not yet been voted. Moreover, the Board of Admiralty had issued an order, bearing date the 1st of May, which contained sundry paragraphs which almost seem to have been purposely devised to drive the suspicions of the sailors into frenzy and despair, by making them believe that they were to gain nothing by their late daring proceedings except an increase to the already intolerable severity of their discipline, with an occasional quietus from the

bullets and bayonets of the marines.* In vain the captains and officers remonstrated with the men, who resolved to summon a convention of delegates at Spithead, on board the 'London,' Vice-Admiral Colpoys's flag-ship, and who, accordingly, put out their boats, collected delegates, and rowed away to that ship. Colpoys, in obedience to his instructions, refused to admit them, ordered the officers to be armed, the marines to be in readiness, and the ports to be let down. Upon this the sailors of the 'London'—Colpoys's own men—insisted that the delegates should come on board the armed officers resisted and ordered the men to go below the men refused, and one of them began to unlash one of the foremost guns, and to point it aft towards the quarter-deck. Simpson, the first lieutenant of the ship, cried out to this man that he would shoot him if he did not desist; the fellow continued to unlash, and the lieutenant, keeping his word, fired, and shot him dead on the spot.† The sailors then turned several guns aft, seized their white arms, and presently succeeded in disarming all the officers and all the marines. They were proceeding to hang the first lieutenant at the yard arm, when Admiral Colpoys stepped forward and told them that Simpson had acted in conformity to orders which he (the admiral) had given him, and which orders had been received from the Admiralty. The chaplain and the surgeon of the ship interceded, and in the very paroxysm of their fury, when blood had been shed and when some of them were talking of hanging the admiral as well as the lieutenant, they promised to spare Simpson's life, and to do him no manner of harm. They then ordered the admiral, the captain, and all the officers to their respective cabins, and confined the marines as prisoners. Matters remained in this state on board the 'London' from the 7th to the 11th of May, when Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were requested to go on shore, which they did, accompanied by the chaplain. In the meanwhile every crew of the fleet had taken possession of their own

* This order which was offensive to the officers as well as to the men, with its unbecoming terms, and from the disposition lately taken by the seamen in looking to the sailors of the ships, it had the effect of drawing the strictest attention should be paid to the officers in his new service, not only to their own conduct, but to that of the sailors, who may be under their orders, the more effectually to insure a proper subordination and discipline, and to prevent any mutiny or disturbance among the seamen. (See the order of the day, signed by John Barron, as it was at any time as both the law of War and Instruction enjoin it, such an order as that particular moment of the conduct of both officers and men was to be strictly followed, and not to be disobeyed. But much was to be followed in the same order. A new instruction was in the day of the day, that all officers of his majesty's ships must see that the arms and ammunition belonging to the marines be constantly kept in good order and put in a mediate service as well as the war as at sea. This meant nothing less than that the marines were to be kept in constant readiness to fire upon the sailors in the case of any symptom of mutiny, and that the sailors should not clearly understand it a paragraph was added enjoining that the captains and commanders be particularly attentive to the conduct of the men under their command, and that they be ready on the first appearance of any mutiny to use the most vigorous means to suppress it, and to bring the ringleaders to punishment.)

† Other accounts say that a shot was fired at the delegates was the first that fired at it, and wounded Lieutenant Sims of the marines, that the first lieutenant of the ship then ordered the marines to fire that the marines obeyed that five or six men of the delegates were mortally and six others badly wounded, that then the men turned the guns towards the stern, and threatened to blow all astern into the water.

ship, and several of them, with much less politeness than the men of the 'London,' had compelled their captains and officers to land. At last, however, at the suggestion of the king, or, as some say, of his prime minister, it was determined to send down Lord Howe with plenary powers to settle all matters in dispute,—that is, to offer the seamen an entire compliance with all their demands, which would have settled everything so long before, and have saved the country from a long agony of alarm, and the government from an indelible disgrace. Lord Howe arrived at Portsmouth on the 11th of May, bringing with him an act of parliament, agreeable to the wishes of the seamen, which had been passed on the 9th, and not before. His first step was to visit personally all the line-of-battle ships, to ascertain precisely all their grievances. His presence touched the hearts of the men, for his venerable age and his very infirm state of health told them that he was not long for this world, and they could not forget the glories of the First of June, and the many times that the older mariners among them had braved with him "the battle and the breeze." On his representations they soon agreed to express generally a contrition for what had happened, and to request his interposition to obtain the king's pardon for their transgressions. Howe said that these poor sailors, though the most suspicious, were the most generous minds he ever met with in the same class of men. On the 13th deputies from each ship presented their petitions to his lordship on board the 'Royal William'; they all expressed contrition, they were all full of respect and loyalty, but they all avowed a most decided resolution not again to receive on board those tyrannical officers whom they had sent on shore. His lordship found himself obliged to comply, and a number of new appointments were instantly made to fill up the vacancies thus created. A gracious proclamation of pardon under the great seal was then published, and the sailors of the fleet struck the flag of disaffection, and expressed a great anxiety to be off to look after the Frenchmen at Brest.† This was the last important service rendered to his country by Richard Earl Howe, who died on the 5th of August, 1799, in his seventy-fourth year.

While these things were transacting at Portsmouth, a fresh mutiny broke out at Sheerness. At first it gave little alarm, as it was reasonably calculated that the terms which had satisfied Lord Bridport's ships, and which were to be extended to all ships and fleets whatsoever, would satisfy the

mutineers at Sheerness, but great was the consternation, when, on the 20th of May, many of the ships lying at the Nore, and soon afterwards



HOWE'S MOUNTAIN N. ST. PAULS

nearly all of those belonging to the North Sea fleet, hoisted the red flag, chose two delegates from every ship, and went much farther than their precursors had done, by electing a president, who styled himself "President of the floating republic." This mutiny was, in fact, altogether different from the other, and it was met in a very different spirit by all classes on shore. The Portsmouth men had demanded nothing but a redress of long accumulated and crying grievances, in the midst of alarm, the sympathy of the nation went along with them, but these madmen at the Nore had been perverted by some floating demagogues, and had no grievances left to complain of, and no demands to make, but such as were ridiculous, or incompatible with the service, and, like so many other half or wholly Jacobinised classes of men, they knew not what they were aiming at. It appears that their chief perverter was the very aspiring man they had elected for their president. This was Richard Parker, a native of Scotland, and at one time a little tradesman of Edinburgh, who had ruined his affairs by a too close attention to politics, and who had then abandoned his wife, and entered on board a man-of-war as a common sailor. The man had some education, and he had frequented debating clubs and reforming societies until he conceived himself an orator and a statesman. Under his direction a committee of twelve was appointed in every ship, and these committees decided upon all affairs, and upon the merits of the respective

* Among the officers thus charged with oppression and discarded by their men were 1 admiral (Calypso) 4 captains 29 lieutenants 17 master's mates 20 midshipmen 5 captains of marines 3 lieutenants of marines 4 surgeons and a cut 14 petty officers.

† The whole business was concluded on the 16th of May when the deputies from the ships landed at Portsmouth proceeded to the governor's house where Lord Howe was lodged partook of some refreshments and then marched in procession to the "ally port" as an escort of honour to Lord and Lady Howe who with a number of officers and gentlemen were going to visit the fleet. Sir Roger Curtis a squadron had just come in from a cruise his account had showed symptoms of mutiny but on learning what had passed they became satisfied. In the evening when the party returned to Portsmouth the late organs of insurrection the deputies or delegates, carried Lord Howe on their shoulders to the governor's house.

delegates. There were some minor arrangements which showed how attentive a student Parker had been in the school of the Edinburgh clubs. On the 20th of May the delegates delivered "a statement of the demands of the sailors," peremptorily insisting upon compliance as the only condition upon which they would return to their duty. On the 22nd they received from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty a firm, dignified, and decided negative, together with the promise of a pardon if they would immediately return to their duty and proceed to sea in search of the enemies of their country. Hereupon the delegates declared that some of the Board of Admiralty must come down to Sheerness to negotiate with them. On the next day the mutineers in the 'Sandwich,' of 90 guns, Vice Admiral Buckner's ship, in which President Parker was serving, struck the admiral's flag, and hoisted the red or bloody flag in its stead, and then all the ships of war which lay near Sheerness dropped down to the Great Nore. On the 24th the government offer of pardon was repeated and rejected. On the 29th a committee of the Admiralty went down to Sheerness sent for the delegates, and tried to bring them to reason, with ut, however, yielding to any of their new demands. The delegates, who often landed, with strong escorts of armed seamen and marched in procession alongshore, as if to entice the people of Kent to join them behaved with great insolence to the commissioners, and, as soon as they returned to the fleet, the mutineers moored their ships in a line across the river, and detained every merchant-vessel bound up or down the Thames. This was nothing less than in effectual blockade of the port of London. Two vessels, laden with stores and provisions they seized and appropriated. The conduct of the Foxite opposition, who had done great mischief during the previous mutiny, by delivering the minister's bill in favour of the seamen, was at this present crisis unpatriotic in the extreme, and, in our humble estimation, infamous. On the 26th of May, when the mind of the country was wholly occupied and agitated by the daring conduct of Parker and his delegates, Mr Grey rose in the House of Commons to move—for a *sweeping reform in parliament*. He was seconded by Mr. Kirk, and supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Richard Hill, Sir William Dolben, Mr Smith, Mr Pollen, Mr Fox, the great leader, and others of his party. The vast majority of the House testified their disgust at the time chosen for agitating such a question, and the motion was smothered by a vote of 258 against 93. Not a man of the defeated party could have had the shadow of a hope that the motion would pass, but now they pretended to be driven to despair by its rejection, and by the numbers and obstinacy of the Pittites, and Fox and most of his friends instantly seceded from parliament, declaring their attendance there useless, retired into the country, and hoisted, as it were, the black flag of despair to the English people, or to the, at that time, very limited portion

of the nation that was eager for a reform of the House of Commons. Some of the seceders returned to their seats, and attended occasionally to their parliamentary duties, but none of them returned during Parker's mutiny, and from this time till the month of February, 1800, Fox spoke only three or four times in the House. Sheridan, who, for some time past, had been altering his tone about the French revolution, refused to secede, or follow his leader, and, when the anxious debate came on touching the rebellion at the Nore, he stood forward, in defence of his party, to strengthen the hands of government, to recommend firmness, and to exclaim, that, if we yielded to mutinous sailors, we should extinguish, in one moment, three centuries of glory.* The Foxites could only account for this conduct by suspecting, and indeed assuming, that Sheridan was acting under selfish motives, and was, in fact, looking out for some well paid place and a seat on the treasury bench; and it grieves us to say that there are sundry little circumstances and indications which tend to confirm this suspicion.† Sheridan never recovered the friendship and confidence of his party, nor could that party soon remove the evil impressions made upon the public mind by their conduct at this crisis. The members of the House who remained at their posts behaved with becoming spirit, and imparted additional firmness to the government. The buoys at the mouth of the river were taken up, batteries were erected alongshore for firing red hot shot, and a proclamation was issued declaring the ships in a state of rebellion, and forbidding all intercourse whatever with them. Fierce dissensions now broke out among the mutineers, who became sensible that their fellow seamen in the other fleets and the whole nation were against them. For some time they had been sick of Parker's long speeches, and had deprived him of his presidency. On the 4th of June, the king's birthday, the whole mutinous fleet, to prove its loyalty, fired a royal salute and displayed all the giv colours and flags usual on such occasions, the red flag being struck during the ceremony on board every ship except the 'Sandwich,' where Parker was. A day or two after this, several of the ships deserted the rebels, who pointed their guns at them but did not fire, and went for protection either up the Thames or under the guns of Sheerness. In those that remained, the well disposed rose upon the determined rebels, and many wounds were given and some few lives lost. By the 13th of June the bloody flag had disappeared from every mast-head, and on the following morning, the crew of the 'Sandwich' carried the ship under the guns at

* Mr Moore says that while the ministry were yet hesitating as to the steps they should take, Sheridan went to Secretary Dundas and said, "My advice is that you cut the buoys of the river, send Sir Charles Grey down to the coast, and set a price on Parker's head. If the administration take this advice instantly, they will save the country—if not they will lose it, and on their refusal I will smash them in the House of Commons this very evening.—*Life of Sheridan*"

† It was never so believed that Sheridan had any intention of deserting to Pitt; but at this time there was a talk of a new ministry administration from which Fox must inevitably be excluded by the old antipathies of the king. At this moment Sheridan's pecuniary embarrassments were thickening and becoming unbearable.

Sheerness, and gave up ex president Parker to a guard of soldiers, who carried him on shore. Parker was solemnly tried, and was hanged at the yard-arm of the 'Sandwich' on the 30th. A few of the delegates were executed shortly after, some of the ringleaders were flogged through the fleet, and others were left under sentence on board prison-ships, but the general good behaviour of our fleets at sea, and Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown, gave an excellent occasion for the exercise of royal mercy, and in October a general pardon was proclaimed*. The mutiny at the Nore, which had madness for its origin and nothing but mischief for its end, was thus put down with (for the times) a very small sacrifice of human life. From the other mutiny may be dated the most rapid improvement in the management and condition of our sailors, with a proportionate improvement in the discipline and spirit of the men and the gallantry of their officers.

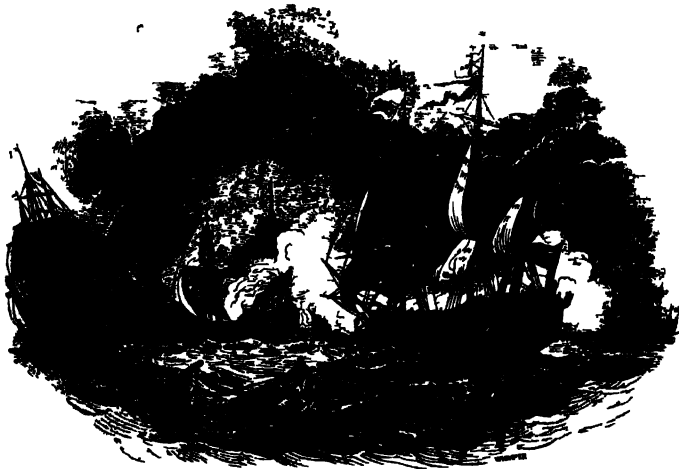
On the 20th of July the king prorogued parliament.

"The Year of Mutinies" was not altogether an

* Sir John Barrow Life of Earl Howe—James Naval Hist—Documents in Ann. Regist

inglorious year to the British navy. On the 14th of February the late Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Sir John Jervis, fell in off Cape St Vincent with the great Spanish fleet, just come out of Cadiz under the command of Don José de Cordova, who had recently superseded Langara. The Spaniards had 27 sail of the line, the English only 15, but the greater part of the Spanish crews were about equally destitute of seamanship and spirit, and Nelson, who was in himself worth a whole squadron of line-of-battle ships, was with Sir John Jervis, and executed all the daring and really brilliant part of the action*. By breaking the line by battering and boarding, four Spanish ships of the line, including one of 112 guns, were taken, and all the rest were driven into Cadiz and there blockaded. The news of this opportune victory reached London at the time of the panic caused by the state of the Bank of England, and had a great effect in reviving the national spirit. Sir John Jervis was made Earl St Vincent, and Nelson a Knight of the Bath.

* Nelson had said just before the breaking out of the war with Spain that if the fleet were no better now than when it acted in alliance with us it would soon be done for.



BATTLE OFF CAPE ST VINCENT

On the 11th of October Admiral Duncan, with 16 sail of the line, attacked a Dutch fleet of 11 sail of the line and four 56-gun ships, which had stolen out of the Texel during a storm, and which was on its way to join the great French fleet at Brest. The Dutch admiral, de Winter, his officers, and crews, fought their ships in a very different style from the Spaniards—fought them like brave men and excellent sailors, like worthy descendants of the men who had so long disputed with us the

empire of the seas. Their inferiority of force was very considerable, and the only particularly glorious part of the action, on the side of the English, was the daring way in which they ran between the Dutch line, close in-shore, and the dangerous coast, thus setting an example which Nelson afterwards followed at the battle of the Nile. After a most obstinate combat, and a terrible loss in killed and wounded on either side, Admiral de Winter struck, and eight ships of the line, two

56-gun ships, and two frigates remained as trophies of victory to the English, but they were little more than trophies, being all riddled in their hulls like sieves, and otherwise so cut to pieces as to be nearly all incapable of repair. This victory off



DUNCAN'S MONUMENT IN SCOTLAND

Camperdown excited a rapturous joy at home. Duncan was very properly elevated to the peerage. In the meanwhile, in the month of July, misled by incorrect intelligence, Nelson with a small force had made a very unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz, in the island of Tenerife, which had ended in the loss of his own right arm and of the lives of some 200 of his men. But for his admirable presence of mind and indomitable courage the loss must have been fourfold what it was.

In the West Indies a squadron, under Rear-Admiral Harvey, co-operated with General Abercromby in reducing the Spanish island of Trinidad. A Spanish squadron lay at anchor there; it was nearly as strong as his own, and was, moreover, protected by some strong batteries on an island at the mouth of the harbour. But, while Harvey, on the night of the 17th of February, lay at anchor off the harbour, within random shot of the Spanish batteries and line-of-battle ships, four of the Spanish ships caught fire, apparently by accident, and burned with great fury till daylight, when the huge boats entered and towed out the fifth ship, and the Spaniards, in dismay, surrendered the island without any further struggle. Abercromby and Harvey were much less successful at the island of Porto Rico, which they attacked on the 18th of April, for the Spaniards had strongly fortified the town and the approaches to it, and the English general, after losing about two

hundred men, gave up the enterprise. The mortality among the troops employed in the West Indies continued to be prodigious, nor was any apparent improvement made in the management of them.

Before proceeding to the war on the continent we must mention a strange expedition of the French to the English coast, which occurred during the money panic. On the 20th of February four vessels, three of them old French frigates, came to anchor in the British Channel off Ilfracombe. They had troops on board, but no attempt was made to land there, as the north Devonshire volunteers presently lined the coast. The ships stood over to the Welsh coast, and there, in a bay near Fishguard, the troops were disembarked. They advanced into the wild country of Pembrokeshire, apparently without knowing whither they were going. The alarm was spread rapidly, the Welsh collected on every hill, and in every valley, to oppose them, and more than 3000 men, including 700 well-trained militia, with Lord Cawdor at their head, marched directly against the invaders, who, without firing a shot, laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. There were 1400 of them, without artillery, but well supplied with ammunition. The men were in rage, and looked more like felons escaped from prison than soldiers. It was concluded that they must be prisoners let loose, but this conclusion was perhaps too hasty, for Bonaparte's conquering army of Italy had been just as ragged a few months before, and, in English eyes at least, would have looked just as much like escaped felons or vagabonds. This petty invasion of Wales was not intelligible at the time, and can hardly be said to have been made intelligible since. Some thought it was meant to alarm us by showing that a body of troops might be thrown on our coasts in spite of the vigilance and mighty force of our fleets (but this object might have been attained without so large a sacrifice of men as 1400), some thought that it was meant to be a rapid predatory expedition, some that it was meant to burthen us with so many prisoners, who must be fed at our expense, and who might afterwards increase the confusion in the event of an actual invasion, which last conjecture seems the most rational.

In order to strengthen the armies in Italy, the victorious Archduke Charles had been left weak on the Rhine. He recovered Fort Kehl at the beginning of the year, but Moreau, strongly reinforced, again reduced that important fortress, and defeated the Austrians in a great battle in the month of April. Nearly at the same moment Hoche, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, defeated General Krey, and other French divisions were again advancing into the heart of Germany, when their march was suspended by the intelligence that the emperor was negotiating for a peace with Bonaparte.

Both the young republican general and the old

Life of Sir John Moore—James Naval Hist.—Ann. Regis.

Austrian marshal had received reinforcements during the winter. Alvinzi, as early as the month of January, took the field with 50,000 men, intending not merely to relieve Wurmser, but also to drive the French from the whole line of the Adige, but he again divided his forces, was defeated at Rivoli on the 14th of January; and, after General Provera, who had surrendered with 2000 men the year before, had surrendered with a division of 5000 men, old Wurmser, being reduced to extremities for want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate in Mantua.

The pope was unable to pay the enormous contributions demanded from him. After the surrender of Mantua the French overran the greater part of the papal states, scattered with a few shots some 6000 or 8000 very unwelcome troops in the pope's pay, took possession of the city and port of Ancona, and at Tolentino dictated new and still harsher conditions of peace to the helpless head of the Catholic Church*. By this time Austria had poured another army to the frontiers of Italy, and had given the command of it to the Archduke Charles. But this last Austrian army was composed almost entirely of raw recruits, and of the disheartened fragments of the forces of Beaulieu, Wurmser, Davidowich and Alvinzi, and the archduke, instead of being left to his own genius and ready resources, was checked and embarrassed by the Aulic Council at Vienna. On the other side, the French, already superior in numbers, were flushed with victory, and General Bernadotte, who had quitted the army of the Rhine, joined Bonaparte with 20,000 men. After sustaining some terrible defeats in the month of March on the Tagliamento, the archduke retreated slowly and in admirable order towards Vienna, in the hope of receiving reinforcements from that capital and from Hungary, and of drawing the French into the hereditary states, where a population enthusiastically devoted to the emperor would be sure to rise *en masse* and attack them on their flanks and rear. The campaign was not hopeless: the archduke was full of hope and ardour, the French, who had violated the continental territories of the republic of Venice, were apprehensive of an attack on their rear from that quarter, General Laudon was pouring through the valleys of the Tyrol with another Austrian division was driving back the French detachments on the Upper Adige, and was almost on the edge of the plains of Lombardy. Bonaparte was full of anxiety, but disguising this feeling, and suddenly pretending to deplore the horrors of war, and to be anxious, merely for humanity's sake, for a peace, he wrote a very flattering letter to the archduke, calling him the saviour of Germany, and representing England as the only power in Europe that had an interest in continuing the war. The archduke referred him for an answer to Vienna. Bo-

naparte was now at Judenburg, in Upper Styria, about eight days' march from Vienna, but, notwithstanding the successes of Moreau and Hoche, there was no republican army in the valley of the Danube to co-operate with him, he had many streams to pass, and several dangerous defiles before him, and behind him the Lombard Venetians, though without any aid from their timid, contemptible government, were actually rising in insurrection, it being reported, among the people, who had many wrongs to avenge, that the French army had got enclosed in the mountain *passé* of Carnio and Styria, and would inevitably be compelled to lay down their arms. But there was a party at Vienna overcome by their fears, and ready to purchase peace at almost any price: the archduke was ordered to agree to a suspension of hostilities, an armistice began on the 7th of April, and the preliminaries of a peace were signed by Bonaparte, at Leoben, on the 18th. The French on their first advance into the Venetian dominions, and many months before any popular insurrection was heard of or thought of, had made up their minds to overthrow that aristocratic republic, to appropriate all its territories on the continent, together with the city of Venice itself, seated on its hundred isles, to keep all this as an affiliated or dependent republic, or to barter it away (after having well plundered it) for territory elsewhere and other advantages*. In a secret article to the preliminaries Bonaparte now agreed to give the neutral state of Venice to Austria in compensation for her losses. This done, Bonaparte hurried back to the Adige, took a sanguinary vengeance for some disgraceful excesses which had been committed by the people of Verona and its neighbourhood, sent his propagandists into the city of Venice, to excite a mid-democratic party into insurrection against the Doge and the aristocrats by promising them liberty and equality, and by setting up the tree of liberty under the shadow of the winged lion in the square of St. Mark, roused the people to rebellion in Bergamo, Brescia, and other towns, got possession of the castles and other fortified places by pretending that he meant merely to keep them until a free, democratic, and essentially independent republican government could be settled by delegates and representatives of the people (in all these deeds a body of Poles, who had been so recently duped, betrayed, and then beaten out of their own country, were active and zealous co-operators with the French), introduced surreptitiously troops into Venice, and next, with something plainer than words, told the Doge and the senate that the people must have a new constitution and form of government and that they must resign; which the equivocating, heartless cowards did in the month of May. Bonaparte then took possession of the arsenal and docks, with all their stores and all the ships of war; a provisional go-

* Fifteen millions of livres part in cash part in diamonds were to be paid within one month. 40,000,000 m. r. were to be paid within three months, horses and cattle were to be furnished to an immense amount, and the Vatican was to be again plundered of statues, paintings, and rare manuscripts.

* The correspondence of Bonaparte published by Paskevitch fully establishes this fact, which is proved by a mass of other evidence equally incontrovertible.

verment of the required democratic form was set up, and the mad Venetian democrats insulted their pusillanimous, degenerate nobles with impunity, sang the 'Ça Ira' with the French soldiery, and danced round the tree of liberty in the square of St Mark in an extasy, and down to the last moment without any foreboding that they and their country were to be given up to the hated rule of the Austrian Kaiser—whose acceptance of this compensation was only less infamous than Bonaparte's offer.

At the same time, but with much less deception and difficulty, Genoa was democratised and affiliated. The shuffling senate and aristocracy of that once proud republic had hoped to preserve themselves by their treaties of neutrality, and their secret co-operation with the French, but one fine day in June the democrats of the city hoisted the red nightcap, and told them that their government was no longer compatible with the improved notions of the times. Fearing plunder, and worse, most of the respectability classes rallied round the senate; the sans culottes were beaten and put down, but the vanquished applied to the French, who had promised to support them, and then Bonaparte, the conqueror, stepped in, with the intimation that the Genoese government must submit. It submitted accordingly, and was remodelled in the French fashion. Four millions of livres were wrung from the principal nobility and sent to the five kings at the Luxembourg, a French garrison took possession of the city, and of the mountain fortifications which girt it, and all who gunned what was done were put under arrest, while the peasants who attempted to defend their native mountains and their homesteads were tried by martial law and shot. All this while negotiations were going on, and the young republican general was browbeating the Austrian diplomatists, now hinting that he might have gained much more for France by continuing the war, and now threatening to shatter Austria like a potsherd. As Ireland was now clearly to be left in the war without a single ally, Pitt, as early as the month of June, intimated to the Directory a willingness to enter into a new negotiation. The Directors who had taken up and echoed Bonaparte's note that France loved peace, agreed to the opening of conferences at Lisle. In the beginning of July Lord Malmebury repaired to that city, and continued there exchanging useless notes and receiving many insults until the middle of September, when he was ordered to quit the place within four-and-twenty hours. The French negotiators had acted as if England had been beaten as well as Austria, having demanded that we should give up the Cape of Good Hope and every island or settlement, French, Dutch, or Spanish, without receiving any compensation. Again, as we believe, Pitt was driven into a humiliating negotiation without any expectation of concluding a treaty; and again, the French, while pretending to negotiate and to blame the inactivity of the English cabinet, were stirring up insurrection and civil war in Ireland.

They had already been made to feel that in a maritime war with this country they must be losers, but they confidently calculated that the civil war now on the point of breaking out in Ireland, and popular insurrections in England and Scotland, and the state of our navy, which they very incorrectly considered as still mutinous, must bring Great Britain to the verge of ruin, and facilitate their triumph over her. Bonaparte, who hated the English and their institutions (which he never during his whole life could understand) with a hatred as bad as any Jacobin sans culotte had ever felt, and who had already begun uttering his pithy oracular sentences, had said that the monarchy and aristocracy of England must be destroyed—that they were undermined already—and that it would only take him three months to democratise London as he had democratized Venice and Genoa.

On the 17th of October the definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Campo Formio, near Udine. The emperor ceded to France all the Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine, with Mayence, the great outpost and bulwark of Germany, he gave up, nominally to the natives, but virtually to the French, all that he had held in Lombardy, acknowledging the independence of the Milanese and Mantuan states, under their new name of the "Cisalpine Republic," and he consented that the French republic should have the Ionian Islands, which then belonged to Venice, and the Venetian possessions in Albania. The French republic, on its part, consented (such was the word) that the emperor should take and keep Venice and its territory in Italy as far as the Adige, together with Istria, at the head of the sea, and all Venetian Dalmatia, on the opposite side of the Adriatic. The Venetian provinces between the Adige and the Adda were to be incorporated with that political phantom, the Cisalpine republic. The emperor, who, in the case of Venice, had admitted the principle of taking neutral or friendly states as compensations from an enemy, was also to have an increase of territory in Germany at the expense of Bavaria, and his feudatory and relative by marriage, the Duke of Modena, was to have the Brigau, Modena, Massa, Carrara, and all the papal provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, as far as the Rubicon, were declared to be annexed to the Cisalpine republic aforesaid. Tuscany, Parma, Rome, and Naples were left to their old governments and monarchic institutions, but, except Naples, they were all in complete subjection to France and her liege vassals the new Italian republicans, who never ceased promoting plots and conspiracies against the said established governments. From these manoeuvres Naples itself was certainly not exempted even now the road was paved for that entrance of the French into the Neapolitan kingdom which took place in 1799. To General Serrurier was confided the honourable task of finishing the spoliation of Venice, and then delivering it over to the Austrians having re-

moved all their plunder, having stripped even the Bucintoro of its gold and ornaments, the French quitted Venice one day and the Austrians entered it the next, and not only was the new-fangled tree of liberty in St Mark's cut down, but an end was put to a republic which had flourished for fourteen hundred years. It was an oppressive, tyrannous, jealous oligarchy when at its best, and for more than a century it had fallen into decrepitude and imbecility, its proud patricians had become the meanest of the mean, and not something, but everything was rotten in the state of Venice,—but

men are w n I must ge cv
Wh n that wheel on w g eat hall passed is v

To settle various questions relating to Germany it was agreed at Campo Formio to hold a congress at Rastadt. Bonaparte being appointed by the Directory to act as plenipotentiary at this congress, to take his leave of Italy in November, leaving his victorious army behind him. As he passed through Switzerland he found an opportunity of insulting Bern and the other aristocratic cantons, thus indicating that they were soon to be democratised and plundered. After a short stay at Rastadt, in which he proscribed and dictated at his pleasure, he hastened back to Paris, where he arrived early in December, to claim the command in chief of the "Army of England," as an immense force was called which was said to be prepared for the invasion of this country. A proclamation had been issued to that army telling the soldiery that they should soon be enriched by sharing among them the uncountable wealth of London and the spoils of the English aristocracy.

Since we last alluded to the internal government of France, numerous turmoils, conspiracies, and changes had taken place in Paris. In 1796 the Montagnards and Jacobins made a terrible effort to recover the power they had lost, but their deep conspiracy was detected at the moment it was about to break out by the vigilant Directors, who had organised a very complete system of espionage and treachery, and Gracchus Babeuf, betrayed by one Grisel, a brother conspirator was arrested by night, and all his papers containing every particular of the plot, were found and seized. Forth with all the chiefs of the conspiracy, as Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Drouet (the hero of Varennes), Roignol (whose name in the Vendée was 'Devil'), Ricord, and a great many others, were captured. Gracchus Babeuf bullied the Directors, and endeavoured to make them believe that, from the great strength of his party, the best thing they could do would be to make terms with him, and save his friends by declaring that there had been no conspiracy at all, but the Directors sent him and his friends to take their trial before the High Court of Vendôme. Their partizans in Paris talked of liberating them and overthrowing the five kings at the Luxembourg, but they talked too long and too loudly. At last, in the month of August (1796), about 700 desperadoes, and not more, and only armed with swords and pistols,

marched over to the Luxembourg at about midnight to seize the directors. Finding that the palace was defended by a numerous guard, and that they could do nothing there, they marched away to the camp at Grenelle, where they counted on the co-operation of one battalion, and where they hoped to win over the rest of the soldiery. They entered the camp shouting "Long live the republic and the constitution of '93!" but their friendly battalion had been removed, and the rest of the soldiers, instead of joining, fell upon them with sabres and bayonets, killed a great many of them on the spot, and made prisoners of a great many more. A military commission established in the camp condemned thirty one of these conspirators to death, thirty to deportation to Guiana, and twenty-five to a hard imprisonment at home. After a very long delay the High Court of Vendôme proceeded with the trial of Babeuf and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, who kept up their spirits on their trial by singing the Marseillaise hymn, and repeating the liberty and equality dogmas which a few months before had been the law and gospel of all France. Gracchus Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to death, the rest to deportation. On hearing their sentence Babeuf and Darthé stabbed themselves with concealed daggers, but, not doing the thing effectually, they were both carried to the scaffold in a half-dead state, and guillotined. These men were about the last of the honest fanatics of the revolution, and they left behind them few or none, but selfish time-servers, or men prepared by want of principle, or want of courage, to conform to the course of events, be it what it might, and to submit to that military despotism which was already forging for France. Before the trial and execution of Babeuf, which did not take place till March, 1797, the royalists in their turn began to conspire against the Directory and the so-called republic. Two or three men said to be secret emissaries of Monsieur or Louis XVIII were apprehended in January, and were set at attempting, like the Babeuists, but for a very different purpose, to seduce the soldiers in the camp at Grenelle. In the month of March, when the elections came on for one third of the legislature, some of the ancient noblesse were returned, and these decided royalists soon formed a powerful coalition, in direct opposition to the Directory. In May they were even strong enough to get General Pichegru elected president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois president of the Council of Ancients. If Pichegru was not a royalist before, the depriving him of his high command in the army had made him one now. Barbé-Marbois was a warm and honest constitutional royalist. In the same month when, in conformity with Sieyès's last constitution, one of the Directors went out, Barthélemy the diplomatist, who was also by this time suspected of royalism, was brought in to fill up the vacancy. [The director that returned was Letourneur.*] Loud outcries were raised

* This was decided by drawing lots.

against the extravagance, corruption, and profligacy of the directorial government, the full liberty of the press, so often promised, was demanded by the royalists, peace—peace, even with England—was recommended, some of the severest of the decrees against the emigrants and non juring priests were actually revoked, and the coalition were evidently making considerable progress, when Director Barras secured the services of the astutious Talleyrand by making him minister for foreign affairs, and then appealed to General Bonaparte and the victorious army of Italy. Bonaparte hereupon dispatched Augereau, one of the most devoted and most daring of his satellites, to Paris, with terrible addresses from the army of Italy, which were evidently Bonaparte's own compositions "Tremble," said one of these significant addresses "tremble, royalists! From the Adige to the Seine is but a step Tremble! Your iniquities are counted, and the reward for them is at the point of our bayonets." Besides sending army addresses, Bonaparte sent a few more millions of livres. It seems to have been gratefully acknowledged by Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellere, that but for the plunder of Italy thus remitted from time to time the Directory would have had very hard work to weather this storm. To overawe the two councils numerous detachments of troops were marched into Paris. Everything announced that a coup d'état or another revolution was at hand. Carnot hated royalty and royalists, but he hated three of his colleagues in the Directory—Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellere. Lepaux—quite as much, he was enraged too at the tone of "that little Corsican," and, though he did not league himself with his new brother director Barthélemy, or with the coalition in the legislature, he refused to co-operate in the energetic measures proposed by Barras and Rewbell, and even thwarted them continually. Therefore it was they determined that Carnot, that rabid republican, should be treated even as a royalist, and classed with Barthélemy in the *Dies Iræ*. The legislature on the motion of Pichegru, decreed the immediate arming of the national guards, and the removal of the regular troops which had been brought into the capital or stationed around it. General Willot, one of the coalition, and the most determined royalist of them all, recommended that Pichegru should put himself at the head of the national guards, that a decree of accusation and arrest should be launched against Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellere (it is said he offered to go himself to the Luxembourg, and bring them handcuffed to the bar), that the old sectioners who had survived Bonaparte's hail-storm of grape and canister should be called out, and that the coalition should anticipate their enemies and strike the first blow boldly, and in open day. But Pichegru hesitated, others were all for acting according to law or the new constitution, and, while they were thus deliberating, Bonaparte's own Augereau took the command of the troops of the line in and round Paris, put some more grape and canister into their guns,

and with 12,000 men, and 40 pieces of artillery, surrounded the Tuileries, and stepped in to execute the order of the triumvirate—Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellere—and arrest all their enemies. Eight hundred grenadiers of the guard of the Corps Legislatif were under arms behind the iron railing of the Tuileries—but what were they against so many? "Are you republicans?" said Augereau. "Certes," replied the 800 who then went over and joined his 12,000.* Pichegru, Willot, General Ramel, and about sixty other members of the legislature, were instantly arrested and transferred from the Tuileries to the Temple charged with high treason. The triumvirate had also proscribed Carnot and Barthélemy: the first of these personages concealed himself, and afterwards escaped, but Barthélemy remained to be condemned and deported or transported with his party. The Council of Five Hundred, who had so recently bowed to the majorities and the will of the coalition, now trimmed their sails to go with another wind they named a committee of Five, with Sieyes (with that men should be so mad as to mutiny under his best of constitutions) at the head of it, to organize a new committee of Public Salvation, or *Salut Public*. This committee, with a power as dictatorial and absolute as that which it had enjoyed under Robespierre, soon stepped forth, annulled the elections of some forty-eight or fifty departments drove away the persons elected by them into the legislature and into official posts (as judges, municipal administrators, &c.), and gave to the Directory the power of nominating to the offices thus vacated. Fortunately the Parisians had become sick of blood, and "deportation" was all the mode. Pichegru, Willot, and forty other members of the Council of Five Hundred, Barbe-Marbois and ten other members of the Council of Ancients, Carnot and Barthélemy, the two losing members of the Directory, one abbe, one ex-minister of police, two generals (Miranda and Ramel), and seven other individuals were condemned to be deported or transported for life to that same terrible country, where Collet d'Herbois had died, and where Billaud-Varennes was living and educating parrots. Cayenne and Simamari, and the other yellow-fever towns that lie between the Maroni and the Oyapok, must have been a tonish at the mixed batches exported by these successive governments of the mother-country. Considering that the opposition journalists were quite as dangerous as the deputies or members, and that there were no means of striking them judiciously, the *Salut Public* "resolved to act revolutionarily (*revolutionnairement*) in their regard, as they had done with the members of the Corps Legislatif."†

* Some of the men wanted by Bonaparte had been employed in the army, beforehand the grenadiers of the guard of the Corps Legislatif. Barras had performed this office with his usual address, and the coup d'état had been desired until the arrival from Italy of the necessary funds. Augereau wanted to blow the Tuileries and the enemies of the Directory to the air man à la mode but thought of an easy victory. Barras was anxious to avoid any combat.

† *Ibid.*

The proprietors, editors, and writers of forty-two journals (collectively an immense number) were also condemned to deportation to French Guiana. It was laid down as good, free, republican law that for the future the Directory should have the power of suppressing whatsoever journals, or newspapers, pamphlets, and books, it might think fit, of seizing and deporting to Guiana without any trial (*sur un simple arrêté*) all such priests as were thought to misbehave themselves politically, and of shutting up all clubs, preventing with the armed force all meetings, &c. &c. The re-organization of the Paris national guard was suspended, but there was an immense increase and a re-organization of the police, which began from this time to mix in nearly all matters, and to exercise a despotism which has never since ceased, and which, apparently never will cease in France. All these measures, which gave the Directors a power more absolute and more revolutionary than any that had been possessed by Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just, were voted on the 18th Fructidor or 4th of September, by the Council of Five Hundred. "Not a voice," says Thiers himself, "was raised against their adoption. Some deputies applauded, the majority were silent and submissive." The Council of Ancients showed less promptitude in their submission, but on the 19th the Directory sent them a peremptory and silent message, and forthwith they constitutionally confirmed all that the other House or council had voted. Nearly all the emigrants and priests who had returned now went flying out of France. Some cargoes of the deported were shipped off for the pestiferous settlement in South America, but a good many of them remained on the French coast, in prison or under strict police surveillance in the Isle of Ré. Poor diplomatic Barthélemy was of the number of those who went to Guiana, where he caught the endemic fever and nearly died, but after some months of captivity he escaped with six of his companions, and got safely to England. Carnot, who had fled, took up his quarters in Switzerland, waiting for some new revolution at Paris. Merlin de Douai, a timid, submissive lawyer, and François de Neufchâteau, a man of letters, a writer of republican odds, and as servile as Merlin, were put into the Directory to fill up the places left vacant by Barthélemy and Carnot. Such was the revolution or coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor.

The British parliament reassembled on the 2nd of November. The speech from the throne dwelt on the excessive pretensions of the French, the failure of the negotiations at Lunéville, the flourishing state of trade and the revenue, our naval victories and our new conquests in the West Indies, and it once more recommended the vigorous exertions which alone could make peace attainable. As Fox and other great orators of the opposition continued in their secession (as if to encourage the enemy by showing what a divided people we were), there was little interest in the very slight opposition

offered to the addresses, or in any of the debates which followed during the session. The army and navy estimates were smoothly passed, and, as a beginning, supplies were voted to the amount of 25,500,000*l*. Among the ways and means adopted was the trebling of all the assessed taxes.

A.D. 1798.—At the end of April, when the sword of rebellion was all but drawn in Ireland, the minister demanded further supplies to the amount of more than 3,000,000*l*. The money was voted with little opposition, as was a new increase of taxes to meet it. Sundry more millions would have been required if our late ally the emperor had not made his separate peace with the French. As the storm thickened in the West, as the Irish were flying to arms in all parts of the country, and as the French were not merely preparing to co-operate with them in the heart of that island, but also threatening to invade England with 100,000 men, a bill was readily passed for allowing men in the supplemental militia to enlist into the regular army, and another bill soon followed to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as it might be thought necessary to adopt. The Alien Bill was revived, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was renewed or prolonged.

Discussions on the state of Ireland were stopped by ministers and their majorities, as being only dangerous at so critical a moment. But in the month of June, when the Irish insurgents had attacked and beaten several detachments of the king's troops and more of the militia, and had captured several towns, a message was delivered to parliament from the king, desiring "that he might be enabled to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat the enterprises of his enemies, &c." The chief object of the message was to allow the officers and privates of different militia regiments who had made a voluntary tender of their service to assist in the suppression of the Irish rebellion, to go to that country and act with his majesty's regular troops. Although there was no other force to send at this moment, several members highly approved the measure as likely to be turned into a precedent and made the means of finally and against the tenor of the Militia Acts obliging English militiamen to serve out of their own country. The bill was, however, passed, and on the 29th of June the king prorogued parliament, with a good, manly, English sounding speech, in which his honorable testimony was borne to the public spirit of the nation.

Not less through the faults of the government than through the faults of the governors, Ireland had never enjoyed any continuance of tranquillity, not merely since the Reformation, which introduced the capital, embittering difference of religion, but not even since its first connexion with England in the 12th century. Since the period of the American war, when the Irish volunteers were allowed to arm themselves, the turbulence

had manifoldly increased; and, whether acting wisely or unwisely, liberally or illiberally whether granting concessions or withholding them, nearly every act of government had tended to augment the disaffection. To this unhappy end the fierce, excessive, extravagant spirit of all parties, both in the Irish parliament and in the country, could not but contribute. Generally speaking, the period from 1778 down to 1798 had been one of concession to the Irish Catholics, who formed about seven-tenths of the population. Whilst the American revolutionary war lasted, and for some years after it ceased, the disaffected Irish took their inspiration from the other side of the Atlantic, and in many instances closely imitated the proceedings of the Americans. But, as soon as the eruption of the great volcano commenced in France, they fixed their eyes on that pillar of fire as that which was to lead them through night and darkness, and waves more perilous than those of the Red Sea, to the glorious light of day, and to regions more blessed than the Promised Land. From that moment the French revolutionists became the models of the leaders of the Irish reformers, some of whom, at a very early stage of the revolution in France, contemplated nothing less than a revolution in Ireland, and went over to Paris to be indoctrinated into the modes of making it, and to bargain for the *de interested* assistance of the French. Still however, these men maintained the broad and necessary fiction, that they aimed at nothing and wished for nothing beyond Catholic emancipation and a reform in parliament, a fiction rendered necessary not more by the decided aversion of all the respectable classes of Catholics to the extremity of a revolution, than by the fears the aid chiefs entertained of government prosecutions and trials for conspiracy and treason. At the beginning of 1793, or almost immediately after the declaration of war against England, the ruling party in France (then Jacobin Girondists) dispatched a secret agent to Ireland to confer with the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, and to offer them the aid of French arms for the liberation of their country. This emissary brought a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been dismissed from the English army for having frequented the Jacobin Club at Paris, for having been one, with Thomas Paine, and men of that stamp, at a great public dinner at Paris, where the most revolutionary and jacobinical speeches were delivered, and the hope expressed that England as well as Ireland would soon be revolutionized *à la Française*. * Soon after that unlucky dinner, he became acquainted with the Genlis, and married her Pa-

mela—her own illegitimate daughter by the Duke of Orleans, or Philippe Egalité, who was then universally considered as having contributed more to the bloody crimes of the revolution than any other man. * Lord Edward is said, by his warm hearted biographer and countryman, to have apparently done nothing more towards the object of the revolutionizing mission of the beginning of 1793 than to introduce the secret emissary to Mr Bond, Mr Simon Butler, and a few others of the party, or members of the Society of United Irishmen, but, if he did no more than this, it fell little short of treason, and if the fact had been known at the time, or in the course of the two following years, when several of these United Irishmen (as Hamilton Rowan, who had been so closely linked with the Scotch reformers and the Edinburgh Convention) were put upon their trials for seditious practices, and pleaded that they were only seeking parliamentary reform and a redress of grievances, through paths strictly constitutional, it may be doubted whether they would have escaped with such lenient sentences. In 1794, when the reign of the Jacobins and of Terror was at its height, another secret emissary came over from France to Ireland. This individual, a subject of the king, an Irishman by birth, and a protestant clergyman by profession, was the Rev William Jackson. He conferred with Wolfe Tone, and many others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist them 'in breaking their chains.' This Jackson was arrested in Dublin soon after his landing, and was tried and condemned for high treason, but he made no confessions, he left government in the dark as to the extent of the conspiracy, and he escaped a public execution by committing suicide. Enough had already transpired to call forth vigilance, and the government and the anti revolutionary party (a party excessively hot) were provoked and alarmed by the long line of carriages filled with United Irishmen and Clubbists that followed the convicted traitor to the grave. A stop was put to further concessions, and in Ireland, with at least as much reason as in England, every attempt at reform or change was reprobated. Motions for parliamentary reform, made by Grattan and Ponsonby, were rejected by large majorities in the Irish Parliament, and the Catholics were told that, having received much, they must wait more tranquil times for more. When Burke's party, or the Old Whigs, strengthened Pitt's government, and arrayed themselves against Fox, they had recommended a liberal system of policy towards Ireland. In 1794 Lord Fitzwilliam, esteemed one of the most liberal and enlightened men of that party, was sent over as viceroy or lord-lieutenant. His lordship's public conduct alarmed and

* It was all have become Lord Edward Fitzgerald as a man of course to have received the commission before going to such lengths. It was impossible for any government to overlook his daring, extravagant conduct and to not ratify a government than the English he would as he has been shot or condemned to perpetual imprisonment in some prison. Hiding, the commission of the king with the with attack to the lord, or as he chose to call himself at Paris citizen Fitzgibbon, I oppose the toast—May the *Co Frs* the (army, note and the Marcelline Hymn soon become the favourite in the (every army and many the soldier and the citizen join in the chorus).

* Mr Thomas Moore (Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald) after stating in a positive manner that Pamela was the daughter of Madame Genlis by the Duke intimates in a later edition that the fact is here contra-dicted by a good authority whom he does not name. But we have heard the fact affirmed and re-affirmed upon very good authority and we believe that at this moment no doubt is entertained upon the subject by people in France who know most about these secret histories.

exasperated the Orangemen, or Ultra-Protestant party, a great deal more than it conciliated the Catholics, or than it disarmed the decided revolutionary party which, far from being composed entirely of Romanists, was in good part made up of Presbyterians, and other Protestant sectarians, and these dissenters from the North of Ireland were, by ancestral, traditional, and other obvious reasons, by far the most prone to republicanism.* In the Irish parliament, which met in the end of January, 1795, the celebrated Grattan, with the avowed consent and encouragement of Lord Fitzwilliam, obtained leave to bring in a bill for the entire emancipation of the Catholics. We cannot discuss the long and difficult question whether the lord lieutenant did or did not exceed his instructions from the English ministry, who had certainly intimated on many occasions that this was no time for trying great political experiments,—we can only state that Lord Fitzwilliam was immediately recalled, and that plotting and conspiracy, and the intercourse with the French, increased rapidly under his successor Lord Camden. We believe, however, that it can be proved that a certain party had never ceased that plotting, and that in the golden days of Lord Fitzwilliam's government there were emissaries going and coming between France and Ireland. Now, not satisfied with a test which had hitherto bound them together the United Irishmen took themselves, and excited from the converts who joined their club, a solemn oath to be faithful and secret, and a clause in the old test, which seemed to limit their views to a reform in parliament, was cancelled. A new organization was introduced for the provincial clubs, people were sworn in everywhere, and in their secret meetings no secret was made to the intimated of the intention and fixed plan of taking up arms and calling in French assistance. Wolfe Tone, who had fled to America, found at Philadelphia his friend Hamilton Rowan, who had also escaped from justice, a Dr Reynolds and other Irish patriots who had made their own country too hot for them. Hamilton Rowan (formerly the friend and guide of Muir) introduced Wolfe Tone to citizen Adet, the minister or ambassador of the French to the American republic, and a negotiation for invading Ireland by a French army was opened forthwith. Tone himself tells us that he consulted at every step with Dr Reynolds, Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy, that, being at length supplied with some money by Keogh, Russell, and other United Irishmen in Ireland, and furnished with a letter to the committee of *Salut Public* by citizen Adet, he sailed for France to conclude his treaty there. He arrived at Havre-de-Grace on the 1st of February, 1796, and found that the French "are a humane people, when they are not mad," and that he liked them, "with all their

* All the Irish parties were in a state little short of madness at the time. If Lord Fitzwilliam had gratified the Catholics by giving them everything they desired, he would have had to fight the ultra-Protestants or Orangemen, who in spite of their numerical inferiority, would have been far more difficult to subdue than their rivals and adversaries.

faults, and the guillotine at the head of them, a thousand times better than the English." On arriving at Paris he was received by Carnot and by General Clarke, then a sort of secretary-at-war, and afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltré, who told him that General Hoche should sail for Ireland with an irresistible army as soon as the Directory could raise money to hire and equip transports. To make Clarke exert himself he promised him 1000*l.* a year for life, and he always kept up the idea that liberal provision should be made in *liberated* Ireland for all the French generals, commissioners, &c who should assist in her liberation. But, while he promised birds in the bush, this Hibernian patriot wanted a bird in the hand for his own sustenance, and he importuned the Directory, like a barefaced beggar, and for a long time in vain. It was ingeniously represented to him that it might be considered beneath the dignity of his character as representative at Paris of the Irish nation to accept a military commission from the French government, but, with equal ingenuity, he explained away the objection, and at last he got a commission as brigadier-general, together with a whole month's pay in advance. Besides showing his poverty this little briefless harrister, who had been enabled to live in his own country only through the pay he received from the political societies, must have shown, to shrewd men like Carnot and Clarke that he was a vain, rash, empty-headed coxcomb, not very likely to have any great weight or influence in Ireland. The Directory expressed an anxiety to see some agent or agents from the United Irishmen of a more exalted condition and of better known name and character. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then Duke of Leinster, and Mr Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and said to be lineally descended from Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, readily accepted the mission at the request of the chiefs of the United Irishmen. They left Dublin at the end of May, 1796, Lord Edward being accompanied by his French wife. They took London in their way, and during their short stay in that city Lord Edward dined at the house of an opposition peer, in company with Fox, Sheridan, and

* Wolfe Tone's own Description of his Mission.

† The French did not imagine this liberation business without the most extravagant promises for operations on the part of the Irish. The Catholics of Ireland are 3,100,000—all trained in their infancy in an hereditary hatred and all roused by the English name. For these five years they have fixed their eyes most earnestly on France when they look upon with great justice, as fighting their battles, as well as those of all mankind who are oppressed. Of this class I will stake my head there are 500,000 men would fly to the standard of the republic if they saw it once displayed in the cause of liberty and their country. The republic may also rely with confidence on the support of the Dissenters actuated by reason and reflection as well as the Catholics impelled by misery and inflamed by detestation of the English name. The militia are at least 18,000 strong, as fine men as any in Europe. Of these 18,000 are Catholics and of these a very great proportion are sworn defenders. I have not a shadow of doubt that the militia would in cases of emergency, as a man join their countrymen in throwing off the yoke of England.

‡ It would be just as easy, in a month's time, to have an army in Ireland of 300,000 as 10,000. The pennyroy would flock to the republican standard in such numbers as to embarrass the general himself. A proclamation should instantly be issued, containing an invitation to the people to join the republican standard, organize themselves, and form a National Convention for the purpose of framing a government, and administering the affairs of Ireland till it was put in activity.—*Wolfe Tone's Memorial to the Directory.*

volunteers. By this time the United Irishmen and their Executive had arranged everything for a general insurrection, and, although neither French nor Dutch, neither money nor arms arrived from the continent, it was with great difficulty that the more prudent of the chiefs prevented a rising in the north. Three of the more ardent chiefs, Lowry, Teeling, and Tennant, being discovered in a plot (warmly recommended by Lord Edward Fitzgerald) to debauch some of the regiments then on duty in Dublin, and seize the barracks and the castle, were obliged to fly to Hamburg. There had always been jealousies and discordant views between the delegates of Ulster and the delegates of Leinster, and these were increased by the difficulties and embarrassments which rose on every side, and by their disappointment of receiving the promised succour from France. The strong religious repugnance of Catholics and Presbyterians had manifested itself long before this, the Presbyterians of the north pretending they could do without the Catholics, the Catholics pretending they could do without the Presbyterians. If they had been left to themselves, these revolutionists would soon have butchered one another. If a French army had landed, the fanatic incredulity of the soldiery, the insults they everywhere offered to churches and priests, the intelligence of the barbarous treatment the pope of Rome had received at the hands of their nation, their outrageous conduct towards the women of the country (and it was not to be expected that the French would have been more devout or tolerant or moral in Ireland than they had been in other countries), would, in a very brief space of time, have brought the entire Catholic population down upon the liberating army, and a war without quarter would inevitably have taken place between the liberators and the liberated. As events ran, horrors and cruelties, for ever to be deplored, were committed in the Irish rebellion, and by both parties, but the aggregate of these evils is a mere trifle compared with those which must have desolated the country, and converted it into one vast slaughter house, if the Irish could have been left to themselves with their studs and their French allies. In the month of February of this present year, 1798, a most pressing letter was addressed by the so-called Irish executive to the French Directory, urging them to send immediate succour, and stating that the people of all classes throughout Ireland then regimented, and partly armed, amounted to little less than 300,000 men. Talleyrand positively assured their agent at Paris that an expedition was getting ready in the French ports, which should certainly sail in the month of April. On the 28th of February, Lord Edward Fitzgerald's friend, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Quigley or O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and Binns an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate, as they were on the point of embarking for France. A paper was found on the priest, addressed to the French Directory, and earnestly

inviting an invasion of *England*, which, it was calculated, would prevent our sending troops into Ireland. This paper, and the trial which followed, put government in possession of many important secrets, but a great deal had been untravelled before this time. Quigley, the priest, who died protesting his innocence of treason, and who really appears to have been less deeply engaged in the conspiracy than any of them, was found guilty, and was executed on Pinner's Heath. O'Connor was remanded on another charge of high treason, and Binns was acquitted.* Some arrests were forthwith ordered at Dublin, and some more papers were found in a printing-office—the office where O'Connor had been publishing a revolutionary journal, called 'The Press.' But much completer revelations were now about to be made, by one of the chief revolutionists. Several obscurer members of the Association of United Irishmen had played false before, but the great secrets of the society were not intrusted to such as those, and the government was anxiously looking for some higher and more fully informed traitor to that cause, when a Mr Thomas Reynolds, who had *J squere* written after his name, and who lived in what was called a *castle*, who had been deep in all the plots and inimate with most of the leading plotters, who was the nominal treasurer of a county, and the appointed colonel for a regiment of the insurgent army, pretending that the United Irishmen were going much farther than he, in his innocence, had ever anticipated, and that his love of the constitution and the integrity of the empire induced him to betray his friends, but in reality being hard driven by debt, and filled with the hope of an immense reward, divulged all that he knew to a friend of government, and undertook to render further services to enable or assist the government to counteract the whole plan. A warrant from the secretary of

[illegible]

state's office was forthwith placed in the hands of Major Swan, a magistrate for the county of Dublin, who, on the 12th of March, repaired to the house of Mr Oliver Bond (a merchant, and one of the principal conspirators), where there was to be a great meeting, attended by thirteen sergeants in plain clothes, and by means of the pass-words—"Where's MacCann?" Is Ivers from Carlow come?" obtained admission to the meeting, and arrested all such persons as were there assembled. Dr MacNevin, who had been on the special commission to Paris, Emmet, Sampson (both barristers), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, were not at the meeting, but, separate warrants being issued against them, MacNevin and Emmet were soon apprehended. Sampson fled to London, was seized at Carlisle and brought back to Dublin, but Lord Edward Fitzgerald concealed himself in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and was not discovered till the 19th of May. It appears that, on the part of government at least, the search after him had not been very active, and that, on account of his noble family and his numerous friends, his escape would gladly have been connived at. But seemingly he never contemplated escaping, but employed himself all the time he was under hiding, in arranging how the insurgents were to rise and march upon Dublin. He had fixed the 23rd of May for the general rising. On being surprised, lying on a bed in the house of one Murphy, on the evening of the 19th, he behaved more like a madman than a hero, savagely shedding blood without the slightest hope of fighting his way out, for the house was surrounded by pickets, and a numerous and steady garrison were under arms in the streets of Dublin. When Major Swan entered the garret and showed his warrant, he sprang up like a tiger. Swan, to stop his attack, fired a pocket-pistol at him, but without effect, and then Swan rammed the pistol into the face of Murphy, who was in the room, and whom he suspected of hostile intentions. A soldier now entered, and at that instant Lord Edward ran at Swan with a dagger which had been concealed in his bed. Mr Ryan, a magistrate, next entered, armed only with a sword cane, and presently received a mortal wound from Lord Edward's dagger. Major Sirr, the active town major who had been setting the pickets, next rushed into the room, where he found Lord Edward, a very tall and powerful man, struggling between Swan and Ryan, Ryan being on the ground, weltering in his blood, but still clinging, like Swan, who was also bleeding and wounded in several places, to his adversary. Major Sirr, threatened by the bloody dagger, took a deliberate aim, and lodged the contents of a pistol in Lord Edward's right shoulder. A number of soldiers followed Sirr up stairs, and, after a maniacal struggle, Lord Edward was disarmed and bound, carried to the Castle, and thence to Newgate. Ryan died of his wounds, on the 23rd of May, Lord Edward died of his wounds, or fever brought on by them and by his anxiety of mind, on the 5th of June, Swan

recovered from the frightful gashes he had received.

In spite of the fall of Lord Edward, who was to have been their commander-in-chief, and in spite of the flight or arrest of every member of the Directory or Executive, the Irish flew to arms in various places on the appointed 23rd of May. On the 24th they made an abortive attempt on Naas, Carlow, and some other towns. Lord Roden, with a party of 35 dragoons, drove 400 or 500 of these ill armed, disorderly insurgents before him; and General Dundas dispersed a much more numerous party at Kilsullen. But on the 25th an army of 14 000, or more pikemen, headed by a Father John Murphy, marched to Wexford, defeated part of the garrison that sallied out to meet them, killed all the prisoners they took, and terrified the town of Wexford into a surrender on the 30th. Most of the Protestant inhabitants had fled, such as remained were barbarously used and thrown into prison. The insurgents also made themselves masters of the town of Enniscorthy, and, having now procured some artillery, they fortified a position at Vinegar Hill. Colonel Walpole, with a small detachment, fell into an ambuscade, and was slaughtered, together with nearly all his men. Encouraged by these and other trifling advantages, the rebels made a rush at New Ross, took part of the town, began to plunder and drink, got for the most part very drunk, and were then driven back by General Johnson, leaving 2600 of their number behind them in killed, wounded, and dead drunk. At the news of this success of the king's troops at New Ross, a body of the insurgents, stationed at Scullabogue, massacred in cold blood more than 100 Protestants they had taken prisoners. These and similar atrocities prevented the Presbyterians of the North from rising, and gave to the insurrection the old character of a Popish rebellion and massacre. But the best of the Catholics presently came forward to express their abhorrence of the whole rising, and to offer their assistance to government in suppressing it. After a few other fights or skirmishes, General Lake attacked, on the 21st of June, the fortified position at Vinegar Hill, carried it with a frightful loss to the insurgents, who never rallied again, and then retook Wexford and Enniscorthy. Lord Camden was now recalled from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who brought with him a general pardon (with a very few exceptions) to all who submitted. Of the leading conspirators who had been taken, only four—MacCann, Byrne, and two brothers of the name of Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork—were executed. Bond was condemned to die, but his life was spared on condition of disclosing all he knew respecting the rebellion—a condition he accepted, with the proviso that his information should not effect the lives of his fellow-prisoners. Arthur O'Connor, MacNevin, Emmet, Sampson, and the rest, were merely banished. In the month of August, when the flames of rebellion seemed com-

pletely extinguished, three French frigates, eluding the vigilance of our fleets reached Killala, and threw on shore 900 troops of the line, commanded by General Humbert, who had been in the former expedition to Bantry Bay, and who had narrowly escaped perishing in the wreck of the 'Droits de l'Homme'. A small number of the Catholic peasantry of the country joined him, and Humbert proceeded rapidly to Castlebar. There he encountered General Lake, with a force superior in number, but consisting chiefly of Protestant yeomanry and militia. Lake was beaten, and in his retreat lost six guns. From Castlebar Humbert marched eastward into the very heart of the country, expecting to be joined by all the men of Connaught, if not by all the Papists of the island, but finding, wherever he advanced, that the mass of the people shunned him and his soldiers as though they had brought the plague with them. About seventeen days after his first landing, Humbert was beaten by the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis, who was marching against him with troops of the line, and, on the 8th of September, being entirely surrounded, the French laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. To keep up the ferment and suspicion, and to oblige England to keep a large force in Ireland, rather than with any hope of reviving a cause which was utterly lost, the French, within a month after the surrender of Humbert, ordered a squadron of one ship of the line and eight frigates, with troops, arms, and ammunition on board, to choose a favourable moment for getting to sea, and then to proceed to Ireland at all hazards. This armament actually reached the western coast of Ireland, but Sir John Borlase Warren, with his squadron, met it there, and gave a very good account of it, capturing the ship of the line and three of the frigates*. On board the French ship of the line was seized Wolfe Tone, who had not improved his very lax morality during his residence at Paris, and whose deeds, words, and writings had placed him beyond the liberally extended verge of mercy†. On his trial, he pleaded his commission of a brigadier general in the French army as a bar to punishment for all

treasons present or past, but he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and, finding that the sentence really meant hanging, he cut his throat in Dublin gaol to escape the ignominy of the gallows. His madness, and the madness of his friends and party, cost the lives, from first to last, of many thousands of individuals, and reduced a still greater number to squalid misery and woe. They had begun their attempts at revolution in drunkenness and folly, with a thumping and breaking of glasses and frantic huzzaing, they had conducted their enterprise—scarcely with a single exception—like a set of rash school boys, and they had ended it in the very spirit of fituity. Amiable and honourable traits are to be found in Lord Edward Fitzgerald and in Emmet, but we believe that the characters of the rest will be best served by being consigned to silence and oblivion. Tone's execution was the last on account of this rebellion*.

In the month of May, while parliament was sitting, a spirited attempt was made to interrupt the preparations for invasion on the coast of Belgium, and to destroy the sluices, gates, and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend. Captain Honn Popham, with a small squadron having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel Coote, sailed from Margate Roads, bombarded Ostend, and landed about 1000 men at a short distance from that town. The soldiers blew up the sluices, destroyed a good many vessels, and did all the work they were sent to do in very quick time, but, on returning to the beach to re-embark, they were prevented by the fury of the wind and surf, and, being next day hemmed in by an immense force, Coote found himself under the necessity of surrendering, after he had lost about one man in every ten.

An expedition to Minorca was more successful, and gave us possession of an excellent port, which our Mediterranean fleet much needed. In the autumn Admiral Duckworth's squadron landed in Adaya Bay, in the island of Minorca, a land force of about 800 men, commanded by General Sir Charles Stuart. Assisted by a hot fire kept up by Duckworth's smaller craft alongshore, Stuart defeated about 2000 Spaniards, drove them from post to post, attacked them in some intrenchments, and easily compelled the governor to surrender the whole of the island by capitulation.

In the West Indies orders were received from ministers to abandon that large portion of San Domingo which we had reduced at the invitation and with the aid of the French planters, but which we could not retain without a constant, terrible sacrifice of human life. General Mantland entered into a compromise with Toussaint l'Ouverture, formerly a slave, but now chief of the revolted negroes and the founder of a sort of negro republic, who engaged to respect the lives and properties of all the European or Creole planters and inhabitants that

* Eventually three more of the frigates were taken.

† A short time before starting, on this his last trial, we find this gentle reformer writing in his Diary—'My heart is burdened to try, and I satisfy myself now at once in my life with what I stagger the twelve months ago. The Irish aristocracy are putting themselves in a state of nature with the people, and let them take the consequences. If ever I have the power I will not be trifled with in making them a dreadful example. This is no slight affair, thousands and thousands of families, if the attempt succeeds will be reduced to beggary. I cannot help it. If it must be done so.' And in order to entice the clergy and to show the officers of the French army what a rich harvest they might reap, he enumerated in one of his memorials what he delicately called the *resources* of Ireland. There were the best annual revenue of 4,000,000 of the church, college, and chapel lands, whose exact value he did not know, but he knew it to be of vast amount; the property of all the absentees amounting to at least 1,000,000 per annum in the casual property of emigrants; the property of all the men in Ireland whether vested in land, mortgages on land, trade, manufactures, bills, bank debts, or otherwise—and all these I could say more could not really be made to flow into the treasury of the Irish republic, and their French allies! One English gentleman he knew had no other son but an emigrant in Ireland; one single English commoner had 100,000 employed in the like manner.

Tone's grand name being multiplied by 84, to turn them into French francs represented an army of figures which must absolutely have dazzled the French republicans.

* Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the United Irish Society and Adjutant General and Chef de Brigade in the French and Belgian Republics. Written by Himself, and continued and edited by his son William Wolfe Tone. Washington, 1828.—T. Moore, Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Sir Richard Nugent, Memoirs of the different Revolutions in Ireland.—Ann. Regis.

might choose to remain. In the month of May all that were left alive of our troops were withdrawn, and towards the end of the year some French troops, who had maintained their ground in some strong places, shipped themselves off, and left Toussaint in undisturbed possession of the best part of San Domingo.

The fate of Switzerland was decided in the spring of this year. The unprovoked aggression of the French was hardly more infamous than the means they employed. They began by complaining of the permitted residence of Mr Wickham, the English envoy, and they next demanded his expulsion. To remove this ground of quarrel Mr Wickham was recalled by his own government. The Directory then ordered the French troops to take possession of a part of the territory of Basle, and almost as soon as this was done they sent a strong division under General Menard into the Pays de Vaud, a dependency of the aristocratic cantons of Bern. Menard was received as a liberator by all the democratic and sans culottes among the Vaudois, who, like all the French-speaking portion of the Swiss, had been stirred up by French propagandists and French books. These people had some reasons to complain of the pride and oppression of their Bernese rulers, but to get rid of these minor evils they threw themselves and the whole of Switzerland at the feet of the Gallic republic. On the 7th of January, the Vaudois, being joined by deputations and delegates from other democratic cantons, held an assembly of representatives chosen according to the French plan; and presently they all agreed to send a deputation to Paris to testify an entire devotion to the republic, and to claim still more assistance to enable them to put down aristocracy and defend liberty. Notwithstanding the manner in which he had been invited into the country, Menard soon began not only to seize upon all public stores but also to levy military contributions, for, friends or foes, or neutrals the people of the country must support every French army that traversed or remained upon their territory. The Federal Diet of the Swiss, then sitting at Aarau, were perplexed and distracted, for Basle, which had been thoroughly democratized and revolutionized, refused to concur in any of the measures proposed to secure the independence of the country, and hastily recalled its deputies, and Mengaud, a fierce propagandist, who had now assumed the title of 'Minister of the French republic in Switzerland,' came repeatedly to Aarau, escorted by French hussars and accompanied by Swiss proselytes, vexing the diet with notes, spreading fresh revolutionary pamphlets among the people and the local militia, and presiding over democratic clubs which he had himself organized.* The Diet, still further embarrassed

by the fierce democracy of one or two other cantons, separated without coming to any resolution. As soon as it had quitted Aarau, which was subject to Bern, an insurrection broke out in the town, the municipality proclaimed its independence and hoisted the tree of liberty; a regiment of militia revolted against its officers, and formed a revolutionary committee, other things were done according to the teaching of Mengaud and his agents, and his pamphlets and handbills, the revolt spread, the ignorant or unthinking revolvers being assured that they should enjoy, together with the old national independence the perfection of a democratic government, an elysium of liberty and equality. The aristocracy of Bern made a spirited effort to resist this storm, several of the cantons sent deputies to Bern, where a sort of federal representation was formed, some of the mutineers were arrested, the rest were put to flight, and, a call being made for the double contingent of the Helvetic Confederation, 26 000 sturdy Swiss assembled in arms—an admirable militia, but still only a militia. But by this time General Menard had 15 000 regular troops—a part of the victorious army of Italy—concentrated in the Pays de Vaud, and, with the Swiss demagogues to assist him, he had organised a provisional government at Lausanne, and, on the other side of Switzerland, the peasants of Basle, encouraged by the presence of a French force, had driven away their governors and set fire to their castles, had compelled the magistrates of the city to resign their authority into the hands of a commission of sixty persons, said to be selected from all classes, but composed, as we believe, entirely of the lowest class and of the most enthusiastic proselytes of the French. After making a spirited beginning, the Council of Bern fell into a fatal irresolution and matters were made almost hopeless by their choosing a pedantic, scribbling blockhead, a Colonel Weiss, to head the contingents. Instead of endeavouring to dissolve the revolutionary committee of Lausanne, and showing a bold front to the French on the frontiers, he busied himself in writing a pamphlet,* and, as his enemies grew stronger, he retired to the northern extremity of the Pays de Vaud, leaving the whole country at the mercy of the democrats and their French auxiliaries, who presently decreed its separation for ever from Bern. As General Menard approached nearer to Bern, the council endeavoured to propitiate the French Directory by numerous apologies and humiliating concessions. They invited the communes to elect a deputation of fifty-two members to take their seats in the sovereign council and assist in making a new constitution of a more democratic kind, but, when they announced this last measure to the Directory and to Mengaud, they were told by this successful preacher of insurrection that no leaven of aristocracy

such a clamour by some of his proceedings, that the First Consul was obliged to dismiss him.

* This pamphlet, which the colonial France was entitled to own insurrection and drive out the French was entitled *Revoltes sans danger* / *the danger approaches*.

* Mengaud who is described in French biographical dictionaries as a man of letters and diplomatist—*littérateur et diplomate*—as an organizer a pupil of J. Oudet in Beloit. In 1801 as raising his public opinion he became one of the most devoted slaves of Bonaparte. He employed him as a supreme commissary of police and surveillance in the seas of the French Republic, Calais, Boulogne, &c. He was a sort of minor Fouché, but too self-love for, in 1804, he raised

cracy must be left, that they must create a provisional government framed on an entirely democratic basis, and from which all the members of the old government should be excluded. This rendered an appeal to arms inevitable, but the vacillating counsels of the Bernese destroyed whatever hope their good cause might have had. Brune, a general of high repute, and a protégé of Director Barras, arrived on the Swiss frontiers with 10,000 more troops, and took the command over Menard. It ought to have been known or suspected that Brune only waited for fresh reinforcements in order to begin the attack, yet the Bernese sought and obtained a truce for fifteen days, during which Brune's army was raised to 40,000 or 45,000 men, and many of the Swiss soldiers were made to believe that they were betrayed and sold to the French by their own government. There were other insidious acts employed on one side and other imbecile acts on the other side, but it will be enough for us to state that on the 1st of March, before the expiration of the armistice, some French columns surprised in the night a Swiss battalion and cut most of the men to pieces, and on the following morning Brune led the main body of his army against Freyburg. Many of the contingents withdrew to look to the protection of their own homes, leaving less than 15,000 men to defend Bern, and, as these men retreated before the French, in the impression that they were betrayed, they drove away many of their officers and bayoneted two of their colonels. After committing these excesses, the Swiss soldiers, as if struck with a sudden horror, submitted again to their officers, and prepared to fight the French. And bravely did they fight on the 5th of March, when Brune was repulsed with terrible loss, and driven back for several miles on the road to Freyburg. But the odds were too great, the country was too much disorganised, the brave General d'Erlich, who commanded a part of the Swiss army, was defeated at another point, and was afterwards murdered on the road by some infuriated Swiss soldiers and peasants.* On the 5th of March Brune, in greater force, repeated his attack, and a wavering on the part of the Swiss troops was followed by a most sanguinary defeat. More than one hundred officers—the pride of the Bernese nobles—were killed on that dreadful day. Their names may be read, inscribed in golden letters upon six slabs of black marble in one of the aisles of Bern cathedral. After this victory, Brune, unopposed, entered the city of the Fighting Bear—that bear “that once gave fearful strokes with his paws”†

“Such,” says an excellent writer, in whose veins flows some of the good blood of the Swiss, “such was the fall of Bern, a republic which had

* Some days after the murder of d'Erlich his assassins acknowledged that they had been shown by emissaries of the French forged letters as evidence of his treachery. Some large papers were profusely scattered in the Bernese camp previous to the battle of the 5th of March.

† The *Gugler's Song*, or the *Song of Victory of the Bernese*, written in 1796.

existed nearly 600 years. It fell by the same arts, by the same hands, and nearly about the same time as Venice and Genoa, like them it exhibited weakness and hesitation in its councils, but, unlike them, it showed something of old Swiss determination in the hour of struggle, and it fell neither unhonoured nor unmourned.” General Brune, in the name of the French Directory, who would have been less eager if the old republic had been less rich, seized the public treasury of Bern, in which were found above 30,000,000 of francs in gold and silver, and emptied also the chests of the various branches of the administration, as well as those of the various trades or companies of the burghesians and of the patricians. He cleared the arsenal of 300 pieces of artillery, of a great quantity of ammunition, and of arms and accoutrements for 40,000 men. He obtained more arms by disarming all the people both in town and country, and he ransacked all the public magazines of corn, salt, wine, &c. The whole plunder was carried off to France. Some of the Bernese guns were sent to Touln for the Egyptian expedition, and, but for the money seized in that old Swiss republic, Bonaparte might not have had the opportunity of dating bulletins from the foot of the Pyramids. Most of the Bernese money was employed in fitting out that mighty armament. The Directory dispatched into Switzerland a commissioner of the name of La Carlier, who began his mission with forced requisitions for provisions and more money.—“For,” said he, in a proclamation, “it is but just that the Swiss should support their *liberators*.” Bern, plundered as she had been, had to pay 600,000 more francs, Freyburg, 300,000, and that the money might be forthcoming, sixteen members of the old government were seized and carried to the French citadel of Strasbourg, there to be kept until the last franc was paid. When the aristocratic cantons were exhausted by plunder, the liberators directed their attention to the cantons that were or had become ultra democratic, and that had either invited them into Switzerland, or facilitated their progress when they came. The traders and manufacturers of Zurich and other towns, who had refused to send their contingents to the army of the Confederation, and who had professed every principle which the French propagandists and then the French army recommended, were taxed, fined, and harried, even like the aristocrats of Bern, and were compelled to admit within their walls a French garrison, to debauch their wives and daughters, and tyrannize over all. Luzern became equally the object of Le Carlier's attention, contribution was levied upon contribution, and confiscation of property ensued upon every attempt at resistance. Many of the peasantry, who would not and could not conform to the new system, were shot as traitors or rebels. The five kings of the Luxembourg gave wings to a decree,

* A *Vieux Suisse* Hist. Switzerland—the best work in the English language on this interesting subject, and one of the best compendiums of history in any language.

declaring, in that phraseology which Bonaparte afterwards adopted to several royal dynasties, that the Helvetic Confederation had ceased to exist, and that Switzerland was to form a single republic, one and indivisible under a central government to be established in the well-democratized town of Aarau. And, that this centralized government might be spared the pains of making a constitution for itself the directors sent one ready-made from Paris, or a transcript of Abbé Sieyès's last masterpiece, with its two councils, its executive directory, &c. They also applied their compasses and their squares and measures to the country, changing the old cantons, which were far too irregular in their shape to suit their nice mathematical notions, into twenty-two new cantons or departments, all cut and squared at Paris, and in the true Parisian fashion. Under 45,000 bayonets there was a smooth submission until they called upon the Waldstätten, or mountain cantons, to send their deputies to the centralization at Aarau. These hardy mountaineers, who had lived in a state of pure democracy (not unsuited to the thinly-peopled, poor, and primitive districts they inhabited—a democracy which was, however, tempered by the genial spirit of the early patriarchal system, from which all systems of government originally sprang), who were averse to all changes and novelties, and indignant at the thought of foreign interference, boldly refused to send deputies, stating that they were quite satisfied with their old form of government and only wished to be left to themselves. The French Directors and system-makers who wanted a uniformity of government everywhere, without the slightest allowance for ancient habits and feelings, or any other circumstances, moral or physical, and the organizers of conquests and subjugations, who were eager to make Switzerland a post-road into Italy, and to level the mighty Alps, or prostrate and keep in entire submission the brave Teutonic or anti-Gallican tribes who inhabited them, were in a fury at the contumaciousness of the Waldstätten, and 15,000 men were ordered to march against the stubborn democrats of the mountains. A man with a Teutonic name, a native of a province which never ought to have been allowed to belong to France, Schauenburg, an Alsatian, was put at the head of this invading army. He routed the shepherds and cowherds of Glarus, Uznach, and some other districts, but Aloys Reding (honoured be the name!) who had served in foreign armies, and who knew how to direct the undisciplined valour of his countrymen, met him with only 1200 sturdy Schwyzers, beat him repeatedly, and in conjunction with some auxiliaries from Uri, so harassed and beset him in the mountain passes, that he lost in all nearly 4000 men, and was but too happy to conclude a convention, in which it was agreed that no French soldier should enter the canton of Schwyz, that no contributions should be levied there, and that the Schwyzers should send deputies to Aarau. The Schwyzers

and others of the Waldstätten sent their deputies to Aarau, but, in the month of July, nothing less would satisfy the French commissioners and commanders, than that the people should assemble in every canton to take a solemn oath to preserve forever the new French-manufactured constitution of the Helvetic republic. The French had proved how lightly they thought of such matters, but, to a people with strong religious feelings, the oath was a matter of high import, and the small mountain cantons refused to perjure themselves. Upon this the Alsatian marched again with 15,000 men. Through a want of concert the brave men of Nidwalden were left to stand the brunt by themselves. The entire population of that district did not much exceed 10,000, of whom about 1800 or 2000 might be capable of bearing arms. The rustic heroes who took the field and stationed themselves in one of the passes, being attacked in the rear as well as in front, and assailed by artillery to which they could not reply, were defeated on the 9th of September, but not until they had nobly fought from sunrise to sunset, and strewn the pass with their own and their enemies' bodies. Fifteen hundred Nidwalders perished there, the rest took refuge among the caves and the glaciers of the higher Alps. The victors showed no mercy. "They were rebels, whom we must subdue," said the Alsatian general, in his dispatch to the five kings, who were faring sumptuously in the Luxembourg, "we are now masters of this unhappy country, which has been pillaged. The fury of our soldiers could not be restrained, all that bore arms, including priests, and unfortunately many women also, were put to the sword." Our enemies fought desperately, it was the hottest engagement I ever was in. All the cattle that could be caught were carried off by the French, the houses and cottages were set on fire, the fruit-trees cut down, three or four pretty little towns, built chiefly of the Alpine fir, were burnt to ashes. With their hands reeking with the blood of the Nidwalders, the French, in contempt of their recent convention, made a rush into the canton of Schwyz, butchering some of the inhabitants and disarming the rest. The liberty for which William Tell had fought and bled was now annihilated by these new Gallic republicans who had professed to give liberty and equality and an augmented happiness to all mankind!

Meanwhile, the exactions of the Directory over the rest of Switzerland had continued. Le Carlier had been recalled as not sufficiently active, and a new

* In the churchyard of the rustic town of Stanz a chapel has been built to the memory of 414 inhabitants of that town including 108 women and 29 children butchered by the French on the 9th of September. On the winding road from Stanz to barnum is the chapel of St. Joseph outside of which eighteen women armed with scythes and leaning against the wall defended themselves against a party of French soldiers until they were all killed. The priest was saying mass in the church of Stanz when the French rushed in, a shot struck him dead and fired himself in the altar where the mark is still seen. Several hundred children were left helpless orphans as wanderers about their paternal fields most of them were neglected; the people of the neighbouring cantons and the philanthropic total and altered and educated many of them in his then newly founded institution.—*A. Füssli, Hist. of Switzerland*

commissioner or commissary had been sent, who bore the ominous and appropriate name of Rapinat.* The rapine committed by this Rapinat surpassed the slow conception of the poor Swiss the rogue's only merit was his impartiality—he robbed all alike. At the same time Schauenburg, after disarming the people, forbade any one to leave his own canton without a passport signed by the general. Hitherto passports had been unknown in Switzerland—the use of them was first introduced by these French republicans, as an appendage to their curious system of liberty. Such were some few of the blessings which the Irish people would have enjoyed if the Lord Edward Fitzgeralds the Woltesones, could have succeeded in getting a French army into the heart of their island†.

The Swiss were not the only people in Europe that felt the hollowness and bitterness of the friendship of the French, and the implacability of their hatred, during this eventful year. The Belgians were so harassed by military conscriptions, that they broke out into insurrections in five departments—insurrections which added the loss of blood and life to that of money and goods. In Italy the people of the so-called Cisalpine Republic were made to sigh and groan for the blessings they had enjoyed under their old governments. Rome was made the seat of anarchy and woe. In order to raise the money required from it by the treaty of Tolentino, the papal government was obliged to drain the pockets of its subjects. This created violent discontents, which were fermented by a strong French or revolutionary party who recommended, as a proper remedy for every evil, the destruction or expulsion of the old pope with all his hierarchy, and the setting up of a *Roman Republic* under the immediate protection of the French. These Roman patriots were about the worst that had shown themselves in Italy—for the most part unprincipled and cowardly, ready to plunge the country into a domestic war, but shy in risking a hair of their own heads, sensualists and materialists, rabid atheists, who had rushed from the extremity of superstition to the extremity of unbelief, self-seekers, that calculated how much they should gain per man by the spoils of the church and the sale to foreigners of the antiquities and masterpieces of art which attracted all the nations of the civilised world to Rome, forgetting that, in dealing with the French, they dealt with a nation which took what it wanted without paying for it. Ever since the Director La Réveillere-Lépeaux had taken it into his head to be the founder of a new

religion under the name of Theophilanthropy, the French agents at Rome had received urgent instructions to discredit all revealed religion, and particularly the Roman Catholic, to give additional encouragement to the Roman reformers, in order that the supreme head of the Catholic Church might be humiliated, degraded, and driven out, as all this might serve to facilitate the establishment of La Réveillere-Lépeaux's new faith, which was nothing but the old theism of Robespierre furbished up and made more ridiculous. The family of the fortunate Corsican general had risen as he rose his elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte, was no longer in the commissariat but in the diplomatic department, being at this time ambassador at Rome, with instructions to change the state of that government without appearing to take any active part with its disaffected subjects. Joseph, who loved his case, and respected the ease and comfort of others, had no zeal for La Réveillere-Lépeaux's new religion, and apparently no very excessive anxiety to co-operate with the Roman reformers and demagogues. To excite him to more activity, or in order that they might act for him the five kings at the Luxembourg sent to Joseph two fiery republican generals (whether Theophilanthropists or not we are not informed) one was General Duphot, who had had the chief management of the overthrow and change of the ancient republic of Genoa, the other was General Sherlock, who descended from an Irish family, and who testified an earnest desire to date the era of the new world, not from the birth of Christ, but from the birth of the French republic. As soon as these two men arrived, the Roman democrats became uncommonly bold and turbulent. They insulted the pope's guards, and even the pope himself when he showed himself in public. This roused the common people, the true sans-culottes of Rome, who had no French political sans-culottism about them, but who were devout, superstitious, attached enthusiastically to their pontiff and their priests. A certain number of the democrats armed themselves, but, if the papal government had chosen to put arms into the hands of the populace in the quarter beyond the Tiber—the athletic and daring Trasteverini, who looked like ancient Romans—and to give them but the word, these revolutionists would have been exterminated in a day, with all the French who encouraged them. The papal government only remonstrated with the French embassy, and slightly increased the town-guard or urban militia. On the night of the 27th of December, (1797), while Joseph Bonaparte was giving a grand ball, an encounter took place in the streets between this town-guard and a band of democrats, who had mounted the French cockade in their hats, two of the guards were badly wounded, and one of the democrats was killed outright. On the very next day some three hundred of the democrats assembled at the Villa Medici. General Duphot was among them, haranguing and waving his hat, and

* This Rapinat was another Alsatian (it should seem that the German blood in Alsace had not been improved by the French mixture) and a relation of Rew, one of the five directors. Like most of his school, he robbed on his own account as well as for his employers. With his picture of the plunderer, Switzerland he afterwards purchased some of the finest estates in Alsace. The following epigram has often been quoted.

Un bon Suisse que l'on ru ne
Voudrait bien que l'on decidat
Si Rapinat vient de rapine
On rapasse de lui l'ins!

† We have known some few of these Roman patriots or demagogues who were cured of some of their errors, even after a quarter of a century of woful experience.

by his advice the madmen hoisted the tricolor flag and shouted, "Down with the pope, and up with the Roman republic!" Their valour was an after-dinner valour, for they had dined and drunk copiously before the flag was produced. As soon as they saw or heard that some cavalry as well as infantry of the pope's guard were approaching, they all ran away from Villa Medici to the Palazzo Corsini, the residence of Joseph Bonaparte and of all the French embassy. The papal troops were held at bay by the arms or insignia of the Gallic republic painted over the palace-gate, and the democrats within the palace, made bold by this awe and by the law of nations, which makes an ambassadorial residence a sanctuary, harangued from the balconies, called the Roman people to liberty, and threatened to go and plant the tricolor flag on the summit of the Capitol. Other democrats gathered in the streets, making noise enough to awaken the dead in the tomb of the Scipios. The papal troops came up, fell upon these out-of-door revolutionists, wounded some of them, and saw the rest run into the vast court-yard and up the broad staircases of the Palazzo Corsini, whence, thinking themselves safe, they insulted the soldiery with words and gestures. Part of a regiment of dragoons galloped into the court-yard, calling up in the ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, to turn those rebels out of his house. Joseph, who never showed the least stomach for fighting, remained under cover and proposed pacific messages, but General Duphot drew his sword, and ran down stairs into the court-yard, calling upon the democrats to follow him and stand by him, and he would drive away those cowardly soldiers of priests. It should appear that the Roman heroes, who were under cover in the apartments above remained where they were, but a combat took place between those in the court-yard and the dragoons, and, at the very beginning of it, Duphot, who on the next day was to have married Joseph Bonaparte's sister-in-law,* was mortally wounded by a shot from a carbine. Several of the democrats there were killed in the same way, and a greater number wounded; most of their brethren upstairs escaped through back doors and windows, and fled across the garden behind the palace at the first report of fire arms. As soon as he was able, Joseph Bonaparte, with his suite, fled to Florence, calling the poor old pope the assassin of Duphot. The Directory, who had long wanted some such occasion, sent orders to General Berthier to march instantly to Rome with a large body of troops. Some weeks before the death of Duphot, Pesaro, Senigaglia, and other towns in the Roman states, were in open rebellion, and the papal government had vainly remonstrated with Joseph Bonaparte on the encouragement and assistance the French were giving to his revolted subjects. With nothing to oppose them, the French and 4000 Poles, under

Dombrowski, advanced into the states of the Church, Loretto, with its Holy House, was sacked, Osimo was plundered and burned, and, on the 10th of February, Berthier drew up his forces on the Roman hills, and planted his guns as if to bombard the city. The terrified Cardinals who formed the government signed a capitulation, in which they gave up the castle of St. Angelo and nearly everything else. On the same day the pope's garrison was turned out of the castle, and the French entered it, and Cervoni, the Corsican, took possession of all the principal posts in the city. On the morrow, in the midst of the acclamations of the Roman democrats, Berthier made his triumphal entrance into the capital of the ancient world. Four days after—the 15th of February, and the anniversary of the day on which the reigning pontiff, Pius VI., who had now reigned for 23 years, had first put on the triple crown—the democrats of Rome assembled in the Campo Vaccino the ancient Forum, erected a tree of liberty with the tri-color and the red night-cap at the top of it, renounced for ever the government of priests, aristocrats, or kings, and proclaimed that, by the will of the Roman people, the ancient republican form of government was restored. A wretched constitution, badly translated into Italian from the French, was presented next day to Berthier for his approval, without which they knew full well the thing could not live for an hour. The French general gave his approbation, but only conditionally. The Roman democrats then crowned him with laurel, and carried him in triumph to the Capitol, where Berthier, in return, called them worthy descendants of Brutus and Scipio. When these forces were played out, the spoliation and the robbery began. The grey-headed Pope was confined in the Vatican palace under a strong guard of unbelieving, mocking French, and seals were put upon all the pontifical apartments and upon the palaces of the absent cardinals. As a beginning, immense contributions were demanded, and, as security for the prompt payment of them, four cardinals and a number of the principal lay nobles were seized and thrown into the castle of St. Angelo. Not a word more was said about Duphot, whose death had been stated as the provocation which brought Berthier and his army to Rome. His rashness had served the turn, and he was forgotten in his bloody grave. Full liberty was given to the Roman demagogues to wreak their vengeance on their late superiors and masters, and to gratify all their personal animosities. These things provoked a fearful reaction on the part of the common people. assassinations by night and by day became horribly frequent, and, though they were masters of the city, it was a long time ere either Frenchman or Roman Republican could venture to show his face among the Trasteverini. Berthier, having some delicacy of feeling, some respect for venerable age and fallen dignity, which made him shrink from the task himself, sent the Corsican general Cervoni to the Vatican to tell Pius VI., in the

* This lady was afterwards married to Bernadotte, and so became queen of Sweden. She was—soon after life, at least—a quiet unpretending inoffensive amiable woman.

name of the French Republic, that he must recognize the new Roman republic, lay down his temporal authority, and quit his palace.* Pius replied, that his eighty years and the infirmities and maladies which oppressed him must soon end his life and his sufferings, but that for the rest he would not yield except to force, that his enemies might have power over his body, but none over his will or over his soul, which was looking to another world where the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary found rest. The Corsican adventurer, nourished with the French philosophy, could not but laugh at the miserable old dotard. A commissioner or commissary of the Directory, who had come to look after the plunder, finished what Cervoni had begun, by telling Pius that by will or by force he must leave Rome within forty-eight hours. The aged pontiff replied that he could not resist violence, but that his people would see and remem-



PIUS VI

ber that he was torn from them by force. On the 20th of February he was seized in the Vatican, and put into a coach with two or three faithful ministers, and, escorted by a regiment of French cavalry, he was whirled rapidly out of Rome and along the northern road which leads to Tuscany. The common people were overcome by horror and consternation, but, wherever he passed, crowds of them fell upon their knees, blessing him and imploring his blessing. Apart from spiritualities, the old man had been a benefactor to the country. He was allowed to take up his residence in a convent of the Augustinian monks in Siena, in the dominions, or in what had been the dominions, of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but his residence was constantly surrounded by a guard of republicans, and he was treated to all intents like a state prisoner.

Shortly after these troubles at Rome, popular insurrections, fomented by the French and the democrats of Genoa or the new Ligurian republic, broke out in Piedmont, and the new king of Sardinia was compelled to admit a French garrison into

* Cervoni is said to have performed his mission, not merely with unnecessary severity but with absolute brutality. Between the French republicans and the new Roman republicans, Pius VI. suffered torments much worse than death.

Turin, and all the other citadels which he had hitherto retained. Thus that fine country became virtually a province of France.

Bonaparte, after a rapid inspection of the French coasts and of the so-called "Army of England" stationed near them, had returned to Paris to undertake the command of another army destined for no less an object than the conquest of Egypt, which country, it was calculated, would not merely supply to France the loss of her West Indian colonies, but also enable her first to annoy, and afterwards to invade the British possessions and dependencies in the East Indies. It was a wild scheme, and as unjust as it was wild, for whatever might be the occasional contumacy of the Mameluke Beys, Egypt was a country belonging to the Turks, the ancient allies of the French, who were living in peace with the republic, and had done nothing to provoke an attack. But a very extravagant estimate was formed of the wealth of Egypt itself: the plunder of the land of the Pharaohs would, it was calculated, amply pay all expenses of the expedition and enrich the army, men's heads were filled with high-sounding names of places and dynasties, and with those always intoxicating comparisons with the Greeks and Romans. Bonaparte's fame as the conqueror of Italy, or rather of the Austrians in Italy, was an additional inducement, and 30,000 men, chiefly from the army of Italy, assembled with wonderful enthusiasm at Toulon, to sail, whenever the opportunity should offer, for Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile. The secret of the expedition was well kept from the enemies of the republic, a continuance of violent winds drove the English blockading fleet from those waters, and on the night of the 19th of May, Bonaparte, with a vast fleet of men-of-war and transports, put to sea and sailed up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of June the fleet arrived before Malta, the capture of which important island was included in the plan adopted by the Directory. The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had held Malta ever since the days of the emperor Charles V., had not acknowledged the French republic, but not a few of those noble knights entertained French notions or had sold themselves to French interests. Homage to the grand master, a weak old man, was bulled and terrified by these traitors, and, instead of manning the works of La Valetta, which might have defied the whole French fleet and army for months—whereas every moment was precious to them, and full of apprehension, for they knew that the British fleet would soon be after them—he returned a miserable answer to Bonaparte's summons to surrender, and actually capitulated on the 11th, the date fixed by the republican general. After plundering the churches and the alberghi and other establishments of the order, and thereby collecting no inconsiderable quantity of gold and silver, Bonaparte re-embarked on the 19th for Egypt, leaving General Vaubois and a garrison to take care of Malta. As the French fleet sailed

by the island of Candia it passed near the English fleet, but without being seen by it, for a thick haze favoured the invaders, and prevented their utter annihilation, with the destruction or captivity of all the troops, and of Bonaparte himself, by Nelson. On the 29th of June the French came in sight of Alexandria, and on the following day the troops landed within three miles of that city, without any opposition but with such haste and confusion, produced by the dread lest Nelson should be upon them, that a considerable number were drowned. The town of Alexandria was easily taken. From its ancient walls Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Egypt, telling them that he came as the friend of the Sultan, to deliver them from the oppression of the Mamelukes, and that he and his soldiers had a particular respect for God, the prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. On the 7th of July he moved from Alexandria to Cairo, marching over burning sands, where the French troops suffered greatly and murmured not a little. On the 21st, on arriving in sight of the great pyramids, they saw objects less peaceful than those stupendous memorials of the dead—they saw the whole Mameluke force, under Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, drawn up at Embabeh. Battle was joined almost immediately. The Mameluke cavalry, 5000 in number, was splendid and brave, but their Arab auxiliaries were not so well armed, and their infantry, composed chiefly of Egyptian Fellahs, or peasants, armed with matchlock, was altogether contemptible, and they had no artillery. The battle of the Pyramids, as the affair was called by the French, was easily won: such of the Mamelukes as escaped destruction retreated towards

Upper Egypt, and two days after Bonaparte entered Cairo without resistance. Here he assembled a divan, or council, of the principal Turks and Arab chiefs, to whom he promised the civil administration of the country. He also endeavoured to conciliate the Ulemas and Imams, holding frequent conferences with those doctors and professors of the Mohammedan faith, talking oracularly and orientally (by means of interpreters) he repeated their brief credo, that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his prophet, and at least hinted that he and his army, who had destroyed the Pope of Rome, and those other ancient enemies of the Moslem, the Knights of Malta, might some day undergo the initiatory rite, and become thorough converts to Islamism. While he was thus engaged at Cairo, Nelson disturbed his visions by destroying the fleet which he had left near Alexandria. The British hero had returned up the Mediterranean without any instructions from his government, and without any certain knowledge of the French expedition. He was unfortunately without frigates to scour that sea, and he was thus, as it were, compelled to grope his way in the dark. The first news he got of Bonaparte's movements was that he had surprised Malta. Instantly he bore away for that island, but some days before he could reach it the French were gone, and he could find no one to tell him whither. Making, however, a shrewd guess, he sailed for the mouths of the Nile, and arrived off Alexandria on the 28th of June. But no French fleet was there, and, although it was so near at hand, he could learn nothing of its whereabouts. He then shaped his course to the northward for the coast of Caramania, and steered



BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS

from thence along the southern side of Candia. It was here he so nearly touched the objects he was seeking. Baffled in his pursuit, he crossed the whole Mediterranean and returned to Sicily. He had sailed six hundred leagues with an expedition almost incredible, his flag-ship the old 'Vanguard' was nearly strained to pieces, but as soon as he could re-victual and take in fresh water he turned his prow again toward Egypt, still holding to his opinion that the French must have been bound thither, but vowing that if they were bound to the Antipodes, or if they were anywhere above water, he would find them out and bring them to action. On the 28th of July he entered the Gulf of Coron in the Morea, and there for the first time he received certain intelligence that the French had been seen about four weeks before steering between Candia and the coast of Egypt. Then, setting very sail that his ships could possibly carry, he stood over once more for the mouths of the Nile, grieving for the time which had been lost, and wishing it had only been his fate to have tried Bonaparte upon a wind. Earl St Vincent had been severely censured for sending so young an officer upon so important a service, but the glory of the British flag could not have been intrusted to better hands, and the perseverance, the ability, and self-resources he displayed before the battle were as admirable as the skill and the valour he displayed in it. Never did mortal man more eagerly seek an enemy.

The British fleet, consisting of thirteen 74's, one 50-gun ship, and a brig of 14 guns, at about ten in the morning of the 1st of August, again got sight of Alexandria and its harbours, now crowded with ships. At four in the afternoon, Captain Hood, in the 'Zealous,' signalled the enemy's fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay. The admiral immediately hauled his wind, followed by the whole fleet, signals were made to prepare for battle, to attack the enemy's van and centre, as they lay at anchor. Nelson, who had scarcely taken rest or food for some days, ordered dinner to be served, observing to his officers as they rose from table, "Before this time to-morrow I shall have gained a peerage or Westminster Abbey." At half-past five signal was made to form in line of battle abreast and astern of the admiral. At a little before six they were rapidly approaching the enemy, whose force comprised one ship of 120 guns, three of 80, and nine of 74, moored in compact line of battle, describing an obtuse angle, close in with the shore, flanked by gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. Nelson no sooner perceived the enemy's position than his plan of attack was formed. Where an enemy's ship could swing, there was room for a British one to anchor, and he therefore determined to station his ships on the inner side of the French line. At about twenty minutes past six the French opened their fire on the two leading

British ships. The guns on Aboukir Island also fired at the ships as they rounded the shoal, but ceased as the ships became closely engaged, to avoid striking the French van. The 'Culloden,' 74, Captain Trowbridge, unfortunately grounded on a ledge of rocks, and could take no part in the action. The 'Vanguard,' Nelson's flag-ship, with six ensigns flying in different parts of the rigging, lest any should be shot away, was the first that anchored, within half pistol-shot of the 'Spartiate,' the third ship in the enemy's line. By seven o'clock eight of the British fleet had anchored, and were in close action with the enemy. At half-past nine, or thereabouts, five of the French van had surrendered, the 'Orient' was in flames, and at about ten o'clock blew up with a tremendous explosion. Nelson had received a severe wound in the head, but in the confusion, to the astonishment of every one, he appeared on the quarter-deck, and immediately gave orders that the boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy, and many of the 'Orient's' crew were saved by our boats, or dragged into the lower parts of British ships by British sailors. The brave French admiral, Brueys, was dead. He had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post—a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. Among the many hundreds who perished was the Commodore Casa Bianca, and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating in a shattered mast when the ship blew up. The dreadful shock stayed the fury of battle. In full ten minutes not a gun was fired on either side. The French ship 'Franklin' was the first to recommence firing, but was soon silenced, and struck her colours. At midnight the only French ship whose guns continued in active play was the 'Innamant,' but, her masts being shot away, she ceased firing, and, by veering about, took up a station in the rear, and another interval of silence ensued. As the day broke the battle recommenced between four of the French ships and two of the English, soon assisted by two others. The French frigate 'Artemise' fired a broadside, and then struck her colours, and soon afterwards blew up. The four French line-of-battle ships, and two frigates, kept dropping to leeward, and were almost out of gun-shot of the British that had anchored to attack them. Two of these ships ran themselves on shore, and, after an exchange of a few distant shots, struck their colours. The others got under weigh, and escaped—only one of our fleet, the 'Zealous,' being in a condition to make sail after them. Of the thirteen French ships of the line eight had surrendered, one had perished, two had escaped, and two were on shore with their colours flying, one of which soon after struck, and was taken possession of, and the other was set fire to by the crew, who escaped on shore—making eleven line-of-battle ships lost to the French. If Nelson had not been wounded, and the 'Culloden'

* Captain Berry, when he comprehended the scope of the design, exclaimed, "If we succeed, what will the world say? There is no 'if' in the case," replied Nelson, "that we shall succeed is our task, who may live to tell the story is a very different question."

* The two line-of-battle ships, and one of the frigates were afterwards taken by our squadron in the Mediterranean.



A PICTURE OF THE BATTLE

could have got into action, it is probable that not one of the enemy's fleet would have left Aboukir Bay.*

The British loss, in killed and wounded, was 895. Westcott, of the 'Majestic,' was the only captain who fell. 3105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel, and 5225 perished. The victory was complete. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene." He called it a conquest†.

The destruction of the French fleet, which was announced far and wide by bonfires kindled by the Arabs along the coast and over the whole land of Egypt, left Bonaparte with only such stores and military materials as he had succeeded in bringing with him, and shut him out from all communication with France. If Nelson had been provided as he ought to have been, with small craft—if he had only had three or four bomb-ketches—he would have burned all the French transports and store-ships which Admiral Brueys had prudently secured in shallow water in the port of Alexandria, and thus the land army would have been reduced at once to the greatest straits.

The Sultan now issued an indignant manifesto, declaring war against France for invading one of his provinces in a time of peace and pretended

unity, he called upon the pashas of Syria to collect their forces, and he prepared to send from Constantinople an army for the recovery of Egypt. On the 22nd of September the people of Cairo, who had hitherto been quiet, puzzled and bewildered at the French doings, burst out into insurrection, and killed a good many Frenchmen in the streets. The insurrection was put down by a dreadful massacre, but the blood of 5000 Moslems, shed in one single day, and mostly in the great Mosque of the Prophet, called for vengeance, and precluded all chance of the French ever retaining quiet possession of the country.*

In Europe the victory at Aboukir, or the battle of the Nile as it was called, produced an immediate and an immense effect, reviving in every country the drooping spirits of the anti-Gallican party, and filling England from end to end with transports of joy and triumph. Nelson was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and all sorts of honours were heaped upon him. From Egypt he returned to Naples, where he found that King Ferdinand was collecting a numerous army with the view of driving the French from Rome and from Tuscany; that the congress at Rastadt had been virtually broken up, that the emperor was arming, and a new coalition forming against the French, who, by their conduct at Rome, in Switzerland, and in other countries, had broken the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio. Nelson's achievement,

* It was after this massacre at Cairo that Bonaparte issued his well known proclamation, in which, in Oriental style he told the inhabitants of Egypt that he was the Man of Destiny foretold in the Koran and that any resistance to his will was impious as well as useless and that he could call them to account even for their most secret thoughts as nothing was hid from him. All this seemed but mountebank work in the eyes of the Moslems.

* Comparative force of the two fleets:—

	English	French
Ships in number . . .	18	12
Guns . . .	1,040	1,005
Aggregate broadside weight of metal in lbs . . .	10,895	14,030
Number of men . . .	7,401	9,710
Size in tons . . .	20,660	20,490

§1 Owing a decided superiority on the French side without counting the 10 frigates (two of them carrying heavy 18 pounders) four mortar vessels, gun boats and the battery on Aboukir Island.

† James's Naval History—Schomburg's Naval Chronology—Southey's Life of Nelson.

and the absence of Bonaparte, who it was expected would never find his way back to Europe, were the two grand circumstances of encouragement to this new coalition.

In the month of November the island of Gozo, separated from Malta by a narrow channel, capitulated to a detachment of Nelson's squadron, Malta itself was closely blockaded, and, as the people were rising with great spirit and resolution against the French, it was clear that the tricolor flag would not float long over the stately city of La Valetta.

The British parliament assembled on the 20th of November. The speech from the throne, after grateful mention of our successes, and of the suppression of the Irish rebellion, congratulated the country on the hopes of new alliances, by which it might be anticipated that the common enemy of nations would be humbled and repressed. This alluded more particularly to Russia. The Czarina Catherine had died of apoplexy in November, 1796, and had been succeeded by her son Paul. At first anxious doubts had been entertained whether, as usual in despotic countries, the successor would not pursue a line of foreign policy directly opposite to that of his predecessor. It was known that tempting overtures had been made to him by the French, and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, by embarrassing the Sultan, and obliging him to send an army down the Archipelago, would probably leave the frontiers of European Turkey in a weakened state, and even possibly lay open the road to the Balkan pass and to Constantinople, the grand object of Russian ambition. But Paul had now engaged to respect existing treaties, had declared his detestation of French principles and French ambition, had contracted a close alliance with Great Britain, and had engaged to take an active part in the war against the conquering republic, upon condition of receiving from Great Britain 112,000*l* per month, during a campaign of eight months, for the pay of troops. It was not yet known that the eccentricities of the Emperor Paul's character amounted to insanity; the money, and even more than was asked for, was readily voted, and high expectations were entertained of the exploits to be performed by old Suvaroff, who had never known defeat, and his iron-framed Russian veterans.

The estimated supplies for the ensuing year were put at 29,272,000*l*, and Pitt presented a new plan for raising a considerable part of them by an INCOME TAX. A series of resolutions relating to this new and bold plan were passed in the House of Commons before the close of the year.

A.D. 1799.—The minister's resolutions were, in substance, that the augmentation of the assessed taxes made in the last session should be repealed, and have its place supplied by a duty upon all incomes above 60*l* a-year. Every person whose income exceeded 60*l* a-year was to state, to the commissioners appointed for collecting the tax, the

exact amount of his income; the return was to be according to his own statement, but liable to checks and correction by surveyors, if there were good reason to suspect a false or deficient return. If a man's income exceeded 200*l* a-year, he was to pay 10*l* per cent upon it, if it only exceeded 100*l*, he was to pay considerably less than 10 per cent, and, if his income was only between 60*l* and 100*l*, he was to be taxed in a still diminishing proportion. Pitt calculated the yearly income of the whole nation at 102,000,000*l*, from which, by this income-tax, he anticipated a revenue of 10,000,000*l*. A bill, framed upon these principles, after undergoing some amendments of detail, was carried through both Houses by great majorities.

The regular army was slightly increased, 120,000 men, including marines, &c, were voted for the navy, the volunteers and yeomanry cavalry had risen from 5000 to 30,000 men, and the militia, a portion of which had done good service in Ireland, was now about 85,000 strong.

A plan for uniting Ireland under one legislature with Great Britain, as Scotland to her inestimable advantage, had been united to England nearly a century ago, had been discussed and seriously entertained before the breaking out of the late unhappy rebellion, but that event had made the necessity of such a union more apparent. On the 22nd of January a royal message to both Houses recommended the consideration of the most effectual means to defeat the design of our enemies to promote a separation between the two kingdoms, by settling such a complete and final adjustment as might perpetuate a connexion essential for their common security, and consolidate the power and resources of the British empire. Sheridan spoke of taking the Irish people by surprise, and of a design of ministers to carry their end by fraud, corruption, and intimidation, but it was agreed by an immense majority that the question should be considered on the 31st. On that day, Pitt, after explaining the grounds which would make the union, at the very least, as beneficial to Ireland as to England, proposed certain resolutions as the basis for the measure, and his motion, that the House should go into committee on these propositions, was carried by 140 against 15. After some long and warm debates, the resolutions, with some slight amendments, were agreed to, and sent up to the Peers. After equally warm debating in the Upper House, a joint address to the king was agreed to, presenting the resolutions as a proper basis for the union. And here, as far as regarded England, the matter rested for the present year.*

* The most important of these resolutions were—That the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland should be represented by one common parliament, in which a number of Lords and Commons to be hereafter agreed on, should represent Ireland.—That the churches of England and Ireland should be preserved as now by law established.—That the subjects of Ireland should be entitled to the same privileges in trade and navigation as those of Great Britain.—That the charge for the payment of the interest of the public debt of each kingdom before the union should continue to be paid by Great Britain and Ireland separately but that the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom should be defrayed by them jointly according to proportions to be established by the parliament of each kingdom as

On the 12th of July the king prorogued parliament with a very hopeful address.

The convention and subsidiary treaty with the Emperor Paul had not been fully concluded until the month of December of the preceding year, but before that time the court of Vienna had formed a close alliance with the czar, and Russian troops had begun to collect on the frontiers of Austria, while a great army of the German empire was assembling between the rivers Inn and Lech. One great object proposed was to drive the French out of Italy, where, through the folly of King Ferdinand, who had begun too soon, or through the slowness of the Emperor Francis, who had begun too late, they had been allowed to overrun the kingdom of Naples, and to drive the court into Sicily. In the autumn of 1798, long before he was ready himself, the Emperor Francis sent Colonel (now General) Mack, whom we last saw negotiating with Dumouriez on the frontiers of the Netherlands to organize and take the command of the Neapolitan army—a fine army to the eye, but well officered, and bad in nearly every other respect. Nelson, who was then at Naples, formed almost at a glance a correct estimate of the vaunted tactics. “General Mack,” said he, “cannot move without five carriages. I have formed my opinion.” On another occasion he exclaimed with bitterness that the fellow did not understand his business. Instead of waiting until the Austrians and Russians should be ready to descend from the Alps upon the other end of Italy, it was resolved that this unwelcome army should march to Rome, drive away the French, restore the pope, and liberate Tuscany if not all Italy. To make bad worse, it was put into the head of King Ferdinand, the least mortal of sovereigns and the most indolent and thoughtless of men, that he ought to march with Mack and his army. To create a diversion, a British and Portuguese squadron landed 5000 Neapolitans at Leghorn, and took quiet possession of that port and city. The king, with the main body of his army, 32,000 strong, entered the Roman states at the end of November. The rainy season alone was almost enough to dishearten his old womanly officers. The great strategist and tactician, Mack, faithful to the old and fatal system, divided this Neapolitan army, not into two, or three, but into *six* columns, and these columns were separated by rivers, marshes, and mountains, some of them by the entire breadth of the Apennines. Hardly any of the troops had ever been under fire, and a notion of their discipline and military *morale* may be derived from the one simple fact, that most of their officers were in the constant habit of robbing or defrauding the men. Championnet, the French general-in-chief there, had 20,000 veteran troops in the territories of the church, these, it is true, were also dispersed over a broad surface but,

with their habits of rapid motion, they could soon be collected, and the weakest of their columns, which was about 5000 strong, was not only a match for one of Mack's five divisions, but for his whole host if he could have collected it together—which it was evident from the beginning he never could. The advanced posts of the French army fell in without fighting, Championnet evacuated Rome to concentrate his forces at Terni, and the King of Naples entered the Eternal City in triumph on the 29th of November. But there ended the success of this contemptible expedition: the triumph was immediately followed by shame and by flight. One of Mack's columns, far away on the left, was beaten and scattered like chaff before the wind by 3000 men of the Polish legion, another column, far away on his right, was put to an opprobrious route by the republican general Macdonald, and, after some petty skirmishing in the hills near Terni, the King of Naples fled by night from Rome to his own capital, and Mack, as soon as might be, followed him with such portions of the Neapolitan army as he could get and keep together. Championnet soon followed the fugitives with more than 20,000 men for he had received reinforcements from the north of Italy. On the 21st of December King Ferdinand and his family embarked in Lord Nelson's flag ship, and set sail for Palermo in a gale of wind. The democratic or revolutionary party at Naples, which had been made the more numerous by long and sharp persecution, prepared to co-operate with the advancing French, the lazzaroni, though deserted by their king, and abandoned or betrayed on every side, showed that it was not the quality of courage their country was most destitute of, fought the French desperately for three days on the Capuan road and in their own suburbs, and did not yield the entrance of their fair city until their own treacherous countrymen and townsmen hoisted the tri-colored flag, delivered up the forts to the enemy, and opened a fire upon them from the castle of St. Elmo, which stands on a high hill close behind the town. Championnet took possession of Naples on the 23rd of January, royalty was abolished, and the country in Europe least fitted for such institutions was converted into a republic, under the name of REPUBLICA PARthenopea. The bank could not be robbed, nor could the Monte di Pietà, as the fugitive king had swept them both clean, and had carried off their money with him into Sicily; but the French liberators imposed a contribution of 12,000,000 of francs upon the impoverished inhabitants of the capital, and another contribution of 15,000,000 of francs upon the people of the provinces, made the Neapolitans pay for the support of their army, seized not only the royal property, but also the estates of the church and of the rich monastic orders, ransacked the national museum for choice manuscripts, books, statues, and pictures, and appropriated not only all the curiosities and works of antiquity which had been discovered in Herculaneum and Pompeii, but all such

agreed upon previously to the 1st of Jan.—That allows in force in either kingdom at the time of the union and all courts civil and criminal in each kingdom shall remain as now established subject only to such future alterations as might be requisite to the united parliament.

as might be discovered hereafter. These were ordinary proceedings, but Faypoult, the commissioner and money collector of the Directory, adopted such novelties in sequestration and plunder, of a more private kind, that General Championnet expressed his disgust, and interfered with his authority. The directors, who wanted the money, and who could never tolerate such interference, recalled Championnet, and gave the command of the army to Macdonald.

It was while Naples was thus falling so easy a prey to the French, that her Austrian and Russian allies began collecting on the other side of the Alps. The French negotiators at Rastadt, after demanding from the Emperor of Germany the dismissal of the Russian troops, declared the congress to be dissolved. A republican army forthwith pressed the siege of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which was obliged to capitulate at the end of January. Jourdan then crossed the Rhine once more, and established himself in Suabia. The Directory, however, did not declare war against the Emperor Francis until the month of March, when Jourdan advanced towards the Danube, but again the Archduke Charles met this unlucky republican, and after defeating or weakening him in several rapidly succeeding engagements, he drove Jourdan back over the Rhine in April. Nearly at the same time the Austrian generals Bellegarde and Hotze recovered the Grison country, which had been invaded, drove the French from the St. Gothard, and poured into Switzerland, where General Massena was reduced to act on the defensive. In the month of May Massena occupied a strong position in front of Zurich. In the meanwhile another fine Austrian army had taken the field with old General Melas for its commander. Melas, pouring through the Tyrol towards the end of March, drove all the French outposts before him, entered Upper Italy, cleared all the left bank of the Adige, and obliged Scherer, the unpopular and very inferior general whom the Directory had appointed to the supreme command of their army of Italy, to retire beyond the Mincio in great confusion. Scherer was ignominiously recalled to Paris. He ran the hazard of being torn to pieces by his infuriated soldiers, and he only escaped imprisonment and impeachment by running away and hiding himself in some obscure corner of France, where he lay for a few months until a new revolution overthrew the Directory. Moreau, who had a much higher reputation, took the command, but only to be beaten like Scherer. On the 18th of April, when Melas was driving Moreau before him, the famed Suvaroff came up with some 50,000 Russians, joined the Austrians, and assumed the chief command of both armies. On the 27th of April the battle of Cassano decided the fate of the Cisalpine Republic, the people of which were almost everywhere in open insurrection against the French and the native democrats whom they had set up as a government. The citadels of Brescia and Peschiera surrendered to

the allies, Mantua was closely invested, and Suvaroff entered Milan in triumph. Moreau continued his hasty retreat towards Genoa, hoping to be able to guard the barrier of the Apennines, and to be joined there by Macdonald with the army of Naples, whom he had pressingly summoned to his assistance. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of St. Elmo under the command of Colonel Meggan, and advising the Neapolitan democrats to defend that helpless infant, their three-months-old republic, Macdonald, on the 7th of May, began his rapid march from Naples, got out of the kingdom (not without sustaining considerable loss from some daring royalist partisans), traversed the Roman states and the whole of Lucania, reached the river Trebia, and, being joined by General Victor, ventured to face the Russo-Austrian army. But, after fighting for three days on the banks of the Trebia in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, he was crushed by Suvaroff, and, flying thence towards the pass of the Bocchetta, he joined Moreau with what was only a fragment of his army. Before Macdonald's arrival, Moreau had drawn some reinforcements from Nice and Genoa, and had made some entrenchments on the declivities of the Apennines and in the entrance of the Bocchetta pass behind the Piedmontese town of Novi. Dissatisfied with Moreau, the Directors now sent Joubert to take the command in chief of the army. Joubert stationed himself on the same heights behind Novi, which Moreau had occupied, and improved and extended his field works. But, being attacked in that formidable position by Suvaroff on the 16th of August, Joubert was most thoroughly beaten and was killed in the action by a cannonball, and the miserable wreck of the French army which survived his fall left nearly all their artillery behind them, and fled like sheep over the mountains and through the pass towards the city of Genoa. Shortly after this victory, Suvaroff quitted the Apennines and struck across the Alps to make head against Massena, who had resumed the offensive, and, marching from Zurich, had defeated the Russian corps of General Korsakoff, who had arrived in Switzerland to relieve or co-operate with General Bellegarde and the Austrians. There was some fearful fighting among the craggy precipices and ravines of St. Gothard, which the French had again occupied. Suvaroff swept the republicans back, and opened his way into the heart of Switzerland, but the Austrian general, who had engaged to form a junction with him, was nowhere to be seen, and Korsakoff was too far separated, and too weak, to move to meet him. This obliged Suvaroff to turn aside towards the lake of Constance and the frontiers of Germany. He was interrupted on his march by Massena, but, fighting and retreating, halting and fighting again, he attained his object, and effected a junction with Korsakoff though with an army sadly diminished. Leaving the French once more absolute masters of Switzerland,* the two Russian generals marched away to

* The Archduke Charles, when marching against Massena, was

Augaburg, where they received orders to lead back all their troops to their own country.

The Neapolitan kingdom was recovered in the course of the months of June and July by Cardinal Ruffo, with an army of wild Calabrians, by a motley force of English, Russians, Portuguese, and Turks, and by Lord Nelson and his squadron. A sanguinary vengeance was taken by the vindictive court on the Neapolitan republicans, and the fame of Nelson, who had surrendered his better feelings and judgment to the fascinating Lady Hamilton, the wife of the British minister at that court, the friend of the queen (Caroline of Austria, sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette), and the ready instrument of her vengeance, was obscured by more than one dark deed, which no right-minded Englishman will ever attempt to palliate. A detachment of Nelson's squadron, under Commodore Trowbridge, blockaded the French garrison in Civita Vecchia, the Pope's sea-port town near the mouth of the Tiber. The French soon capitulated, as did also a small garrison which had been left by Champronnet in the castle of St Angelo at Rome. Captain Lewis, with only a few English sailors and marines, rowed up the Tiber in his barge, hosted English hours on the Capitol, and acted for a time as governor of Rome. The Papal Government was reinstated, but to restore the old Pope was beyond the power of our bold man of war's man. Pius VI., on the irruption of the Austrian and Russian armies, had been carried across the Alps into the south of France, and he died at Valence on the Rhone in the month of August. The election of his successor, Pius VII., by thirty-five cardinals assembled at Venice under the protection of the Austrians, was not completed until the month of March, 1800. A detachment from the army of General M. has easily recovered the whole of Fuscany, and, long before the close of the year, hardly anything was left to the French in Italy except Genoa.

When Suvaroff was carrying everything before him in Italy, and when the French seemed fully occupied by the wars in that country, and in Switzerland and Germany, the Emperor Paul sent another Russian force to co-operate with the English in an attack on the French in Holland. It was, however, the month of August before this armament was ready. An army of 80,000 men, of which 17,000 were Russian and the rest British, was collected on the Kentish coast. On the 13th of August Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was intrusted with the chief command, sailed with the first division, consisting of 12,000 British troops embarked in transports and in the squadron of Admiral Mitchel, who was to join the fleet of Admiral (now Lord) Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. The fort of the Helder was imme-

diately abandoned by its garrison, Abercromby landed there; the Texel was occupied by our fleet—the Dutch fleet surrendering or hoisting the Orange flag.* General Brune, with a mixed army of French and Dutch, 25,000 strong, attempted to dislodge Abercromby, who was left for a whole month in a very critical situation. but his inferior force stood its ground manfully, and Brune was repulsed with considerable loss. At last, on the 18th of September another and a stronger division of the Anglo-Russian army arrived, bringing, unfortunately, with it the Duke of York to take the command in chief of the whole. From this moment nothing went well, and, after fighting several battles honourable to the troops, but rather disgraceful in point of generalship, his royal highness was fain to conclude a convention (on the 17th of October), by which it was agreed that the English and Russians should be allowed to re-embark without molestation, and that, as the price for that favour, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be released.

Eight days before this convention or capitulation by the Duke of York, Bonaparte arrived in France. In the month of February he had quitted Cairo with the intention of dispersing the Turkish forces that were collecting near the Syrian frontier, and then of conquering all Syria. Crossing the desert with 10,000 men, he took Gaza, stormed Jaffa, butchered all the prisoners there in cold blood—by *fusillades*, as practised by the Carriers and the other agents of the reign of terror—and carried everything before him, like the Man of Destiny, until he came under the old crumbling walls of Acre. This place, the key of Syria, was defended by the Pasha Djezzar, a very cruel but very resolute old man, by Colonel Philippeaux, an emigrant royalist, and an able officer of engineers, who at one time had been Bonaparte's schoolfellow, and by the brave and alert Sir Sidney Smith, who not merely brought two ships of the line close inshore to maul the besiegers, but also landed some of his sailors and marines. After spending sixty days before the place, making seven or eight assaults, and losing 3000 men, the French raised the siege of Acre,† and on the 21st of May they began their retreat, burning everything behind them, harvest and all. On the 14th of June, Bonaparte re-entered Cairo. During his absence, General Desaix, ascending the Nile, had driven the remnant

* This fleet consisted of eight ships of the line, three of 64 guns, eight of 44 and seven of inferior rates. There were also four large Indiamen in the Texel. The ships were brought over to England, but as they had hoisted the Orange colour it was considered necessary to raise the Prince of Orange, the ex-tyrant, for them.

† When a prisoner in the island of St Helena, Bonaparte said that the fate of the East lay within the narrow walls of Acre. — Once possessed of Acre, the army would have gone to Damascus and the Euphrates; the Christians of Syria, the Druses, the Armenians would have joined us. The provinces of the Ottoman empire which speak Arabic were ready for a change and were only waiting for a man.

With 100,000 men on the banks of the Euphrates I might have gone to Constantinople or to India. I might have changed the face of the world. I should have found an army in the East and the destiny of France would have run in a different course! — *Les Caux.*

• Bouthey



VIEW OF ACRA

of the Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, and beyond the cataracts of Assouan, but this expedition had no other importance than that of affording the exaggerative French artists, and the *sarans*, as they were called, the opportunity of visiting the monuments of Thebes, Dendera, and other ancient places. In July, Bonaparte, with nearly his whole army, was called down to the coast—to the point where Nelson had annihilated the French fleet,—for a Turkish army of 18,000 men had landed at Aboukir. On the 25th of July a terrible battle took place on the sandy coast. The Turks fought with admirable courage, but their irregular, undisciplined, unformed masses could not stand long against masses of French that were even in number nearly equal to their own. 10,000 of them perished, by shot, bayonet, or in the sea, where they threw themselves in the hopes of reaching their ships. Soon after this battle of Aboukir, Bonaparte began to make secret preparations for getting back to Europe. If, as some have suspected, one strong inducement which led him to quit France at a critical moment, and embark on this wild Egyptian expedition, had really been to allow the five kings at the Luxembourg time and opportunity to disgust the French people with their profligacy and ineptness, and to prove how essential he was to French victory and conquest by or through the failures of the other republican generals, he had most completely succeeded in his object. Letters from his brothers Joseph and Lucien, and from his numerous friends in Paris, informed him that Italy was lost, that the French armies were being beaten everywhere; that the directors were quarrelling among themselves—were intriguing and quarrel-

ling with the two legislative councils, and that the people, whose rage for liberty and equality was now merged in military pride and a passion for conquest—with those good things which the conquests of rich countries bring with them—seemed heartily sick of Directory, Ancients, and Cinq Cents, and ripe and ready for another revolution.

Two small frigates which lay in the harbour of Alexandria were got ready for sea, and on the 23rd of August, leaving behind him his army, now reduced to 20,000 men and taking with him his favourite officers, Murat, Lannes, Berthier, Marmont, and three of the *sarans*, he embarked secretly in one of the frigates, and set sail for France. Though happy to escape the comfortless life in Egypt, most of those who went with him expected to be stopped on their passage, and carried prisoners of war to England, but the extraordinary fortunes of the man favoured him still, and, without being pursued, or even seen, by any of our ships, he landed in the Gulf of Fréjus, to the eastward of Toulon, on the 9th of October. He had been at Paris two days, privately consulting with chiefs of parties and officers of the army, before the directors knew of his arrival. Augereau, who had fought by his side at Arcole, who had surrounded the Tuileries with troops and artillery, and had purged out two former directors and all the refractory members of the legislature, on the 18th Fructidor, 1797,* and who was now ready to do whatsoever Bonaparte might command, was one of the first to wait upon him. In the course of a few days Talleyrand gave his counsels the benefit of all his craft and ability. Abbé Sieyès, though now one of the directors him-

* See note, p. 557.

self, had made the notable discovery that his last constitution was a great deal too democratic, had conceived a mortal hatred to his brother director Barras, whom he accused of downright Jacobinism and sans culottism, and was now ready to co-operate with the ambitious general, duping himself into the absurd belief that Bonaparte would remain in allegiance to him and to another perfect constitution which he had, all ready, in his portfolio. Roger Ducos, another of the directors, yielded to circumstances. Lucien Bonaparte had just succeeded in obtaining the presidency of the Council of Five Hundred, and was thus in a condition to render important services to his brother. Cambaceres, minister of justice, and the atrocious Louche, now minister of police, went with the strongest party, and powerfully seconded the views of Bonaparte and Sieyes. Even Barras, the early friend of the young Corsican officer, after listening to two or three private confidences to the persuasive tongue of Talleyrand, and to splendid offers of honours and riches, agreed to give up the last shred of his pretended republicanism, and to remove all opposition by sending in his resignation. The two directors, who remained to support the present constitution and resist a military dictatorship, were Gohier and Moulins, a couple of blockheads, who had obtained their places through their known incapacity, which would allow their associates to do with them as they pleased. The Council of Ancients were easily persuaded of the necessity of a new constitution, but a great majority of the Council of Five Hundred vowed that they would die for the constitution they had got. On the 19th Brumaire, or 10th of November, just one month and a day after Bonaparte's landing at Frejus, the business was finished by Murat and a detachment of grenadiers with leveled bayonets: the Council of Five Hundred was cleared in a trice, most of the members jumped out of the windows—not one of them stood to die. On that night all the ardent republicans were proscribed, three provisional consuls (for the government was now to be consular) were appointed—and who so fit to be consuls as Abbe Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte? On the following day the rising general took up his residence in the Luxembourg, the palace of the ex-Directors. At the first sitting of the three consuls Roger Ducos said, "The general takes the chair of course." Bonaparte seated himself in the president's chair as though it had been a throne, and the throne of an absolute monarchy to which he had succeeded in due course of inheritance. Sieyes was quite chaffed, for he found he had placed a master over his head. The daring irreverent soldier, who had no thought of confining himself to the military department, as the civilians who had worked with him had calculated he would do, treated the logician's last masterpiece with no more respect than he would have treated an order of the day, or a dispatch badly written out by a blundering aide-

de-camp; and he chipped, cut, and hacked Sieyes's new constitution, until it was no longer recognizable. Sieyes had strengthened the executive, but not half enough for Bonaparte, but both the original scheme and the modification of it deprived the French people of every direct election of their representatives, and set up a tripartite legislature which could only become slavish and contemptible. As finally promulgated on the 24th of December, this "Constitution of the Year VIII," as it is called, established three consuls, or a chief consul with two inferior ones, who were to have only a deliberative voice, the first or chief consul having the power of appointing to all public offices, and of proposing all public measures, such as peace or war, while he also commanded the forces, and superintended both the internal and foreign departments of the state. There were—1 A Senate called Conservative, composed of only eighty members, appointed for life, and enjoying high salaries, 2 A Legislative Body, of three hundred members, one fifth of whom were to be renewed annually, 3 A Tribunal, of one hundred members, of whom also one fifth were to be renewed every year. The consuls chose the senate, and the senate chose, out of lists of candidates presented by the electoral colleges, both the legislative body and the tribunal. The consuls, or rather the first consul, had the initiative, or the sole right of proposing acts of legislation, the senate was to sit privately with closed doors, the legislative body was to vote, but not debate or speak, all the speaking being reserved to the tribunal. The process was this—the first consul sent in his project of law to the tribunal, who debated it, but without voting upon it, for the voting was reserved for the legislative body, who were not allowed to speak, when the tribunal had debated the project, they left the business to the legislative body, who silently voted by ballot, and then returned the act to the quarter where it had originated, or to the consul, who made it law by putting his signature to it and promulgating it. Left perfectly free to choose his own two satellites, Bonaparte would have retained Sieyes, but the ex-abbé preferred taking the place of senator, with the yearly salary of 25,000 francs, and the royal domain of Crosne in the park of Versailles. Cambaceres and Lebrun, who had both been brought up to the law, were appointed second and third consuls. Roger Ducos was also put into the senate. The first consul very soon removed from the Luxembourg to the palace of the Tuileries, where he lived with royal state. He now wrote to the King of England, as one sovereign writes to another, expressing a wish for peace, but without stating any conditions. George III, who could scarcely do otherwise, gave the epistle to his secretary for foreign affairs, to answer it. Lord Grenville addressed his reply, not to the first consul, but to Talleyrand, now the French minister for foreign affairs. Talleyrand replied, Lord Grenville rejoined, and there the matter ended. Our

opposition orators attached great importance to the overture, which was the hollowest of all that had been made, for the first consul was preparing at the moment to recover Italy, and was determined to keep Switzerland, Savoy, Nice, Belgium, Holland, and all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

In the course of this year Tippoo Sultaun was destroyed. To recover what he had lost in the last war, he had sent an embassy to Cabul to bring the Affghan tribes down into India, he had negotiated or intrigued with the Nizam of the Deccan, and with other native princes, and, towards the end of 1797, he had sent two ambassadors to the Isle of France to propose an alliance with the French republic, and to request an immediate supply of troops (30,000 or 40,000 men Tippoo thought would be sufficient) to enable him to expel the English from every part of Hindustan. The governor of the Isle of France, who was daily expecting a visit from the English, had no troops to spare, but he forwarded Tippoo's letters to Paris, and allowed his two ambassadors to enrol about 150 Frenchmen, "the refuse of the democratic rabble of the island," some of whom were living in gaol at the time. But, when the moment came for embarking, nearly one-half of these desperadoes refused to go to conquer India. Some sixty or seventy of them, however, arrived at Mangalore, and thence proceeded to Tippoo's capital, where one of their first operations was to set up a tree of liberty, surmounted by the red mitre of liberty and equality. They next organised a Jacobin club in Seringapatam, and bestowed upon the bewildered Oriental despot the republican appellation of *Citizen Tippoo*.* As soon as Bonaparte had arrived in Egypt he had dispatched a letter to Tippoo, requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberatum* of India, but it appears doubtful whether this epistle ever reached the Sultan. The embassy to the Isle of France, the arrival of Frenchmen at Seringapatam (but not their number), the intrigues set on foot in various parts of the country, and the fact that Tippoo was rapidly increasing his army, all became known to the government at Calcutta. The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquess Wellesley), who was now governor general, determined to anticipate the Sultan, and, after demanding explanations which were never given, his lordship sent General Harris into the Mysore country with 24,000 men, and called up General Stuart with the Bombay army of about 7000 men to co-operate with Harris.† General Harris, moreover, was joined at Vellore by a strong British detachment serving with the Nizam,

and by some regiments of sepoys which the Nizam had raised, and which were officered by Englishmen. Harris entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March (1799), and moved straight on for Seringapatam, reducing all the forts in his way. General Stuart's advance was attended with greater difficulty, and with some loss, for he was encountered by the main army of Tippoo. On the 27th of March, when Harris was within two days' march of Seringapatam, he found the active Sultan drawn up to oppose him. In the action which ensued Colonel Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) particularly distinguished himself, and it was his regiment, the 33rd, that decided the affair. Tippoo then retreated, and threw himself with his whole army into Seringapatam, the fortifications of which had been improved and increased since General Abercromby's attack in 1792. On the 5th of April General Harris took up ground for the siege, and on the 14th he was joined by General Stuart with the Bombay army. Now Tippoo sent the most humble letters and messages, but it was too late, and at no time could the slightest confidence be placed in him, or in any treaty that he might sign. On the 30th of April the besiegers began to batter in breach, and on the 4th of May Seringapatam was stormed and captured. Two of his sons were taken alive, but Tippoo fell near one of the gates, and was found, not without a diligent search, buried under a heap of dead bodies.* His territories were immediately divided among his enemies: the English kept Seringapatam, with the island on which it is situated, the whole of his territory on the Malabar coast, the district of Coimbatore, with all the country that intervened between the Company's possessions on the western and their possessions on the eastern coast, thus obtaining a direct communication and uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea; the Nizam of the Deccan obtained a more inland country, affording a revenue equal to that yielded by the country which the English appropriated, and another great tract of country was conferred, as a separate and nominally independent state, on a child, the descendant of the ancient Hindu Rajahs, who had been dispossessed by Tippoo's father, Ildeer Ali. In consequence of these successes British India, instead of being invaded, was enabled to send an armament across the ocean and up the Red Sea, to assist in driving the French invaders out of Egypt.

The British parliament was assembled as early as the 24th of September, when the government entertained sanguine hopes of success for the Anglo-Russian army in Holland. A bill was instantly introduced to facilitate the reinforcing our regular army, by allowing three-fifths of the militia of each county to enlist in the regulars for service within Europe, and it was passed into a law on the 4th of October. The remainder of the session, previous

* It appears that a great party of these discontented Frenchmen who arrived in India and set up the absurd novelty of a Jacobin club in the capital of Mysore, were Caffres and half-castes.

These Seringapatam Jacobins were distinguished by this peculiarity, that the members were required to swear hatred to tyranny, the love of liberty, and the destruction of all kings and sovereigns—except the good and faithful ally of the French republic, CITIZEN TIPPOO.

† Most of these sepoys were Europeans, the number of Europeans in Harris's army was not much above 6000, in Stuart's army it fell short of 8000.

* Tippoo's body was warm when first discovered, his eyes were wide open, and Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan debated for some minutes whether he were not alive. He had four wounds, three in the body and one in his temple.

to the Christmas recess, was occupied by commercial and financial matters

A D 1800 After the recess the sense of parliament was shown by divisions which took place on an address to the king in approbation of the conduct pursued towards the first consul. In the Lords there were 79 votes for the address to 6 against it, and in the Commons 260 to 64. "As a sincere lover of peace," said Pitt, "I will not sacrifice it, by grasping at the shadow, when the substance is not within my reach." In replying to Mr Erskine, who had published a pamphlet to prove that England and her allies had been the first aggressors, and had contracted the guilt of beginning a war with France without necessity or provocation, Pitt exposed the inaccuracy of dates, and the false reasoning of all those who had spoken or written on that side of the question. He declared that the causes of war which existed at the beginning, or arose during the course of the discussions with M Chauvelin, were such as would have justified twenty times over, a declaration of war on the part of this country. It was only recently that any party or person in France had thought of accusing England of being the cause of this destructive war. All the different parties in France had accused one another of plunging their country into an unnecessary contest with England; thus the friends of Brissot charged Robespierre with the war with this country, and the friends of R 1 spierre charged it on Brissot, but both accusing England. The testimonies of the French governments during the whole interval since the declaration of Pillnitz, gave the broadest contradiction to the insinuations now made that England had gone into the war through ambition and with views of conquest, partition, or dismemberment. He thought it necessary to recall to memory the state of the continent, and the innumerable aggressions of the French, many months before the war began—the demand made by France upon Holland to open the navigation of the Scheldt, on the ground of a general and a national right, in violation of positive treaties—the discovery of that sacred law of nature which made the Rhine and the Alps the legitimate boundaries of France—the assumption of the power which the French had affected to exercise ever since, of superseding, by a new metaphysical code of their own, all the recognised principles of the law of nations—the violated neutrality of small and weak states, and the clear intimation that all countries who were not friends to the new principles would be considered and treated as enemies—the confirmed practice of sending secret agents into every country in Europe to inoculate the people with the Jacobin virus, and drive them into sedition and open rebellion against their established governments, whether constitutional or despotic. "They had already shown their moderation and self-denial by incorporating Belgium with the French republic. These lovers of peace, who set out with a sworn aversion to conquest, and with professions of respect for the independence of

other nations, who now pretend that they departed from this system only in consequence of your aggression, themselves, in a time of peace, while England was still confessedly neutral, without the pretence or shadow of a provocation, wrested Savoy from the king of Sardinia, and proceeded to incorporate it likewise with France. These were their aggressions at that period when we were at peace with them, and there were far more aggressions than these." They had issued an universal declaration of war against all the thrones of Europe, and they had, by their conduct, applied it particularly and specifically to us. They had passed their decree of the 19th of November, 1792, proclaiming the promise of French succour to all nations who should manifest the wish to revolutionize themselves." Pitt asserted distinctly and positively, and with documents in his hand to prove it, that from the middle of the year 1791, when the rumour was first heard that the emperor of Germany was taking measures to check the torrent, and till late in the year 1792, we were not only no parties to any of the projects imputed to the emperor, but we wholly declined all communications with him on the subject of France, while to Prussia, with whom we were in connexion, and still more decisively to Holland, with whom we were in close and intimate correspondence, we uniformly stated our unalterable resolution to maintain neutrality, and avoid interference in the internal affairs of France, so long as France should refrain from hostile measures against us and our allies. No minister of England had had any authority to treat with foreign states, even provisionally, for any warlike concert, till after the battle of Jemappé—till a period subsequent to the repeated provocations which had been offered to us, and subsequent particularly to the decree of fraternity of the 19th of November. After dwelling upon the seizure of the pope's city and territory of Avignon, and the atrocities committed there by the revolutionists, and upon the seizure of a portion of the dominions of the bishop of Basle, Pitt reminded the House how in one year (1792) the French had hurled a declaration of war against Austria, against Prussia, and against the German empire—a declaration which could have been justified only on the ground of a combination and league of sovereigns for the dismemberment of France, and he then added, with great warmth, "I say that some of the documents brought to support this pretence are spurious and false, I say, that in the documents that are not so there is not one word to prove the charge principally relied upon—that of an intention to effect the dismemberment of France, or to impose upon it, by force, any particular constitution. I say that, as far as we have been able to trace what passed at Pillnitz, the declaration there signed referred to the imprisonment of Louis XVI. its immediate view was to effect his deliverance, if a concert sufficiently extensive could be formed with other sovereigns for that purpose. It left the internal state of France to be decided by the king

restored to his liberty, with the free consent of the states of his kingdom, and it did not contain one word relative to the dismemberment of France." He insisted that the explanations which Austria offered to France were in themselves satisfactory, and sufficient to have prevented any war between those two powers, if one of them had not been fully determined to have war, that the then minister for foreign affairs at Paris (M Delessart) had announced that there was a great prospect of an amicable termination to the discussions, but that it was notorious, and had since been clearly proved, on the authority of Brissot himself, that the violent party in France considered such an issue of the negotiation as likely to be fatal to their projects, and thought, to use Brissot's own words, that "*war was necessary to vindicate the revolution*." Hence followed rioting and insurrection at Paris, the dismissal of M Delessart, a most insolent and arrogant ultimatum, and then a declaration of war against Austria, a war which was nothing but a war of aggression on the part of France. The king of Prussia had declared that he should consider war against the emperor or the empire as war against himself, that, as a co-estate of the empire, he must defend its rights, that, as an ally of the emperor, he must support him if attacked, and that, for the sake of his own dominions, he felt himself called upon to resist the progress of French principles, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe. With this notice before her, France declared war against the emperor, and the war with Prussia was the necessary consequence of this aggression. The war against the king of Sardinia followed next. The declaration of that war was the seizure of Savoy by the republicans, who had found out, by some light of nature, that the Rhine and the Alps were the natural limits of France. With respect to Spain the war was evidently and incontestably begun by France. Beyond the Alps the king of Naples had been outrageously insulted in his capital, and the whole coast of Italy had been threatened with destruction, long before any prince or government in that peninsula thought of joining the coalition. Pitt drew a striking picture of the proceedings which had since taken place in that beautiful country, the virtual deposition of the king of Sardinia, the conversion of Genoa and Tuscany into democratic republics, the revolution of Venice, and the iniquitous transfer of that ancient republic to Austria, the expulsion of some of the helpless princes, the plunder of them all, the beggary brought upon all the upper classes of Italians, and the anarchy and demoralization introduced among the poorer citizens. He bade the House look at the fate of Switzerland, and at the circumstances which led to the destruction of that unoffending and devoted country—"a country which had long been the faithful ally of France, which had never given any cause of jealousy to any other power, which had been for ages proverbial for the simplicity and innocence of its manners, and which had acquired and preserved

the esteem of all the nations of Europe—which had almost, by the common consent of mankind, been exempted from the sound of war, and marked out as a land of Goshen, safe and untouched in the midst of surrounding calamities." He asked whether the disasters of Switzerland—of all Europe—were to be charged upon the provocation of England and her allies, or upon the inherent principles of the French revolution, which, after causing such misery and carnage at home, had carried desolation and terror over so large a portion of the world? This inherent principle of the revolution was nothing but an insatiable love of aggrandisement, coupled with an implacable spirit of destruction directed against all the civil and religious institutions of every country. Thus, the first moving and acting spirit of the French revolution, was the spirit which animated it at its birth, which grew with its growth, and strengthened with its strength. It had been invariably the same in every period, and under the dominion of every party, it had been inherent in the revolution in all its stages, it had equally belonged to Brissot, to Robespierre, to Tallien, to Rewbell, to Barras, and to every one of the leaders of the Directory, but to none more than to Bonaparte, in whom all powers were now concentrated and united. He mentioned the seizure of the island of Malta and the invasion of Egypt. "The all-searching eye of the French revolution," said he, "looks to every part of Europe, and every quarter of the globe, in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition—nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its insatiable city." The character and position of Bonaparte, and the habits and condition of the French people, alike precluded the hope of any honourable or lasting peace. In treating with them, the most that we could expect would be a hollow truce of some twelve or eighteen months' duration, and then, if tempted by the appearance of some fresh insurrection in Ireland, encouraged by renewed and unrestricted communication with France, and fomented by a fresh infusion of Jacobin principles, Bonaparte taking advantage of the reduced state of our fleets, of the disembodiment of our militia, of the reduction of our regular army, might tell us that the hollow truce was at an end by suddenly landing 30,000 men on the Irish coast.

On the 17th of February a debate took place on a royal message, in which his majesty, after intimating that he was concerting such engagements with the Emperor of Germany, the Elector of Bavaria, and other powers of the empire, as might materially conduce to the advantage of the common cause in the course of the ensuing campaign, stated that, in order to insure the benefit of this co-operation at an early period, he was desirous of authorising his minister to make (provisionally) such advances of money as might be necessary in the first instance for this purpose, and his majesty recommended it to the House to enable him to make such provision. Pitt declared that 500,000*l*. and

no more was the sum which it would be necessary to advance "by way of commencement." Mr Tierney objected in strong terms to every part of the proposition, taxed Pitt with special-pleading ambiguity, and defied him to state the real aim and object of the war. "He defies me," replied the minister, "to state in one sentence what is the object of the war. Not in one sentence, but in one word I can tell him, that it is *SECURITY*—security against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world! It is security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society—against a danger which threatens all the nations of the earth!" The motion was carried by 162 against 19. A proposal for an inquiry into the causes of the disgraces which had attended our arms in Holland—an inquiry which might have been productive of much good, if it could only have been conducted in the right spirit and with proper moderation—was instantly quashed by the huge ministerial majority. The total of the supplies voted for the year was 47,490,739*l*. In detailing his ways and means Pitt now estimated his income-tax at only 3,300,000*l*., but expressed a confident hope that it would soon yield a great deal more. He negotiated a new loan of 20,500,000*l*. by annuities, and imposed a variety of new taxes. On the annual motion for renewing the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus bill, there was a very stormy debate, but the measure was carried by the usual majorities. The attempt of the maniac, Hadfield, on the 15th of May,* to shoot the king in Drury

* The king on this day ran more than one risk of losing his life. In the morning, while attending the sick exercises of the Grenadier battalion at the Guards division, one of the soldiers fired a rifle was fired from the musket of one of the soldiers and the ball hit a Mr. Ogilby, a clerk in the navy office who was standing only a few yards from the king. A rapid examination was made of the cut-throat wound at the side of the head, but it did not lead to any serious consequences. The king then fired the ball. In the evening, the king entered the box at Drury Lane as usual in the pit standing, near the orchestra and just under the box disburged a pistol at him. On hearing the report his musket which had advanced about 100 paces from the door stopped and stood firmly. The man was instantly seized and carried behind the scenes. The king apparently not in the least disturbed, came forward to the front of the box, and then the crowd of very loyal audience cheered enthusiastically, and made the performance sing. Outside the king's box. In the green room it was presently discovered that the man, though now a workman, silver-smith (in which trade he had been brought up) had recently been a soldier, and had served on the Continent in the 10th light dragoons, that he had been repeatedly and badly wounded, particularly in the head, and that though now a drut nail on most joints he was insane on them. As the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York entered the room he said to the duke, "I know your royal highness—your name is—you are a good fellow—I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye), and another long scar on his cheek! I got these and most than these, in fighting by your side! At 11 o'clock I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I did not nearly broken, I was shot and eight sabre wounds in my head. I recovered and here I am! When asked what had induced him to attempt the life of his sovereign, he replied that he had not attempted to kill the king—that he had fired purely out of the royal box—had he was as good as shot away in England and must have hit the king if he had tried—that he was weary of life, willing to die, but not to die by his own hands, that he had hoped the people would have fallen upon him and killed him and that now he hoped the law would finish him. To the question whether he belonged to any of the political societies he answered No—that he only belonged to a club of Old Fellows and to a benefit society. After this he began to talk very incoherently about dreams and visions and a great commission he had received in his sleep—about martyrdom and persecution and especially some mysterious persecutions he had undergone in France. He was tried in the Court of King's Bench for high treason. He was not nearly proved that he had been, for some time insane, and he was therefore acquitted, but not discharged. In the month of July 1800 he found means to escape from Bedlam, but two days after he was re-taken at a public house in Deal, and brought back to London. The rest of his life was spent

Lane Theatre, led to the insertion of two additional clauses in the Insanity Bill, by which the privilege of bail allowed to alleged lunatics was considerably abridged, and the personal safety of the sovereign, which had been so often endangered by the attempts of insane individuals, was specially consulted. The scarcity of corn continued to excite serious alarm, and a committee of each House was appointed to consider of the most effectual means for remedying this distress. These committees neither brought any great store of knowledge to the subject nor displayed any great fertility of invention: they could do little more than recommend the use of brown bread instead of white, and of stale instead of new bread. After much discussion a bill was brought in and passed, prohibiting the sale of bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours, it being generally admitted by the noble and honourable members of the committees, and by the reputable London bakers, that people would eat a smaller quantity of stale bread than of new. On the same day that this bill was passed into a law the Archbishop of Canterbury recommended a series of resolutions, and a voluntary association, by which each of their lordships should bind himself to lessen as much as possible the consumption of bread and flour in his family, and endeavour to introduce the use of such articles as might be conveniently substituted in the place thereof.* The resolutions of the archbishop, being reduced to the proper form recommended by the lord chancellor, were passed unanimously in the Upper House, and a message was sent to the Commons to acquaint them that their lordships had come to the said resolutions and agreement. The Commons forthwith concurred with their lordships; and subsequently the example was followed very generally by persons of superior wealth and condition throughout the kingdom. Bounties were granted on the importation of grain not only from America and the Mediterranean, but also from the Baltic; encouragement was given to the fisheries, the corn-mills were placed under certain regulations, and for the present the distilleries were all stopped. The opposition, without attempting to suggest any better cure for the existing evil, laboured to show that the scarcity of corn arose solely out of the war, and that the continuance of hostilities must subject the country to

between Newgate and the mad house, and he died in New Bedlam only a few years ago. We saw him in Newgate, lower and associating with other prisoners of nearly every description about the year 1813. He was then a good looking, soldier like man, with scarcely any visible signs of insanity. But we were informed that he was subject to occasional ravings, and that any excess in drinking drove him into a furious state. And yet when we saw him, he was as loud as any drinking man we ever all day long!

* One of these resolutions was thus solemnly worded:—"We the undersigned agree that, until the 10th day of October next we will not consume, nor permit to be consumed, in any week within our respective families, more wheat bread than in the proportion of one quarter loaf for each of the individuals of whom our said families may be composed, and also that during the same period, we will discontinue and cause to be discontinued within our said families, all *gossy*."

Before this Mr. Wilberforce, in the Commons had earnestly recommended the prohibition of fancy rules and laws, and the prohibition of the use of oats, except for the use of *oats*, and *oats* in the service of government.

all the horrors of famine and pestilence Pitt complained of the insidious use made of this language in promoting certain measures out of doors—meaning hereby petitions for peace, petitions for parliamentary reform, &c.—and insisted that nothing could be more unfair in reasoning than to connect the present scarcity with the war, or to insinuate that its prosecution would interfere with those supplies which we might require.

At first the Irish parliament testified no great willingness to accede to the Union. The resolutions which had passed the British parliament in 1799 excited a terrible storm in Dublin and other towns, but it was observed that a large proportion of the Roman Catholic party, who had suffered most by the late rebellion, preserved a sullen neutrality. When the Irish Commons debated the address proposed by ministers in answer to the speech from the throne, in January, 1799, it was carried by a majority of only one vote. Yet, on the 15th of January, 1800 a motion made in the same House to declare their disapprobation of an Incorporating Union was negatived by a majority of 42, the numbers being 138 against 96. On the 5th of February the whole plan of the Union was detailed by Lord Castlereagh, then principal secretary for Ireland. In addition to the resolutions already mentioned, as adopted by the British parliament, it was now proposed that the number of Irish peers to be admitted to the House of Lords of the United Kingdoms should be four Irish spiritual by rotation of sessions, and twenty eight lords temporal elected for life by the peers of Ireland, and that the number of representatives to be admitted into the House of Commons should be one hundred. The storm of opposition rose to a hurricane, but Lord Castlereagh's motion was carried in the Irish Commons by 158 against 115, and in the Lords the measure of the Union was agreed to by a great majority. On the 13th of March Sir John Parnell, a determined anti-unionist, intimated his conviction that improper influences had been employed over the present representatives of the Irish people, and that it would be proper to take the sense of the nation in a less questionable manner, and he moved an address to request his majesty to dissolve the present and convoke another parliament—a kind of Irish conventional parliament. Mr. Saurin spoke strongly in support of the motion, and of a direct appeal to the Irish people. The solicitor-general accused him of “unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion.” Mr. Egan accused the solicitor-general and other members of administration of having unfurled “the flag of prostitution and corruption.” In the end Parnell's motion was negatived by a large majority. After some more vehement debates the whole plan of the Union was approved by the same parliament which the year before had all but rejected it *in toto*, and on the 27th of March the two Irish Houses agreed in a joint address, informing his majesty that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely cal-

culated to form the basis of an incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, that they had adopted them as their guide, and now felt it their duty to lay before his majesty the resolutions to which they had agreed, and which, if they should be approved by the two Houses of the parliament of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by mutual consent of both parliaments. On the 2nd of April this address, together with the resolutions, was laid before the British parliament. In the Upper House Lord Holland contended that a Union would not remedy the discontents of the various descriptions of persons composing the Irish community, that it would not insure a redress of their grievances, but would increase that influence which was already the object of general complaint, that it was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish people, and that, if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connexion between the two countries, and might possibly produce irreparable mischief. Lord Grenville defended the measure as equally beneficial to both kingdoms, and, while eighty one peers voted with Grenville, only two—the Earl of Derby and Lord King—divided with Lord Holland. In the Commons it was held by some of the opposition that the Union would injure our constitution, inasmuch as the influence of the crown arising from places in Ireland, being now to be concentrated upon only one hundred members, instead of three hundred, the former number of the Irish House of Commons, it must necessarily be augmented. Pitt replied that he wished not to augment the influence of the crown, that the system proposed was rather calculated to favour the popular interest, that the members for Irish counties and principal cities would be sixty at least, the remaining thirty two members being to be elected by towns the most considerable in population and wealth, and that, as the proposed addition would not make any change in the internal form of British representation, it would entail none of those dangers which might attend innovation. He said that, if anything could counterbalance the advantages that must result from the Union, it would be the necessity of disturbing in any way the representation of England; but that, most fortunately, no such necessity existed. He went on—“In stating this, I have not forgotten what I have myself formerly said and sincerely felt upon the subject of parliamentary reform, but I know that all opinions must necessarily be subservient to times and circumstances, and that man who talks of his consistency merely because he holds the same opinion for ten or fifteen years, when the circumstances under which that opinion was originally formed are totally changed, is a slave to the most idle vanity. Seeing all that I have seen since the period to which I allude, considering how little chance there is of that species of reform to which alone I looked, and which is as dif-

ferent from the modern schemes of reform as the latter are from the constitution, seeing that where the greatest changes have taken place the most dreadful consequences have ensued, and which have not been confined to the country where they originated but have spread their malignant influence to almost every part of the globe, shaking the fabric of every government, seeing that in this general shock the constitution of Great Britain has alone remained pure and untouched in its vital principles, . . . I say, when I consider all these circumstances, I should be ashamed of myself, if any former opinions of mine could now induce me to think that the form of representation which, in such times as the present, has been found amply sufficient for the purpose of protecting the interests and securing the happiness of the people, should be idly and wantonly disturbed from any love of experiment or any predilection for theory. Upon this subject, I think it right to state the inmost thoughts of my mind, I think it right to declare my most decided opinion, that, even if the times were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest change in such a constitution must be considered as an evil." In conclusion, Pitt proposed the immediate adoption of the resolutions voted by the Irish parliament. Mr Grey moved an amendment, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish Union till the sentiments of the Irish people respecting that measure can be ascertained." This amendment was rejected by 236 against 90. The three first resolutions were then carried without opposition, and, all proceedings both in Ireland and in England relative to this great national measure being concluded in the month of June, the Act of Union received the royal assent on the 2nd of July. On the 19th parliament was prorogued, the speech from the throne expressing peculiar satisfaction at the effecting of an entire union between the two islands, which his majesty would ever consider as the happiest event of his reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to the happiness of his Irish subjects, and to the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire. But there were other less cheerful notes in the royal speech, for the course of the campaign on the Continent had, by a sudden reverse, disappointed the sanguine hopes which had been entertained at its commencement.

Bonaparte tells us himself that the answer from London filled him with secret satisfaction, as war was necessary to maintain union and energy in the state, which was ill organised, as also to maintain his own influence over the imagination of the French people. But notwithstanding this secret satisfaction, he in public pretended to be greatly grieved, and in a proclamation to the French people he complained of the obstinate hostility of the English, and called upon the French to furnish men and money in order to acquire peace by force of arms. Giving the command of the army of the

Rhine to Moreau, the First Consul assumed the direction of the army of Italy. Having made a demonstration of assembling an army at Dijon in Burgundy, where he never collected more than a few thousand men, mostly raw recruits or old invalids, Bonaparte secretly directed a number of regiments from the interior of France to assemble in Switzerland, in the town of Lausanne and along the Lake of Geneva. The Austrians, lulled into security, continued their operations against Genoa and on the side of Nice, recovering the greater part of that maritime country, and menacing the old French frontier beyond it. On the 13th of May the First Consul himself appeared at Lausanne, and prepared to march, with about 36,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, up the Great St Bernard, which had till then been considered impracticable for the passage of an army with artillery. His left wing, 15,000 strong, under Moncey, was ordered to cross the Alps by the pass of St Gothard, while, on his right, 5000 men under Turreau were to cross at Mont Cenis, and 5000 more, under Chabran, were to pass by the way of the Little St Bernard. The passage of the Great St Bernard was attended with the greatest difficulty, lying for the best part of the way among rocks and precipices and eternal snows. The cannons were dismounted, put into the hollowed trunks of trees, and dragged by the soldiers, the carriages were taken to pieces and carried on mules, or, slung upon poles, were borne on men's shoulders. The powder and shot were packed into boxes of fir wood, which were carefully lashed on the backs of mules. Every mule, nearly every sturdy peasant in those Alps was hired or pressed into the service, so that, as the artillery was not heavy, the baggage, as usual, very light, and the command of labour immense, both the fatigue and the difficulty must be considerably exaggerated in most of the French accounts of this enterprise. On the 16th of May Bonaparte's vanguard under Lannes descended from the Great St Bernard into the beautiful Piedmontese valley of Aosta, being closely followed by the other divisions. On the 17th Lannes drove in a detachment of Austrians, who were as much astonished at the appearance of the French in that quarter as if the enemy had descended from the clouds. Between Aosta and Ivrea the fort of Bard commanded the direct road, the deep and narrow pass which leads into the Piedmontese plains, and which at that point is not above fifty yards wide, with rocks on either hand, and the rapid river Dora running in the midst. The French van in their haste came suddenly upon it, and, after making a useless attempt to carry the fort, they fell into a panic. But Bonaparte came up and ordered that Fort Bard should be turned, and this was done by climbing the heights of Alaredo. He then pushed forward, driving several Austrian divisions before him, for the Ticino, on the banks of which river he was to be joined by Moncey, Chabran, and Turreau, who had passed the barrier of the Alps by easier roads. On the 2nd of June Bonaparte entered Milan with-



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out any opposition, and was there joined by some of his divisions. On the 5th of June, after his soldiers had eaten their shoes and the leather of their knapsacks, Massena gave up Genoa to the Austrian general Ott and Admiral Lord Keith. More than a week before this event Melas the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army advised of the descent of the First Consul into Italy by so unexpected a route, retraced his steps through the Nissard country and the territories of the Genoese republic, being followed by Suchet who had been contending almost incessantly on the old frontier line of France. With considerable rapidity the old Austrian concentrated his scattered forces at Alessandria, a well fortified town in the open plain of Piedmont. We must pass over the minor operations and combats to come to the decisive affair. Marching to meet Melas, Bonaparte crossed the Po at Piacenza, drove back Melas's advanced guard, and took up a position in the plain of Marengo, on the right bank of the insignificant river Bormida, and close in front of Alessandria. On the very next day, the 14th of June, Melas came out of Alessandria, crossed the Bormida in three columns, and attacked the French. For a long time the Austrians carried everything before them, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the battle seemed lost to the French, who were retiring on all points, and in considerable disorder. Melas, oppressed by age and infirmities, exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, and fondly fancying the victory to be secured, quitted the field and returned to Alessandria. The commander-in-chief was scarcely gone ere his advancing and victorious column was suddenly confronted by a fresh French division

under General Desaix, and was presently afterwards charged in flank by a mass of heavy cavalry commanded by the younger Kellermann. But for the opportune arrival of Desaix and Kellermann, the main army of the First Consul was clearly ruined and nothing but the extraordinary luck of the man and some new blunder or torpidity on the part of the Austrians could have allowed him to recross the Alps otherwise than as a fugitive.* But now his flying columns rallied, and the Austrians who had fought hard all day, allowed their column to be broken. General Zach, Melas's second in command, was taken prisoner with nearly all his staff. A panic arose, and horse and foot fled back in confusion towards the Bormida, the cavalry in their frantic haste riding over the infantry. The Austrian official report stated their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners at 9069 men and 1423 horses. The French stated their own loss at only 4000, and that of the Austrians at 12,000. But it has been proved that the loss of the French must have been much greater. Desaix, who had saved them, was shot through the heart at his first charge. He had arrived from Egypt only a very few days before, and had made all possible haste to join the First Consul. Neither during the battle nor in his preceding campaigns in Italy had old Melas shown any want of judgment or of firmness,

* At this crisis of his fortunes Napoleon Bonaparte ran other risks besides the plain of Marengo at the moment when the French were flying posted to Paris with great speed and announced that Bonaparte's army had been annihilated. A republican party who were already disgusted by the more than regal power which the young First Consul had assumed promoted an intrigue for removing him from the head of the government and for giving his power with some proper limitations to Carnot whose pure republicanism was supposed to be above suspicion.

but after his defeat, and when he came to negotiate, it seemed as if his eighty-four years had indeed reduced him to a second childhood. Perhaps, however, the Austrian and Italian diplomatists who now gathered around him may be more answerable than he for the pusillanimous, imbecile (or it may be treacherous) throwing up of a game which was not yet lost—of a great game, where the stake was little less than the whole of Italy. Even after his serious reverse Melas might have collected in the field from 40,000 to 50,000 men, General Ott had thrown a great force into Genoa, and most of the fortresses were well garrisoned. Yet, by the armistice concluded on the 16th of June, the Austrians gave up Piedmont and the Genoese territory, with all their fortresses, including Alessandria, which might have stood a long siege, and the superb Genoa, which had only been taken from the French eleven days before this disgraceful armistice, after a very long siege and at an enormous expense. The French were to keep all Lombardy as far as the river Oglio. In return for all these immense sacrifices, old Melas was allowed to withdraw his troops to the line of Mantua and the Mincio. We have been assured, both by French officers and by Italian gentlemen, who were either in Bonaparte's camp or living near the scene of the battle, that, when the conditions of the armistice were first made known, all were astonished, and many could not believe them. On his return to Milan from Marengo, the First Consul was received in triumph, like a consul and conqueror of ancient Rome. The Milanese, who are rather distinguished by their honest simplicity, called him the unique man, the extraordinary hero, the incomparable model of greatness, the liberator of Italy, and evoked at his coming to restore liberty to his beloved Cisalpine people. Bonaparte, in return, gave back compliments for compliment, spoke a great deal about letters, sciences, and arts, about peace and its blessings, and even about religion. He ordered the University of Pavia to be re-opened, and a liberal increase of salary to be paid to its professors, he appointed a number of new men—for the most part of indisputable merit—to fill chairs in that ancient seat of learning. In Milan he created a *consiglio*, or council with legislative power, and a committee of government with the executive power, but over all these Milanese or Lombards he put a Frenchman who, nominally minister extraordinary from the French republic, became prime minister and president, or dictator, of this provisional government. In all these matters Bonaparte proceeded according to his own absolute will, and on his own single authority, not deigning to inform his brother consuls, or the senate, or the tribunes, or the legislative body at Paris, either of what he was doing, or of what he intended to do in future. The Italian democrats and ultra republicans, with whom alone he had sought friendship and alliance at the time of his first invasion of Italy, were now spurned, reprobated, and driven from the light of his presence,

as dangerous fanatics, or selfish, rapacious, thoroughly immoral demagogues. The fools did not dare to ask where was the perfect liberty and equality which he had promised them in 1797—among themselves they called him an aristocrat, and even a tyrant, but in public they only spoke of him as of a demigod. The men he called around him were all of those classes which had passed for the aristocracy,—they were men of family, name, and property, or men of learning and science, there being among them even bishops. But these personages were in their turn to be almost as much captivated as the sans-culottic party had been, for they were artfully led to hope that Bonaparte, himself an Italian, or the native of an Italian island, whose mother tongue was Italian, whose family once flourished on the banks of Arno, and had transferred itself from Tuscany to Corsica only a few generations since, intended nothing less than to give a national union and independence to Upper Italy at the first peace he should be able to make, as a grand preparatory step to the independence of the whole of the peninsula. Other Milanese and Lombards of the higher classes, whose Italianism was less fervent and sanguine, whose patriotism was rather limited to their own portion of Italy, and whose hopes or wishes scarcely went beyond the enjoyment of peace, and of a quiet, unoppressive, gentle government, such as they had enjoyed more than once under the dominion of Austria, and especially in the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., but which would be sweeter and dearer if it could be enjoyed without any foreign dominion, trusted that, when the storms of war were blown over, they might be left to govern themselves in tranquillity. It is difficult to conceive how any of these hopes could ever have been entertained by rational, well informed men (and many of the two classes of hopefuls were men of knowledge and of genius), but we know, and from other sources than speeches and addresses and adulatory poems, that they were entertained and fondly cherished by many of the best of the nobility and citizens of Upper Italy, and that, too, in the midst of a renewed system of plunder, spoliation, and dilapidation, for, although the more private robberies of the kind which had been practised by the Conventional commissioners were checked under the Consulate, the public robberies were perpetrated as unblushingly as ever. Having established a provisional government in Genoa, and another in Turin—although here the present King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel, was shut up in the citadel of his capital—Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he made a triumphal entrance on the 3rd of July.

The French army on the Upper Rhine, under Moreau, had been scarcely less successful than the army of Italy. Moreau crossed the Rhine on the 25th of April, and, after defeating the Austrians under Kray in several engagements, he penetrated to Ulm. As soon as he was apprised of the First Consul's successes beyond the Alps, he crossed the

Danube, drove the Austrians from an entrenched camp, overran a great part of Bavaria, captured Munich, the capital, and pressed upon the frontiers of the emperor's hereditary dominions. The armistice concluded in Italy did not extend to Germany, but Bonaparte ordered Moreau to accede to the request of the Austrians for a truce till the month of September. The Russian Czar, instead of assisting his imperial brother, now seemed disposed to join the First Consul. Conditions or overtures of peace, such as became an ambitious conqueror, were now tendered by Bonaparte, but Austria refused to treat without England, and France demanded an armistice by sea as a preliminary to the negotiations with England*. The object of this last demand was as transparent as air: the French garrison in Malta, and the French army in Egypt, seemed on the point of surrendering to the English, and the First Consul wanted to send reinforcements to those countries during the naval armistice. But the armistice was instantly refused by the British government, and hostilities were recommenced by land and by sea, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Great Britain reciprocally binding themselves not to conclude a peace the one without the other. At the word given by Bonaparte from Paris, three French armies put themselves in motion nearly at one and the same moment. The army of Italy, now under General Brune, drove the Austrians from the Mincio, and beyond the Adige and the Brenta, and advanced to within a few miles of Venice. Macdonald, with another army, occupied the passes of the Tyrol, being prepared to reinforce either Brune in Italy or Moreau in Germany. Moreau himself directed the heads of his columns towards Saltzburg and Vienna. He was met near Haag by Archduke John, the younger brother of his old adversary, as brave but not so skilful a general as the Archduke Charles. A battle took place which was decidedly favourable to the Austrians, but hazarding a general engagement on the 2nd of December, at Hohenlinden, between the rivers Isar and Inn, the Archduke John was thoroughly defeated and driven from the field with the loss of 10,000 men. Moreau, advancing, occupied Saltzburg, and the road to Vienna seemed almost open, not only to his army, but also to the armies of Brune and Macdonald. In this terrible condition the Emperor Francis was compelled to sue for a separate peace, and the British government obliged to release him from the terms of his alliance. An armistice was concluded on the 25th of December, and the treaty of peace, called the treaty of Luneville, was signed on the 9th of February, 1801. It ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and included several new articles very humiliating to the House of Austria. The emperor was to retain possession of Venice, but Tuscany was taken away from the Grand Duke Ferdinand, and bestowed

upon Louis, son of the Duke of Parma, who had married a Spanish princess—the first consul, who had need of her further assistance, thinking it proper to give some recompense to Spain for her past services, and for the serious losses her fleet had sustained in encounters with the British. The emperor again acknowledged the *independence* of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, renouncing all right or pretension to any part of those Italian territories, and a new and extended and more advantageous frontier was drawn for the Cisalpines, the line of the Adige being taken from the point where that river issues from the Tyrol down to its mouth on the Adriatic. Piedmont, which lay awkwardly between the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, was for the present left to his Sardinian majesty Charles Emmanuel, whose fortresses and cities were occupied by French troops, whose subjects were in a state of revolt, and whose authority scarcely extended beyond the walls of the citadel of Turin, into which he had been compelled to throw himself with his family, and a few faithful adherents*. Through the mediation of the Czar Paul, the King of Naples obtained a peace shortly after, agreeing to close all his ports against the English, and our only remaining allies, the Turks, to withdraw some Neapolitan troops which he had sent into the Roman States, and to give up the principality of Piombino with some other small detached territories which belonged to him on the Tuscan coast. It was also prescribed to him by the first consul that he must pardon all political offences committed by his own subjects, restore the confiscated property of the Neapolitan revolutionists, liberate all such of them as were in prison, recall all that were in exile: both parties, or royalists and republicans, being enjoined by Bonaparte to realize the political impossibility of forgetting and forgiving everything that had passed in that year of blood 1799.

Through the timidity of the court of Naples, which became a perfect panic after the battle of Marengo the supplies of corn and other provisions which had been drawn from Sicily for the use of our Mediterranean fleet, and of our forces blockading the French in La Valletta had been interrupted for many months before king Ferdinand obtained the brief respite of this treaty of peace, and, instead of starving out the French our forces and the poor Maltese, who co-operated with us to a man, were in great danger of being starved away themselves: but at last, after a blockade which had lasted for more than two years, the island of Malta was surrendered to the British troops, commanded by Major-General Pigot, on the 15th of

* Preliminaries had actually been signed at Paris by Talleyrand for the First Consul and by the Count de St. Julien for the emperor on the 6th of July.

* Never was country more cruelly plundered, agitated and torn to pieces than was Piedmont at this moment. Massena demanded from the exhausted treasury 1,000,000 livres per month and food and clothing for all the French garrisons. Brune who succeeded Massena agreed that the troops should be maintained out of the monthly million: but he got the livres and did not maintain the troops. Piedmont was therefore obliged to make up the deficiency, in case the French soldiers did not get quietly all that they wanted they took it by force. When money became scarce the French commissaries demanded the bread which covered the cupola of the magnificent church of Stuygera.—*Carlo Botta*

September The work ought to have been done sooner, but the prize was truly great, though it could be valuable only to the power that held the dominion of the seas

Except in the services which Admiral Lord Keith had rendered at the useless reduction of Genoa, there was little more deserving of attention in any of our military operations during this unhappy year The small island of Goree, on the western coast of Africa, with a dependant French factory at Joul, surrendered to Sir Charles Hamilton, who appeared before it with a small squadron early in the summer The Dutch island of Curaçoa surrendered to a small British force at the end of September Repeating the miserable blunder they had committed in the Quiberon expedition, and the expedition to Ile Noirmoutier in 1793, our ministers sent over an expedition to the western coasts of France to co-operate with the Breton royalists and the insurgents called Chouans, who had flown to arms while Bonaparte was absent in Egypt, and had even made themselves formidable, but who had either been beaten and dispersed, or conciliated and won over by the consular government, months before our insignificant expedition appeared off the coast All that could be done was to destroy some brigs, sloops, and gun boats, and a few worthless trading vessels The armament then proceeded to the coast of Spain to destroy the arsenal and the shipping at Ferrol, but the commander of our land troops, Sir James Pulteney, fancying the defences of the place too strong, re-embarked his troops almost as soon as he had landed, and came away without doing anything Some time after this Pulteney proceeded to Gibraltar and joined his forces to those of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who, with the Mediterranean fleet, still commanded by Lord Keith, was to make an attack upon Cadiz, to burn the arsenal, and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet Absurd and apparently contradictory orders had been sent out by our government—by the admiralty and by the secretary of state—to the land and sea officers in command, a terrible epidemic was raging in the city, Lord Keith shrunk from risking his ships in a bad anchorage and among land batteries, and on the 6th of October, when General (afterwards Sir John) Moore and three thousand men were actually in the boats to make the first landing, they were countermanded, and on the following day, amidst heartburnings, jealousies, and a deplorable confusion, the whole enterprise was given up, and our fleet sailed round to Gibraltar, blushing at the ridiculous figure it had cut before Cadiz General Pulteney was soon sent with six battalions to Lisbon, as the Spaniards were threatening an invasion of Portugal, General Abercromby, who had been heating about the Mediterranean, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the part of the Atlantic nearest to them, with fifteen thousand soldiers cooped up in crowded transports, now fancying he was to be called upon one expedition, and now upon another,*

* General Moore who was heartily tired of this sailing about with

did at last receive positive information that he was to be employed in Egypt. but the year was now spent, and it was the middle of December ere the armament got so far as Malta.

The scarcity of grain still continued at home, depressing the national spirit, which, during the whole year, had scarcely a glimpse of victory or of glory to cheer it The city of London and other places presented petitions to the king in the month of October, imploring him to convene the parliament That assembly, which had taken such paltry means to relieve the distress during the last session, met on the 11th of November, and passed, in rapid succession, a number of acts, granting bounties on the importation of foreign corn, enjoining the baking of mixed and inferior flour, &c &c The hand of private charity did more good to the poor than all this legislation, subscriptions were entered into in all parts of the kingdom, immense sums were collected, and, though the people continued to be stinted in the luxury of the best wheaten bread—a luxury still unknown to every labouring population in Europe except the English—their sufferings were not so severe as might have been expected Some riots which took place were mainly caused by the ignorance and impolicy of the government and courts of law in enforcing the old laws against forestalling, regrating, &c, and they were put down without bloodshed, having been attended with no consequences more serious than the breaking of some cornfactors' and bakers' windows, and some trifling temporary addition to the price of wheat, the holders being terrified from Mark Lane* The impulsive ignorance was in both cases the same, but in Paris the bread rioters seldom took the field without committing atrocities

After sundry attacks rather on the foreign policy of ministers than on their spiritless conduct and undeniable mismanagement of the war, a motion was made on the 1st of December, in the Commons, by Sheridan, for an address to his majesty, earnestly to desire him to enter into a separate negotiation with France for a speedy and honourable peace This being negatived by 156 against 35, Mr T Jones, on the 4th of December, moved an address to implore his majesty to dismiss his present ministers "who, by their profusion and extravagance, had brought their country to the brink of famine and ruin, and who, by their incapacity, had shown themselves unequal to conduct the war with effect, or enter into negotiations of peace with honour" This was rejected by 66 against 13 Supplies were voted for three lunar months only For the service of the navy 120,000 men, including marines, were granted,

out any determined object says that the armament looked as if it were roving in quest of adventures and the chapter of accident

It is not easy to conceive anything more like imbecility than the whole management of this year's war by our government

* There were men even in the British parliament so ignorant of the first principles of public economy that they would have made the legislature last year in regulating the price of corn and other commodities or in fixing that maximum law which had caused such desperate confusion and mischief in France but luckily these legislators were but a contemptible minority

from the 1st of January to the 1st of April, 1801. According to the Army returns the number of men killed in action, or who had died in the service of the army, since the commencement of the present war, was 48,971, and the number of effective men, rank and file, including invalids, militia, and foreign corps, as well as the regular and fencible troops actually serving in the pay of Great Britain, was 168,082.

On the last day of the year the king closed the session of parliament, notifying that the time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland necessarily terminated their proceedings, and that the IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT (as the united parliament was to be called) was appointed to meet on the 22nd of January, 1801.

A.D. 1801. On the 1st of January a proclamation was issued concerning the royal style and titles and armorial ensigns, henceforward to be used as appertaining to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland. The regal title was expressed in English by the words, "George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith." Thus was judiciously relinquished the old title of King of France, which, since the days of Henry V., had been a ridiculous assumption on the part of our sovereigns. The arms or ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom were ordered to be, quarterly, first and fourth England, second Scotland, third Ireland. A new great seal was made in conformity with the alterations made in the royal titles and arms. In honour of the Union many new titles were conferred on the Irish nobility, and several of them were created peers of the United Kingdom.

On the 22nd of January the first imperial parliament was opened by commission. The former members for England and Scotland continued, according to the provision in the treaty of Union, to form part of the House of Commons, and Mr. Addington was re-elected speaker. The king did not meet this parliament till the 2nd of February, when all the members had been sworn, and other preliminary matters arranged. In his speech from the throne, after adverting to the happy accomplishment of the Union, and to the unhappy course of events on the continent, which had forced his allies to abandon him, he announced that a fresh storm was gathering in the north, that the court of Petersburg had already proceeded to commit outrages against the ships, property, and persons of his subjects, and that a convention had been concluded by that court with the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which was to renew their former engagement for re-establishing, by force of arms, a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the best interests, of this country. He stated that he had taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and he expressed his confidence that both Houses of parliament would afford him the most vigorous and

effectual support in his firm determination to maintain to the utmost, against every attack, the naval rights and interests of his empire. Some members of opposition recommended conciliatory measures, and even the suspension of the right of search we claimed at sea, or a tacit assent to the principles of the armed neutrality, which the Czarina Catherine had first raised against us during the American war, and which the three northern powers were now about to revive, hinting at the terrible consequences which might attend the closing of the corn ports on the Baltic in this season of scarcity. Sir William Watkiss Wynne, on the ministerial side, said that the emperor of Russia, besides renewing these bygone claims of the right of neutral flags, and abandoning his recent alliance with Austria and England—abandoning the common cause of order, and the balance of power—had committed such outrages on British subjects, as must unite every individual in these kingdoms in a firm determination to avenge and redress the indignity. The hostility of the northern powers, he observed, by cutting us off from supplies of grain, might aggravate the dearth of corn, but the mildness of the present season afforded hopes of relief at home, and from the power and valour of our navy we might augur success in our just and defensive efforts. Pitt expressed his regret that members of the legislature should increase our difficulties by starting a doubt on the question of our right of search, observing that it was singularly unfortunate that these honourable gentlemen should have first begun to doubt when the enemy began to arm. He defended the practice of searching neutrals, which it might now be incumbent upon us to vindicate by force of arms, on the plea of right as well as of expediency. The principle on which we were acting had been universally admitted and acted upon as the law of nations, except in particular cases, where it had been modified by treaties between states. As to the particular treaties between us and the present hostile confederates of the north, they included the right of search in strict and precise terms. So much for the right, and now for the expediency. Were we to permit the navy of France to be supplied and recruited? Were we to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions? Were we to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a neutral flag on a sloop or a fishing boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest and Toulon? He asked the opposition whether the navy of France would have been swept from the ocean, and left in the state of weakness in which it now was, if the commerce of that power had not been destroyed, and the fraudulent trade of neutrals prevented by the vigilant exercise of the right of search? Mr. Grey, allowing that the conduct of the Emperor Paul had been that of a madman, and violent and hostile in the extreme, wished to draw a distinction between the conduct of Russia and that of Sweden and Denmark (the last of which three powers had

ever since the beginning of the war leaned towards France, and shown a decided hostility towards England), but an amendment he moved was rejected by 245 against 63. Preparations were forthwith made for sending that British fleet into the Baltic which, together with the death of the insane czar, put so speedily an end to this northern coalition, but before the tremendous battle of Copenhagen, and also before the brilliant success of the Egyptian expedition (the only army expedition, of all that Pitt had planned, that was successful and honourable), the premier of seventeen years' standing retired from his post. While recommending and urging on the Union, he had flattered the Irish with the hope that that grand measure would be the best means of obtaining the abolition, or very great mitigation, of the penal and disabling laws affecting the Roman Catholics,—that in the united parliament the obstacles might be removed which stood in the way of emancipation, and two anonymous but authoritative papers (one known to proceed from himself, and the other from Lord Cornwallis) had been circulated among the leading Irish Catholics, and were supposed to have had no small influence in removing the obstacles which stood in the way of the Union. Before committing himself thus deeply, he ought to have ascertained whether the strong religious scruples of George III would allow him to redeem his pledge. When the question was first mooted (apparently in a council held towards the middle of January of the present year), the king's objections were found to be insurmountable. At the levee, on Wednesday the 28th of January, the king said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young lord (Castlereagh) has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?' Lord Castlereagh had brought over some plan of Catholic emancipation. The king continued, "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure." This is the most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of! "You will find," said Dundas, "among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed to be your enemies."* On the 31st of January Pitt wrote a letter to his majesty, stating that the important questions respecting the Catholics and dissenters must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union, that the knowledge of his majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject must always have made this a painful task to him, and that it was become much more so by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which his majesty had entertained, and had declared, that sentiment, that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment must make him look to his majesty's ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, except those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, was due to the real interest of his majesty and his dominions, that under the impression of this opinion, he had concurred in what appeared to be the pre-

vailing sentiment of the majority of the cabinet; that the admission of the Catholics and dissenters to municipal offices, and of Catholics to parliament (from which latter the Protestant dissenters were not now excluded), would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquility and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom, that for himself he was fully convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland, that, now the Union had taken place, and with the new provisions which would make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight, in office or in parliament, either to Catholics or dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the establishment, that the grounds on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were first founded had long been narrowed, and were, since the Union, removed. After using various other arguments to prove that Catholic emancipation would consolidate and give full effect to the Union by tranquillising Ireland, and attaching it by the bonds of affection to this country, Pitt hoped that his majesty would maturely weigh what he now humbly submitted to him, declaring that in the interval that his majesty might wish for consideration, he would not, on his part, importune his majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject, and would feel it his duty to abstain from all agitation of this subject in parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depended upon him, on the part of others. But then he said, that, if his majesty's objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with his majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, he must beg to be permitted to resign—adding, however, that, if his majesty should consider his services necessary at the present crisis, he would not withdraw himself immediately, but would even continue, for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose the agitation or decision of the question in parliament, as far as he could consistently with the line to which he felt bound uniformly to adhere—of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment.*

On the very next day—the 1st of February—the king replied by letter, beginning with expressing his cordial affection for Mr Pitt, and his high opinion of his talents and integrity. "These feelings greatly add," said his majesty, "to my uneasiness on this occasion, but a sense of religious as well

* Letters from his Majesty King George III to the late Lord Kenyon on the Coronation Oath with his Lordship's Answers and Letters of the Right Honourable William Pitt to his Majesty King George III with his Majesty's Answers previous to the Dissolution of the Ministry in 1801. London 1837.

These important letters were edited by the second Lord Keweenaw, son of the noble lord who wrote several of them and to which several of the king's letters were addressed and by Dr Philpotts, now Bishop of Exeter.

* Wilkes's Diary

as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, to consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers have enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the Sacrament, has so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed, namely, the Church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and, consequently, obliged not only to take oaths against Popery, but to receive the Holy Communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England. This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy the groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric. When the Irish propositions [for the Union] were transmitted to me by a joint message from both Houses of the British parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure and without delay forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an Union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust, that the uniting the established churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics. These two instances must show Mr Pitt, that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart, but, Mr Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear from his letter we can never agree,—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised, but, if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest. I will, on my part, most correctly on my part, be silent also, but this restraint I shall put on myself from affliction for Mr Pitt, but further I cannot go for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration. Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, for I can with great truth assert, that I shall from public and private considerations, feel great regret if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the Board of Treasury.”* To this letter, written on the 1st, Pitt replied on the 3rd of February. He said that the final decision which his majesty had formed on the great subject in question, and

* Letters from his Majesty George III. &c.

his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty required from him, must make him consider the moment as now arrived when, on the principles he had already explained, it ought to be his first wish to be released as soon as possible from his official situation, that, although he wished to consult as much as possible his majesty's ease and convenience he must frankly confess that the difficulty of even his temporary continuance in office must necessarily be increased, and might very shortly become insuperable, from what he conceived to be the import of one passage in his majesty's letter, which hardly left him room to hope that those steps could be taken for effectually discountenancing all attempts to make use of his majesty's name, or to influence opinions on this subject, which he had ventured to represent as indispensable necessary during any interval in which he might remain in office. He said that, as his majesty's final decision was taken, the sooner he was allowed to retire the better it would be for his majesty's service, that he trusted no long delay would be found necessary for forming a new administration, which might conduct the service with credit and advantage, while the feebleness and uncertainty almost inseparable from a temporary government must soon produce an effect, both at home and abroad, from which serious inconveniences might be expected.* On the 5th of February the king replied. — He had flattered himself that, from the strong assurance he had given Mr Pitt of keeping perfectly silent on the subject whereon they entirely differed, provided, Mr Pitt, on his part, abstained from any disquisition on it for the present, they had both underrated their present line of conduct, but that, as he unfortunately found Mr Pitt did not draw the same conclusion, he must come to the unpleasant decision of acquainting him, that, rather than forego what he looked on as his duty, he would, without unnecessary delay, attempt to make the most creditable ministerial arrangement possible, and such as Mr Pitt would think most to the advantage of his service and to the security of the country, add namely, however, that, though it should be done with as much expedition as so difficult a subject would admit of, he could not yet fix how soon a new administration would be formed†. It soon became known that the king had intrusted the formation of the new cabinet to Mr Addington, now Speaker, who was the son of Pitt's father's favourite physician, Dr Addington, and who had been brought forward in public life by the Pitt family and connexions. On the 10th of February Lord Darnley rose in the Upper House to move for an inquiry into part of the conduct of the existing administration. Lord Grenville then stated, in the most downright manner, that the failure of their intentions in favour of the Roman Catholics had induced them to resign their places, which they now held only till their successors should be appointed. At the earnest request of several peers, who knew the real state of the king,

* Letters from his Majesty George III. &c.

† Id.

Lord Darnley agreed to postpone his motion. On the same day a letter was read in the Commons from Addington, tendering the resignation of his office of Speaker, on account of his majesty's declared intention of appointing him to a situation incompatible with that post. When this letter had been read, Pitt rose to state that he had his majesty's commands to inform the House that they were to proceed in due time to the election of another speaker, and, in order that time might be had for consideration, he moved an adjournment till to-morrow. Old Sir William Pulteney, who seconded the motion, said, "I have a right to say something. I am now an old man, and have seen many changes, without a real change of principle. I wish to see that kind of change which I never yet saw, a change in which public men of all descriptions should act from no other motive than the good of the public, without having any view to their own personal interests." The adjournment was agreed to. On the following day—the 11th of February—the House proceeded to the election of a speaker. The choice fell on the attorney general, Sir John Mitford, who was proposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and strongly commended and recommended by the ministerial or Pittite party. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced that the king was confined to the house by a *severe cold*, and on the 16th the bulletin declared that he was affected by a fever, but it appears now to be fully proved that his majesty was suffering under a return of his former indisposition, brought on by anxiety and agitation of mind—an agitation occasioned principally, if not entirely, by the Catholic question and the resignation of Pitt.* On the 16th, the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply being read, Mr Harrison rose to oppose it. At the moment, he said, when the House was called upon to pass a vote for so large a sum as 28,000,000^l, there was no ostensible person at the head of affairs, on whom responsibility could

be fixed, for the proper use and application of the money. It was quite evident that Mr Pitt was no longer in his former official situation, and it was very proper to know who were the persons that were to direct the government and the energies of the country. If Mr Pitt and his friends were allowed to obtain this vote of supply, it might be truly said that their entry into and their exit from office were both equally marked by a wound to the character and consequence of that House, and to the constitution of the country. Pitt replied that, whenever there arises a change of administration, it must be left to the king to determine when the new arrangements shall take place, that it was contrary to the spirit of the constitution for the House to assume any right of determination or dictation on a subject of that kind; that, if any further delay took place in voting the supplies, the business of the country must be at a stand still; and that, if any such delay now took place, it would be impossible for him to retire from office. He added that he conceived it to be his duty not to resign till the House had voted the supplies for the year, and he had explained the plans he had in contemplation for the public service. As for responsibility, he observed, that, though the present ministers were to retire from office, they would never be far out of the way when any inquiry was proposed to be instituted into their conduct; and the new ministers who were to succeed them, and under whose administration the supplies must be expended, would surely be responsible for their use and application. Sheridan, Whitbread, and others, supported Harrison, but his motion was negatived, after some long debates, by an immense majority, and on the 18th of February the House resolved itself into a committee of supply. The sum required amounted altogether, for Great Britain and Ireland, to 42,197,000^l. To raise it recourse was had to the old system—25,500,000^l was borrowed, and some new taxes were imposed.* Pitt described the state of the finances and of trade as very flourishing. The year 1801, he said, might be called the era of our prosperity as well as trial. Our imports and exports were far greater than they were in the year 1791. The war had been attended with a constant increase of commerce and of revenue, so that we were now distinguished by our prosperity, commerce, and naval superiority, above all the other nations of the world, and it was singular, but not more singular than true, that, though we had suffered so much from unfavourable seasons, and from two bad harvests in succession, the present year was the proudest the country had ever known with respect to its commerce. There was no denying the great increase of the national debt; but, without any diminution of confidence in that plausible invention, he pointed to the sinking-fund as a sure remedy for every financial evil. Besides the twenty-five and a-half millions loan for Great Britain, it

* Feb. 24. The king is very ill. It is reported he is maimed and that William Pitt is in a strange situation. Half a million in and half a million out. Pitt and Dundas are said to be over whelmed with debt.

Feb. 25. It is certain that Mr. Pitt is with the king. The prince and Pitt were together, and the prince said to Pitt, "You are still minister." To which the other replied, "I hope so, if a regency is required by your royal highness and I shall agree better than the last time. Oh! I said the prince. I am things now in a very different light from what I did the 9th. The ministry is finely settled. Sir Vincent and Hawkesbury are installed, and perhaps Liddon—D's rest not."

Feb. 27. The king is better, he is leaving him, and he is just now as he was when he began to mend twelve years ago. They say his illness was brought on by his taking a most extraordinary dose of James's powder of his own accord. If he does not make haste and recover, there will be a regency established upon the resolution entered into on 17th.

Feb. 28. This morning I hear the king's life is in danger and some talk of his not getting over the day, but as these are not the most loyal of his subjects, I cannot trust to their intelligence.

March 2. The king is recovering fast, both head and health and there will I suppose be no motion made in the House about his situation.—*Dunry* in "The Cretes of Europe at the close of the last century by the late Henry Swinburne Esq., author of Travels in Spain, Italy, &c."

Whitbread says that "the king's agitation at being urged to grant power to the Romanists was not unlikely to expose him to such an attack." He says that it was on the 23rd of February, he heard in the House of Commons "of the king's being ill in the old way since Thursday evening last.—*Dunry* in *Life* by his Son.

* The total amount of the income tax for the year ending on the 5th of April 1801, amounted only to 7,525,417^l.

was found necessary to borrow about 2,500,000*l* for Ireland. The House having agreed, after some slight alterations, to the resolutions upon the budget, Pitt, on the 14th of March, resigned, to the regret and perhaps to the dismay of a great majority in both Houses. He was accompanied in his resignation by Dundas, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Windham, two of these statesmen being the ablest, and two of them the most high-minded or most honest, of the public men of that day, and other changes took place shortly after.

It was assumed by Pitt's enemies that his delicacy about his pledged faith to the Irish, and his decided sense of the justice and expediency of granting Catholic emancipation, were but pretexts, and that the real cause of his resignation was, his tardy conviction that he had involved the country in a labyrinth from which he knew not how to extricate it, being far too weak to carry on the war, and far too proud to make peace with the French. Whatever may have been the public and the private faults of this minister, meanness never appears to have been of the number, through the publication of the interesting letters which we have cited, we now know (what was only matter of surmise at the time)* that the king most positively refused to enable him to redeem his pledge to the Irish, by carrying or promoting emancipation, and we are inclined to take the word of Pitt that this was the real cause which induced him to resign. Credit is also due to the high character and veraciousness of men like Lord Grenville and Windham, who, both in parliament and in private and confidential intercourse, declared this to be the sole cause of their quitting office with Pitt at this crisis. It does not appear in the least probable that these individuals were dismayed at the northern coalition, or reduced to despair by the continental successes of Bonaparte and the forced dissolution of our foreign alliances. There was not in England a man who had more of the old English character—bravery, resolution, and a loathing of all that is mean—than Windham. Almost the last words that Pitt delivered in the House as prime minister were words full of hope and confidence—he felt convinced, he said, that the British fleet would, with one blow, shatter the coalition of the North—but we can at the same time conceive that these men, and Lord Grenville as well, seeing the probability of a short peace or truce being made inevitable, shrunk with a natural and not dis-

creditable pride from treating with a party so arrogant as the first consul, and from exchanging diplomatic terms of respect and amity with individuals whose characters they hated or despised, and whose principles they detested, and we can further conceive that, perhaps half unconsciously to themselves, this natural pride weighed in the same balance with their point of honour respecting the Catholic claims. This view of the case does not seem to us to be disproved by the fact (in itself, and by itself, not very creditable to him) that Pitt returned to office in 1804 without making any stipulations with the king for the Catholic claims. A letter that was now circulating in Ireland, and which was attributed to the retired prime minister, who certainly never denied the authorship of it, contained the following remarkable passage—“The Catholic body will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons *who now espouse their interests*, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter. They may, with confidence, rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that *Mr Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour* (although he could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now), and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects.” This passage, which accompanied his apology for resigning, has been considered more open to objection than the creditability of the statement of the cause of his resignation. It has been said that he spoke as if the candour, generosity, and increasing enlightenment and toleration of the English people, and all the other champions of popular rights, were sources from which the Catholics had nothing to hope,—as if all their hopes were to be centred in him,—that the language betrayed the fault of his character, which was not duplicity, but solitary ambition, an ambition solitary yet not selfish, the public weal being the sincerest wish of his heart, next to his being himself the chief administrator of it.

As soon as the serious nature of the king's indisposition was made known, a new regency bill was expected. Fox quitted his pleasant retirement at St Anne's Hill, came up to London, and presided over a meeting of the Whig Club, where he deprecated any public allusion to the king's malady, and declared that, still despairing of the House of Commons, if he reappeared there, it should only be to support Mr Grey's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. But all the time Fox staid in town he was surrounded by speculating, hopeful visitors, who would not divest themselves of the expectation that he would soon be prime minister to the regent, or to George IV. These hopes were, however, damped by reports that the old king was rapidly recovering, and they were altogether extinguished on the 12th of March (two days before Pitt's final withdrawing), when the physicians announced that his majesty was

* I give Mr Pitt credit for his resignation if it was occasioned by a resistance from another quarter to his liberal sentiments towards the Catholics in Ireland and the Dissenters in this country. — *Letter from the Bishop of Landaff to the Duke of Devonshire on Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff*, written by himself at different intervals and published by his son.

† It is however but fair to state that at this moment the war party in the country was still exceedingly strong and a disposition for peace only a probability. For this we have the authority of Fox himself who says even a month after Pitt had resigned and had been succeeded by Addington—“I have heard a great deal of the country's being materially turned with respect to the war and I believe it in a great measure; but I do not see any approach to what I consider as good moral principles.” — *Letter to Dr. Parr on the History of Bonaparte*, F.R.S. D.D. &c. with *Memoirs of his Life and Writings* &c. by John Johnston. M.D.

well, and that no more bulletins would be issued. Fox returned to St Anne's Hill, and his friends to the opposition benches. The new ministry, now installed in office, consisted of Addington, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, the Duke of Portland, president of the council, Lord Eldon, chancellor, Earl St Vincent, first lord of the admiralty, the Earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance, Lord Pittam, secretary for the home department, Lord Hawkesbury (eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool), secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Hobart, secretary for the colonies, Viscount Lewisham, president of the board of control for the affairs of India, Charles Yorke, secretary at war, &c. * When Mr Addington first informed the Prince of Wales of these changes, the prince declared that, though he had not been consulted in the arrangements, he should take no part in opposition to those who were chosen by the king. But at this moment the prince was powerless, nor was the Foxite party, if he had been disposed to resume his close connexion with it, at all in a condition to give him strength. It was almost immediately asserted, by some, that Addington was but the puppet of Pitt, and, by others, that the new government was fairly and honestly bent on peace. Mr Wilberforce, who was frequently closeted with Addington, devising means to better the condition of the poor, appears to have been convinced of the sincerity of the new premier's anti-warlike professions; but we find him shortly afterwards regretting that everything was kept "profoundly secret," expressing his disappointment that the negotiations should have dragged on so long without coming to a conclusion, and fearing that our victories abroad would lead to a continuance of the war.

Under the new cabinet bills were passed for continuing the act for the suppression of rebellion, and for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act

in Ireland, which country still remained in an uneasy, turbulent state, and, a select committee of the House of Commons having reported rather alarmingly on the existence and proceedings of certain political societies in Great Britain (particularly one in London, entitled the United Britons), the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was continued also for England and Scotland, and an act for preventing seditious meetings was revived. Acts of indemnity were passed in favour of all persons concerned in the securing, imprisoning, and detaining individuals under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Great Britain since February, 1793, and in Ireland since March, 1799. Various motions relative to the state of the nation, to the miscarriage of expeditions, to the conduct of Admiral Lord Keith in breaking the convention of El Arish, &c., were made during the session, and were negatived by great majorities. Parliament was prorogued, not by the king in person, but by commission, on the 2nd of July.

As early as the 15th of April intelligence had been received in London of the astonishing success of our attack at Copenhagen, and of the death of the Emperor of Russia. Various circumstances had converted Paul from an ally into the bitterest enemy of Great Britain, but the weightiest of them all was the disappointment of his irrational expectation of obtaining possession of the island of Malta. Some few of the fugitive, despicable Knights of Malta had repaired to Petersburg to solicit Russian assistance, and to captivate the vain czar by offering to elect him grand master of their order. It was even pretended that a *legal* election was made to this effect, although there were not nearly knights enough in Russia to form a chapter, and although by the fundamental rules of the order none but Catholics—none but members of the Roman church who had taken the vows of celibacy—could be admitted into it. Paul, the reader will remember, was the head of the antagonist Greek church. Bonaparte, who wanted to keep Malta for himself, as a convenient stepping-stone between France and Egypt, flattered Paul that his claim would be acknowledged throughout Europe, and that nothing but the cupidity of the English could prevent his obtaining quiet possession of the island. The First Consul had further gratified the vanity of the insane czar by affecting to submit to his mediation, and to spare the kings of Sardinia and Naples solely in consequence of Paul's generous intercessions. Just as the French garrison in La Valetta surrendered to the English, Paul announced in the Petersburg Gazette that several political reasons induced the belief that a rupture between Russia and England might ensue, and that therefore he had collected large bodies of troops on the coasts of the Baltic. Towards the end of October (1800) he published in the same newspaper a declaration, importing that on mounting his throne he found his states involved in war, provoked by a great nation (France) which had fallen into dissolution, that, conceiving the coalition

* The Earl of Liverpool was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Earl of Bute treasurer of the navy. Thomas Mordaunt and Lord Glenbervie were joint paymasters of the forces. Lord Auckland and Lord Charles Spencer joint postmasters-general, and John H. Addington and Nicholas Vansittart secretaries of the treasury. Sir William Grant was master of the rolls. Sir Edward Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough), attorney-general, and the Hon. Spencer Perceval solicitor-general. For Ireland the Earl of Harlow was made lord lieutenant, the Earl of Clare who was strongly opposed to emancipation lord chancellor. Lord Castlereagh remained chief secretary and Isaac Corry became chancellor of the exchequer. But Castlereagh soon succeeded Viscount Lewisham as president of the board of control, and was succeeded in his Irish secretariatship by W. Wickham.

A good many of these individuals had held office under the last administration, but nearly everybody felt that the retirement of Pitt, Dundas, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville and Windham left little to be hoped from the superior men of their party who remained.

It has been said that a good part of these arrangements was made before the king had perfectly recovered his sanity and that he was made to attend to public business of the most important and most tedious kind while his mind was still unstrung. Wilberforce in entering the heads of a conversation he had at the time with Lord Eldon says "Eldon had just received the great seal and I expressed my fears that they were bringing the king into public too soon after his late disposition. You shall judge for yourself, he answered, 'from what passed between us when I kneed hands on my appointment. The king had been conversing with me, and when I was about to retire he said, 'Give my remembrance to Lady Eldon.' I acknowledged his condescension and intimated that I was ignorant of Lady Eldon's claim to such a notice. 'Yes! yes!' he answered, 'I know how much I owe to Lady Eldon. I knew that you would have made your suit a country curate and that she has made you my lord chamberlain.' —*Derry in Life.*

a mere measure of preservation, he had been induced to join it, ~~that~~ he did not think it necessary then to adopt the system of an armed neutrality on sea for the protection of commerce, as he did not doubt that the sincerity of his allies and their reciprocal interests would be sufficient to secure the flag of the northern powers from insult, but that now, being disappointed by the perfidious enterprises of a great power (England), which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas by capturing Danish convoys, the independence of the maritime powers of the North appeared to him to be openly menaced, and that therefore he considered it a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality, the success of which was acknowledged in the time of the American war Paul also pretended, apparently without the slightest ground, that the English ministers, who had negotiated with him, and had induced him to become a member of the coalition, had promised to restore the island of Malta to the Knights—who had shown that by themselves they could not keep it. On the 7th of November he stated in his Gazette, that he had learned that Malta had been surrendered to the English, but, as it was yet uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, would be fulfilled, according to which this island, after capture, was to be restored to the order, of which his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias was now grand master, he, the emperor, being determined to defend his rights, was pleased to command an embargo to be laid on all English ships in the ports of the empire. This was followed in a few days by another declaration, published in the same Gazette, importing that, as two English ships in the harbour of Narva, on the arrival of a military force, put them under arrest, in consequence of the embargo, had made resistance, forced a Russian soldier into the water, and afterwards weighed anchor and sailed away, his imperial majesty was pleased to order that the remainder of the English vessels in that harbour should be burned that, having received the circumstantial account of the English general's taking possession of La Valetta and the island of Malta in the name of the king of Great Britain, and hoisting the English flag alone, his imperial majesty, incensed at such a breach of good faith, was determined that the embargo should not be taken off till the conditions of the convention concluded in November, 1798, should be fulfilled. Above three hundred British vessels were seized, and the captains and crews of them were hauled on shore, put into irons, and sent into the interior of the country, not without threats of undergoing the horrors of the knout and of the Siberian exile. By another proclamation this madman ordered that all the English goods and effects whatsoever on shore should be sequestered and sold forthwith. A few of his creatures congratulated him on the glory of standing at the head of the great northern confederacy, but the nobility and landed proprietors, who were incensed by a hundred other freaks, and

by the incessant operation of a capricious and horrible tyrannv, saw nothing but the annihilation of the trade of Russia in this quarrel with England, and nothing in the continuance of such a system of government but destruction to themselves and total ruin to the empire.

Sweden and Denmark were unfortunately too ready to join Paul, and to work out the purposes of the French. The Danes, in particular, had persisted, ever since the beginning of the war, in carrying French goods and articles contraband of war, and had resisted or eluded the search wherever they were able so to do. In December, 1799, a Danish frigate, conveying some merchantmen, fired into an English man-of-war's boat that was sent to make the search. The Danish government disavowed and condemned the conduct of their officer. But in the summer of 1800 another and a more serious collision took place. The 'Freja' Danish frigate, with a convoy under her protection, was met in the Channel by four English frigates. An officer from the nearest of the English frigates went on board the 'Freja' and desired leave to search the merchantmen. The Danish captain replied that he could give no such permission without violating his instructions. After some altercation, the Dane persisting in his refusal, the English officer returned on board his own frigate, which presently was laid alongside the Danish frigate. The captain of the 'Freja' was again desired to permit the search, and his negative was replied to by a broadside. The Dane returned the fire, and several sailors were killed and wounded on each side. At last the Danish frigate surrendered to superior force, and was carried, together with her convoy, into the Downs. Lord Whitworth was immediately sent to the court of Denmark on a special mission, and, to give more weight to his arguments, his lordship was accompanied by ten ships of the line, three 50 gun ships, and several frigates, under the command of Vice Admiral Dickson. On arriving at the Sound some Danish ships of the line were found moored across the narrowest part of it, but, after various manœuvres, the English fleet, without any hostile encounter, reached Copenhagen roads, and seemed to threaten the bombardment of that capital. In this presence the Danish government came to what was called an amicable adjustment. On the 29th of August Lord Whitworth and Count Bernstorff signed a convention, agreeing that the 'Freja' and convoy should be repaired at English expense, and then released, that the right of the British to search convoys should be discussed on a future day in London, but that in the meantime Danish vessels should only sail under convoy in the Mediterranean, for protection against the Algerines, and should be liable to search as heretofore. As soon as Paul proposed his armed neutrality, the Danes, who alone were likely to be formidable to us by sea, joined it enthusiastically, and commenced making immense preparations.

The confederacy of the three northern powers,

under the influence of France, against England's naval supremacy, would soon have become formidable, if extraordinary efforts had not been made to crush it. With this view a fleet was dispatched from Yarmouth Roads, on the 12th of March, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, and a number of frigates and smaller vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson as his second. The Russian, Swedish, and Danish effective force in the Baltic was estimated at more than forty sail of the line, but deficiency in naval tactics (on the part of the Russians and Swedes), it was presumed, would neutralise this numerical superiority. As negotiation was preferred to war, the Hon. Mr. Vansittart was embarked with full powers to treat. He left the fleet in the *Sevan*, and proceeded in a frigate, with a flag of truce, to Copenhagen, but returned unsuccessful from his mission, which only served to stimulate the Danes, and give them time to augment their means of defence. Nelson disapproved of distant negotiation; he said, "The Dane should see our flag, every moment he lifts up his head," and urged the necessity of instant decision, but the plots magnified the dangers of the expedition, and more days were dissipated in inactivity. Admiral Parker sent a flag of truce to inquire of the governor of Llesneur if he meant to oppose the passage of the fleet through the Sound. The governor replied that the guns of Cronenberg Castle would certainly be fired at them. Sir Hyde was therefore persuaded to try the passage of the Belt. "Let it be by the Sound, by the Belt, or anyhow," said Nelson, "only lost in an hour." At last, on the morning of the 30th of March, the British fleet proceeded into the Sound, the van division commanded by Nelson, the centre by Sir Hyde, and the rear by Admiral Graves. The strait at Llesneur is less than three miles across, and in mid-channel vessels would be exposed to shot from the batteries on either side. But, although a fire was opened from about a hundred pieces of cannon and mortars from Cronenberg Castle, not a hit was fired from the Swedish shore. The fleet therefore passed in safety within a mile of that coast, and about mid day anchored between the island of Huen and Copenhagen. The admirals, with some of the senior captains and commanding officers of artillery and troops, then proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's defences, which, in vessels of various kinds, supported by extensive batteries, were of the most formidable description. At a council of war, Nelson offered to make the attack with ten sail of the line and the small craft. Sir Hyde gave him twelve line-of-battle ships, and left all to his judgment. The approach to Copenhagen was by a channel extremely intricate and little known, the Danes, having removed all the buoys considered this channel impracticable for so large a fleet, but

Nelson himself saw soundings made, and new buoys laid down, nor ceased day or night until this arduous preliminary duty was fully effected. At first it was determined to attack from the eastward, but another examination of the Danish position, on the 31st, induced Nelson to commence operations from the southward. On the morning of the 1st of April the fleet anchored within two leagues of the town, off the north-western extremity of the Middle Ground, a shoal covering the whole sea front of Copenhagen. In the channel that separates this shoal from the city the Danish block ships, praams, &c. &c. were moored, flanked at the end nearest the town by the formidable Crown batteries. Nelson, with Captain Riou of the 'Amazon,' again examined the enemy's position, and soon after his signal to weigh was answered by a cheer throughout the whole division. Riou led the way, and the whole division anchored at the farther extremity of the shoal as the day closed, the headmost of the enemy's line being about two miles distant. As his own anchor dropped, Nelson called out, 'I will fight them the moment I have a fair wind.' The night was passed in completing the necessary orders and arrangements. The morn of the 2nd of April dawned, with a favourable south easterly wind. Nelson signalled for all captains. Riou had two frigates, two sloops, and two fire-ships given him, to act as circumstances might require. Every other ship had its station appointed. The land forces and 500 seamen, under Captain Freemantle and the Hon. Colonel Stewart, were to storm the Crown battery as soon as its fire should be silenced. At about nine o'clock the pilots were called on board the 'Elephant,' Nelson's flag-ship, but their indecision as to the bearings of the shoal and the exact line of deep water shewed the danger of trusting to their guidance. At length Mr. Alexander Brerly, master of the 'Bellona,' undertook to lead the fleet and went on board the 'Edgar' for that purpose. The other ships began to weigh in succession. Simultaneously Admiral Parker's eight ships did the same, and took up a position nearer to the mouth of the harbour, but too distant to do more than menace the north wing of defences. A nearer approach was impracticable, at least in sufficient time to be useful in the engagement. The 'Agamemnon' got immovably aground, as did the 'Bellona' and the 'Russell.' Their absence from their intended stations was seriously felt. At about ten o'clock the cannonade commenced. For nearly half an hour only five ships were engaged, at about half-past eleven the action became general. Owing to the currents, only one of the gun-brigs could get into action, and only two of the bombs could reach their station in the Middle Ground, and open their mortars on the arsenal. At the end of three hours, few if any of the Danish force had ceased firing, and the contest had taken no decisive turn. All the floating batteries and gun-boats must be destroyed or silenced, before Nelson could get at the ships of the line and the great land batteries of the

* An aide-de-camp of the Crown Prince came on board the English fleet. Having something to write down and finding the pen offered to him a bad one he threw it away saying "Admiral if you can nouns are not better pointed than your pens we have not much to fear from you." — *Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton*

Danes At this time, seeing signals of distress at the mast-heads of three English line of battle ships, and the slow progress of three that he had dispatched as a reinforcement, the commander-in-chief threw out the signal to discontinue the engagement this was communicated to Nelson, but he continued to walk the deck, and appeared to take no notice of it. Soon after, he inquired if his signal for close action was still hoisted, and, when answered in the affirmative, said, "Mind you keep it so." The other ships of the line, looking only to Nelson, continued the action. But Riou's little squadron (which had gallantly taken the place destined for the three disabled line-of battle ships) was saved by the signal. Being nearer to the commander-in-chief, Riou obeyed it, exclaiming, as he unwillingly drew off, "What will Nelson think of us?" He had been wounded in the head, and was sitting on a gun encouraging his men, when, just as the 'Amazon' showed her stern to the battery, his clerk was killed by his side. Another shot swept away several marines, and a third raking shot cut him in two. Nelson and the whole fleet bitterly deplored the loss of "the gallant good Riou." At about half past one the fire of the Danes slackened, and before two it had nearly ceased, but the vessels whose flags had been struck fired on the boats as they approached to take possession of them, and Nelson at one time thought of sending in the fire-ships to burn the surrendered vessels. The shot from the Trekroner, and from the batteries at Amak Island, struck the surrendered ships, and the fire of the English, in return, was even more destructive to these poor devoted Danes. It was then that Nelson wrote thus to the Crown Prince—"Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but, if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies, of the English." A wafer was given him, but he ordered a candle to be brought, and sealed the letter with wax. "This," said he, "is no time to appear hurried or informal." Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger carried this letter with a flag of truce. The Trekroner battery, from the inadequate force of Riou's little squadron, had suffered scarcely any injury, towards the close of the action it had been manned with nearly 1500 men, and the intention of storming it was abandoned. It was also deemed not advisable to advance against the yet uninjured part of the Danish line, but, while the wind continued fair, to remove the fleet out of the intricate channel from which it had to retreat. In about half an hour after Thesiger's departure, the Danish adjutant-general, Lindholm, came, bearing a flag of truce, when the Trekroner ceased firing, and the action closed. He brought an inquiry from the prince—What was the object of Nelson's note?

The reply was, "Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity: he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the King of Denmark." Sir Frederick Thesiger was a second time dispatched, and the Danish adjutant-general was referred to the commander-in-chief for a conference upon this overture. Nelson availed himself of the moments thus gained to get his crippled ships under weigh, and the imminent danger from which he had extricated them soon became apparent—his own ship, the 'Elephant,' and three others remained fixed upon the shoal for many hours. Nelson left the 'Elephant' soon after she took the ground. "Well," said he, "I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged. Never mind, let them!" It was soon agreed that a suspension of hostilities should take place for twenty-four hours, that all the prizes should be surrendered, and the wounded Danes carried on shore. Nelson went on shore to confer with the Crown Prince, to whom he gave him told more truths than he probably had ever heard in his life—perhaps more truths than any sovereign prince had ever heard. The prince asked him why the British fleet had forced its way up the Baltic. He replied "To crush and annihilate a confederacy formed against the dearest interests of England." Pointing out Bernsdorf, the prince's minister, who was present, and who was believed to be wholly devoted to France, he said he was the author of the confederacy, and answerable for all the blood which had been spilt. In consequence of his bravery and his humanity Nelson, on his landing, was received with huzzas and shouts of triumph, and was escorted to the palace amidst the acclamations of the admiring multitude. The negotiation continued for five days,* and on the 9th Nelson concluded an armistice for fourteen weeks, the Danes engaging to suspend all proceedings under the treaty of armed neutrality, which they had entered into with Russia and

* A difficulty arose respecting the duration of the armistice. The Danes fairly stated their fears of Russia, and Nelson frankly told them his reason for demanding a long term was that he might have time to go and destroy the Russian fleet and then return to Copenhagen. Neither party would yield upon this point, and one of the officers hinted at the immediate renewal of hostilities. Renew hostilities! cried Nelson to one of his friends, "tell him we are ready at a moment's notice—ready to bombard this very night!" The conference however proceeded amicably on both sides, and as the commissioners could not agree upon this head, they broke up, leaving Nelson to settle it with the prince. A levee was held forthwith in one of the state-rooms—some were well suited for such a consultation: for all these rooms had been stripped of their furniture in fear of a bombardment. To a bombardment also Nelson was looking at this time, fatigue and anxiety and vexation at the dilatory measures of the commander in chief combined to make him irritable, and as he was on the way to the prince's dining room, he whispered to the officer on whose arm he was leaning, "Though I have only one eye, I can see all this will burn well." After dinner he was clustered with the prince, and they agreed that the armistice should continue fourteen weeks.—*Sketchy*

Sweden, that their prisoners sent on shore should be accounted for in case of a renewal of hostilities, that the British fleet should have permission to provide itself at Copenhagen or along the coast, with whatever it might require for the health and comfort of the seamen, and that fourteen days' notice should precede any recommencement of hostilities. In this interval the prizes were disposed of. Six line-of-battle ships and eight frigates had been taken, but only one ship, the 'Holstein,' 64, was sent home, all the others being burned, and sunk in such shoal water, that the Danes soon after recovered their brass battering-cannon. As early as the morning of the 3rd all the grounded English ships, except the 'Désirée,' were got afloat. Nelson repeatedly declared that no men could have behaved with more bravery and steadiness than the Danes, that the battle of Copenhagen was the most dreadful affair he had ever witnessed, that this was the most difficult achievement, the hardest-fought battle, the most glorious result that had ever graced the annals of our country. The loss was terrible, the British counting in killed and mortally wounded about 300, and in recoverably and slightly wounded 850, while the Danes, at the lowest estimate, lost 1700 or 1800 in killed and wounded, the number of their prisoners taken and restored, but to be accounted for, exceeding 4000.* Nelson who was raised to a viscountcy for this exploit, lamented the slowness, over caution, and indecision of his superior officer (Sir Hyde Parker) both during and after the action, and, with no empty boast, he wrote to Earl St Vincent, that, if he had been left to himself, he would have settled all this business in the Baltic much sooner, and far more effectually than was done. Three days after the signing of the armistice, Parker sailed from Copenhagen roads with the main body of the fleet, leaving Nelson in the 'St George' with a few other ships, to follow as soon as their spars and rigging were repaired. The fleet directed its course along the channel called 'The Grounds' between the islands of Amak and Saltholm. In this tedious and dangerous navigation most of the men-of-war were obliged to tranship their guns into merchant vessels, and, even thus lightened, several of the largest ships grounded in that shallow water. In all these operations the difficulties of the navigation were extreme, and the skill and perseverance which our sailors brought to overcome them were at least as honourable as the gallantry they had displayed in action†. It was expected that the most dreadful

disasters would attend their present daring experiment but at length all the ships extricated themselves from the passage, and, to the astonishment of Danes, Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, entered the Baltic by this route. Their first object was to attack the Russian fleet, which was lying frozen up at Revel, waiting for a thaw, in order to get to sea and join the Swedes. But on his way Sir Hyde Parker received intelligence that a Swedish squadron was at sea, and, altering his course, he went in pursuit of it. The Swedes, who had only six to oppose to sixteen British ships of the line, sought refuge behind the strong forts of Carlscrona. Sir Hyde sent in a flag of truce, stating that Denmark had concluded an armistice, and requiring an explicit declaration from Sweden, whether she would adhere to or abandon the hostile measures which had been taken against the rights and interests of Great Britain? The Swedish admiral replied that he could not answer this question, but that his sovereign would soon be at Carlscrona. Gustavus, who had been dragged into the confederacy against his will, arrived, and on the 22nd of April he informed Sir Hyde that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals, made by deputies furnished with proper authority by the King of Great Britain to the united northern powers. Sir Hyde then sailed for the Gulf of Finland, but was soon overtaken by a dispatch-boat from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, bringing intelligence that the Emperor Paul was dead, and that his son and successor, Alexander, had accepted the offer made by England to his father, of terminating the dispute by a convention. Paul had perished on the 24th of March, nine days before the battle of Copenhagen, but his death had been concealed for some time at Petersburg, and was tardily communicated to the neighbouring countries. He was reported to have died of apoplexy, but the real circumstances of his death were these.—A conspiracy was formed among some of the courtiers, ministers, and officers nearest to the person of the mad emperor, some of whom had discovered that he contemplated sending them to join the innumerable exiles he had already sent into Siberia, and all of whom were disgusted with his savage, capricious, and imbecile tyranny. These individuals went in a body, by night, to his sleeping apartment, found him naked and standing trembling behind a screen, and stated to him the acts of injustice and cruelty of which he had been guilty, the ruin he was bringing upon the country, the universal discontent of his subjects, concluding by recommending him to abdicate quietly in favour of his eldest son Alexander, and presenting him an act of abdication to sign, on the score of mental weakness. Paul refused, saying he was emperor and would remain emperor. A violent dispute, and then a scuffle ensued, in which the wretched lonely man, who had not near him one arm to defend him, or one voice to plead for mercy, was knocked down, trampled upon, and strangled. His body was then laid in the bed he had quitted, just

* Southey's Life of Nelson.—Nelson's own Letters to Lady Hamilton.—James Naval Hist.—Captain Schomburgk's Naval Chronology. Despatches and other papers in Annals Register.

† Nelson even in speaking of the actual battle places the dangers of the navigation foremost. He says, 'This was a day when the greatest dangers of navigation were overcome.'

Nearly every part of this Baltic expedition was attended by dangers of navigation and by daring and successful experiments. In the month of July when both Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson had left the fleet Sir Charles Mordaunt Pole, who had succeeded to the command, performed another novel exploit.—The fleet being ordered home Sir Charles carried it with all its ships (the line two of which were at two-deckers) safely through the intricate channel of the Little Belt, and that too against a contrary wind, thus increasing the high reputation the British navy had gained in these inland seas.—James Naval Hist.

as the conspirators were bursting into the room, and on the following morning a physician was called in to certify that he had died of apoplexy.

Sir Hyde Parker, who felt assured that the death of Paul had dissolved the Baltic coalition, and that the young emperor Alexander would pursue a system of policy the very opposite to that of his father, thought it no longer necessary to go to Revel to look after the Russian fleet, but Nelson, who had joined him off Carlscrona, was of opinion that they ought to take advantage of the wind that was blowing fair for Revel, that negotiations with Russia would be best conducted with a fleet near at hand to back them, that nothing ought to be left to the uncertain events of time, and the very possible chances of inincerity on the part of the new Russian government, and it was with mortification that Nelson saw his commander-in-chief returning to Kiøge Bay, on the coast of Zealand, there to wait patiently for what might happen. As reinforcements had arrived from England, the fleet counted eighteen good sail of the line, a force which Nelson held to be sufficient to sweep the Baltic clean of all enemies' ships. On the 5th of May dispatches arrived from London, recalling Sir Hyde, and appointing Nelson commander-in-chief. Nelson's first signal as chief was to hoist in all boats and prepare to weigh, and on the 7th the fleet sailed from Kiøge. Nelson called at Carlscrona, where he demanded and obtained an assurance from the Swedes that the British trade should not be molested by them; he told the Swedish admiral that he hoped nothing would disturb the returning harmony, but that he was not directed to abstain from hostilities should he meet with a Swedish fleet at sea. Leaving a part of his fleet to watch these Swedes, he sailed away with ten ships of the line, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner, for the Gulf of Finland, vowing that he would have all the English shipping, subjects, and property restored, and that he would not suffer Russia to mix up the affairs of Denmark or Sweden with Paul's irregular embargo and the seizure of our ships. The wind was fair, and in four days Nelson was in Revel Roads. But the bay had been clear of firm ice on the 29th of April, while Sir Hyde Parker was lying idle at Kiøge. The Russians had cut through the ice in the mole six feet thick, and had sailed on the 3rd of May for Cronstadt, where they were protected by land batteries and other works of the most formidable description. Nelson said that if he had but found them at Revel, and if the necessity of treating them hostilely had continued, nothing could have prevented his destroying them *in toto* in a couple of hours. He now opened some friendly communications with the shore, and wrote to the Emperor Alexander, urging the immediate release of British subjects and restoration of British property, and proposing to wait on his imperial majesty personally, in order to congratulate him on his accession. An answer from Petersburg arrived on the 16th of May. Alexander's ministers, though professing the most friendly disposition to-

wards Great Britain, declined Nelson's visit unless he came in a single ship, made use of expressions which implied distrust and suspicion, and said nothing about the late embargo. "These Russians," said Nelson, "would not have written thus if their fleet had been at Revel!" He wrote immediately to tell the court of Petersburg "that the word of a British admiral was as sacred as that of any sovereign in Europe," and "that under other circumstances it would have been his anxious wish to have paid his respects to the emperor, and to have signed with his own hand the act of amity between the two countries." And then he quitted Revel, where it was pretended that his presence created alarm, and stood out to sea, leaving only a brig behind to bring off some provisions, and to settle some accounts on shore. "I hope," said he, writing to the British ambassador at Berlin, "that all is right but seamen are but bad negotiators, for we put to issue in five minutes what diplomatic forms would be five months doing." On his way down the Baltic he met the Russian admiral Tchitchagoff, who was dispatched by Alexander to enter into friendly explanations. Nelson then anchored off Rostock, where at the beginning of June he received dispatches from the Russian court, expressing their regret that there should ever have been any misunderstanding between them, informing him that the British subjects and vessels which Paul had detained were ordered to be liberated, and inviting him to Petersburg in whatever mode might be most agreeable to himself. But Nelson, whose services had chiefly been in warm, sunny climates, and whose shattered, enfeebled constitution could ill bear the cold and the fogs of the North, was now only anxious to return home, feeling that if he stayed there he must die. On the 6th of June he returned to Kiøge Bay, on the 13th he received the sanction of the Admiralty to an application he had made to return to England, and on the 19th he quitted the Baltic in the "Kite" brig, declining, on his unwillingness to weaken the British force to accept of a frigate—a very unusual sacrifice of comfort on the part of an admiral and commander-in-chief, and the more to be remarked, as Nelson, who is said never to have gone to sea without suffering sickness for the first day or two, though in a line-of-battle ship, was known to suffer excessively from sea-sickness in a small vessel.*

In the meanwhile Lord St. Helens had proceeded from London to Petersburg, and on the 17th of June, just two days before Nelson betook himself to his comfortless berth on board the little brig, a convention was signed by his lordship and the Russian ministers, in which all disputes were adjusted. Sweden and Denmark acceded to the same terms, which included a more explicit definition of the right of search, and of the law and principles of blockade, together with a limitation of articles considered as contraband of war to those of real military and naval stores, ammunition, &c. The Danish troops, who had occupied Hamburg, eva-

uated that great trading city, the navigation of the Elbe, and of the other German rivers which had been closed, was re opened to our flag, and Frederick William III of Prussia, who had succeeded his father, Frederick William II, in November, 1797, who continued in vassalage or subservience to the French, and who had seized not only the independent trading city of Bremen, but also the whole of the electorate of Hanover, the hereditary dominion of George III, where he had levied contributions, and acted as a conqueror and sovereign, engaged to give up both these acquisitions, and to withdraw his troops within his old frontiers after certain amicable arrangements should be completed. Except on the part of Denmark, there seemed no reason to doubt the sincerity and willingness with which these northern powers abandoned French interests. Besides breaking the confederacy of the Baltic, the battle of Copenhagen and the death of Paul gave the death-blow to sundry French schemes, and induced Bonaparte really to wish for some short peace or truce. He had hoped, by some sudden (though certainly not very practicable) junction of the fleets of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, with the navies of France and Spain, to obtain the mastery of the British Channel and the narrow seas, and to be enabled by these means to throw an invading army of 100,000 men on our coast. He had also secretly concerted with the madman Paul the plan of a wondrous expedition to India, which he found was not to be conquered or disturbed from the side of Egypt. 30,000 choice French troops were to have marched into Poland, there to join 30,000 select Russian infantry, and 40,000 Cossacks and other irregular cavalry, and from the heart of Poland this allied army was to have proceeded to the shores of the Caspian Sea, either to embark and cross that sea, or to march by the way of Persia, whose consent had been solicited both by the Czar and the First Consul. But these splendid visions—and they were but visions at the best—were now dissolved into the thinnest air.

The fate of the French army in Egypt was sealed about a fortnight before the battle of Copenhagen. In the year 1800 General Kleber, after losing the fortress of El Arish, and retreating before a Turkish army commanded by the grand vizier, and essentially aided by an English squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, found himself under the necessity of agreeing to evacuate Egypt. On the 24th of January, 1800, a treaty was concluded at El Arish between the Turks and the French, and confirmed by Sir Sidney Smith, who had received no instructions to that effect either from his commander-in-chief or from the government at home. By the conditions of this treaty the French army was to be allowed to return to Europe unmolested. Pitt's ministry, naturally averse to permit the arrival of such reinforcements to Bonaparte, then contending or about to contend with the Austrians in Italy and with the imperialists in Germany, sent out orders to Lord Keith not to ratify any such con-

vention as that of El Arish. The commander-in-chief of our Mediterranean fleet accordingly acquainted Kleber by letter that he could not permit any of his troops to depart for France before they had been exchanged in Europe as prisoners of war, that he must lay down his arms, give up the plunder which had been made in Egypt, and the French transports and stores in the port of Alexandria, before any capitulation could be agreed to. Hostilities recommenced immediately, and on the 20th of March Kleber routed the undisciplined, disorderly army of the grand vizier. But at this critical moment the Moslems of Cairo rose in insurrection, murdered many of the French that were in that city, and drove the rest of them into the citadel. Instead of following the flying vizier, Kleber was obliged to return to Cairo. After some sanguinary conflicts, and many atrocities committed on both sides, the insurgents were obliged to capitulate. Kleber was engaged in the very hopeless task of restoring order and tranquillity, when, on the 13th of June, he was stabbed by an Arab. He was succeeded by General Menou, whose indecision or pusillanimity had left so good an opening to Bonaparte at the crisis of the 13th Vendémiaire,* who had pretended to turn Mussulman, taking the turban and the name of Abdallah, assiduously frequenting the mosques, and marrying an Egyptian wife, and who appears really to have been one of the most contemptible of these French republican generals, who, generally speaking, were raised far above contempt by martial bravery and ability. The French were, however, enabled to maintain themselves in Egypt until the arrival of the British army under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and in the interval four French ships of war and some fast-sailing transports escaped our cruisers, ran into the mouth of the Nile, and landed important succours of troops and ammunition. By the 1st of January, 1801, the fleet under Admiral Lord Keith, which carried this small but excellent army, had all come safely to anchor in the Bay of Marmouze, on the coast of Karamania, one of the finest harbours in the world. Here the troops were kept waiting for some time for horses which had been promised from Constantinople to mount the cavalry, and for other necessities, some of which arrived very slowly, and some not at all. But the time was not entirely wasted, the whole army was frequently exercised in the manoeuvre of landing, which they were shortly to practise in presence of the enemy, and these manoeuvres and experiments were repeated until it was nicely ascertained that 6000 men might be landed in the most perfect order, and ready for immediate action, in the short space of twenty-three minutes †.

The capital defect of English armies had hitherto been the almost total want of a proper staff of officers, educated and trained in the scientific parts of their profession, in planning and mapping, in catching at a glance, or on a rapid survey, the

* See ante p. 458.
† Dr Clarke Travels in Egypt.

military capabilities of a country for offensive or for defensive operations, in judging of the relative value of positions, of the best lines whereby to advance or retreat, and of taking the field advantageously, compactly, and scientifically. Through the want of such a staff, and through the obstinacy and blindness of ignorance, the armies led by the Duke of York in the Netherlands and in Holland had taken the field hap-hazard, or like geese scattered over a common, rarely or never knowing anything of the country that was before them or behind them, or on their flanks, and time after time nothing but the doggedness of the British soldiery, who would never know when they were beaten, had saved the army from ignominious surrender. But now this capital defect was beginning to be supplied by young officers who had been duly educated in the military school or college established at Marlow, under the superintendence of General Jarry, a veteran, who had devoted his whole life to this sort of science, and who had had ample practice and experience in the wars of Frederick the Great. It was in this Egyptian campaign that the French generals were first astonished and alarmed at the skill and excellence of the British staff*. During the stay of the army in Marmorie Bay it was joined by two more regiments of dismounted cavalry, and a sloop of war arrived in the harbour, which had a few days before captured a French brig, having on board a general officer and 5000 stand of arms for the use of the French army in Egypt. The horses for the cavalry at last arrived, but they were such sorry beasts, that the English dragoons were ashamed to mount them or take charge of them, and every commanding cavalry officer solicited rather to serve with his corps as infantry†. About two hundred of these half starved, diminutive, galled steeds were, however, kept for the cavalry, and about fifty for the artillery, the remainder being shot or sold for a dollar a head. Miserable indeed would have been the state of our cavalry had it not been amended by the purchase of some horses in the neighbourhood of Marmorie, but this supply was small, for the measure was not pressed vigorously till too late. If the purchase had been previously made, it would have rendered the dragoons an effective force, and have saved an enor-

* See General Foy's History of the Peninsular War in which the able French officer acknowledges this fact and the admirable qualities of the staff employed by Wellington and his generals in Spain and Portugal. The best of our staff officers who served in the Peninsular war had been trained at Marlow under old Jarry. (We learn from a register in the war office that old Jarry was not commissioned 'commandant of the royal military college of the senior department' until the 26th of June, 1801, but he had given instructions some time before receiving his commission—such practical instructions as no other man in England at that time could have given.) We believe we only repeat good professional opinions in saying that there has been no regularly progressive improvement in these branches of military education: that the military college of Sandhurst, the successor or continuation of the military college of Marlow, has devolved into a mere school of mathematics where little or nothing that is practical is practically taught, and where old Jarry's staff lessons are never repeated and scarcely known except by tradition. The government of this country cannot too soon direct its attention to this important subject.

† It is said that Lord Elgin our ambassador at Constantinople, had purchased 400 or 500 very good horses but that these had been changed on the road through the kuaverry of the people employed in conducting them through Asia Minor.

mous expense. Some gun-boats which had been fitted out at Rhodes now joined the fleet, being intended for covering the landing in Egypt, further to facilitate which operation a number of small vessels, decked, but of easy draught of water, were hired. General Moore, who had been sent to examine the grand vizier's army, stationed at Juffa, returned with the melancholy intelligence that it was weak as to numbers, without discipline, and infected with the plague, so that its co-operation offered no apparent advantage. At the same time it was ascertained that the French force in Egypt was far greater than had been supposed: it had been calculated that, through disease, battle, assassination, wounds, and other casualties, the army under Menou had been reduced to 13 000 or 14,000 men, whereas it was now found that, through reinforcements they had received, and some hundreds of auxiliaries they had raised, the French were more than 30,000 strong, having with them above 1000 pieces of cannon, exclusive of upwards of 500 unserviceable pieces, in boats, shipping, &c. When Abercromby had received all his reinforcements, he could not muster more than 15,330 men, including 996 sick, 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of people attached to an army except officers—the effective force, therefore, could not be, at the highest computation, above 12 000. Nothing was seen or heard of the Turkish Captain Pasha, whose co-operation with a fleet and land troops had been promised. The Captain Bey arrived, but he brought with him only two corvettes, his line-of-battle ship having been dismasted by lightning. It was resolved, however, to wait no longer. The weather had been very stormy for some time, and all the country pilots declared that, till after the equinox, it would be madness to attempt a landing on the Egyptian coast. But to their astonishment the fleet, on the 23rd of February, weighed anchor, and set sail in a gale of wind. The number of vessels was so great, being 175 sail of all descriptions, that it took them a whole day to clear out of Marmorie Bay and assemble in the roads. According to an eye-witness, a nobler sight could not be beheld. On the 2nd of March the whole fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay, the men-of-war, riding exactly where the battle of the Nile was fought, for one of our ships of the line chafed her cables against the wreck of 'L'Orient,' whose anchor she afterwards fished up. From the 2nd to the 7th of March the state of the weather prevented any operations in boats, but, on the afternoon of the 7th, the weather moderating, Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir Sidney Smith, whose services were invaluable, went in boats to reconnoitre the coast, and fix upon the best place for landing the troops. On the following morning some gun-vessels and armed launches were sent forward to clear the beach, 5500 soldiers were put into the boats, and at a given signal a simultaneous dash was made for the shore. Though rapidly, the boats advanced in perfect order, the soldiers sitting between the seats close

together, with unloaded arms. When the boats came within range, fifteen pieces of ordnance from the opposite hill, and the artillery of Aboukir Castle, opened upon them with round and grape shot, and, on advancing still nearer, musket-balls were showered upon them. The British soldiers huzzaed occasionally, but never attempted to return a shot. Numbers of the soldiers were killed and wounded; some boats were sunk, some turned aside to save the drowning men, but the mass of them rowed steadily forward, until they touched the strand, when the soldiers with wonderful rapidity got all on shore, and General Moore, drawing them up in line, gave the welcome word to load. Some of the English guards were roughly handled by a division of French cavalry before they could form, some loss was sustained in ascending the sand-hills which rose above the beach, but in less than half an hour those heights were carried, and the French fled, leaving all their field-pieces behind them. Advancing against the French, who took post on the ridge of heights between Aboukir and Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercromby, with sailors dragging the artillery through a deep and burning sand, came to an indecisive action on the 13th of March, and had a horse killed under him. On the

* Some of our troops formed and loaded as they quitted the boats while others pushed on without having time to load, and notwithstanding the rapid fire of musketry which assailed them, and the violent chase of the enemy, the latter were forced to retire. Not more than 2000 of our men were on shore when the French retreated but every step was contested and carried. There was scarcely any interval between the landing of the troops and their pushing up the hills, under difficulties and amidst danger that baffled the powers of description. Some marched up in an excellent line with charge bayonets while others proceeded on their hands and knees. But however they succeeded at whatever distance they considered they gained their object. — *Journal of the British Army* &c. &c. in the D. M. in April 1800. &c. with the subsequent Transactions. 1. 1. 1. under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Mediterranean and Egypt, &c. by John Anderson, Lieut. 4th Regt.

19th Fort Aboukir capitulated; and on the 20th, General Menou having arrived from Cairo, the whole of the French disposable force was concentrated at Alexandria. The British forces now occupied excellent positions near the ground where they had fought on the 13th. About three o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when all was quiet, the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the British line this was followed by the report of a cannon, scattered musketry succeeded, and then the roar of two more guns was heard. Early as it was, our men were all under arms, but it was still dark, and, although some streaks of grey were perceptible in the eastern horizon, the morning seemed slow to break. While all eyes and ears were turned towards the left, whence the sound of the firing proceeded, of a sudden loud shouts were heard in front of our right—shouts that were presently succeeded by a crash of musketry. Menou had hoped to take the British by surprise, and had ordered a general attack the surprise failed, but the attack soon became general enough, and the fighting more terrible than any the French had hitherto met with. For awhile the darkness was made greater by the smoke of the guns and small-arms, and one of the greatest difficulties of our troops was to discern friends from foes. But anon the tardy dawn brightened into day, and then the fighting went on with increased vivacity. At first the well-mounted French cavalry made great impression, turning our right wing and getting into the rear of our infantry; but the 42nd Highlanders and the 28th regiment, aided by the flank companies of the 40th, and fight-

* In the dark some confusion was unavoidable, but our men, whenever the French appeared had gone boldly up to them. Even the French saw this breaking in had not dismayed them. — *General Moore's own Journal*



BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA

ing at the same time to the front, flanks, and rear, not only kept the ground, but fired such volleys that the field was presently covered with men and horses, while other horses were galloping without their riders in short, the French cavalry was destroyed. In several parts of the field the French and English, who had exhausted their ammunition, were seen pelting one another with stones. Wherever the British bayonet was used, its success was complete and terrible. In addition to a redoubt, the English had possession of the ruins of an ancient Roman palace, surrounded by a low stone wall, like a Turkish cemetery. Menou had promised a louis d'or to every French soldier who should penetrate into that quadrangle. After several desperate attempts, the French, attacking on three sides at once, got within the walls. Here they were received by the 58th and 23rd, and followed by a part of the 42nd, who blocked up every exit and completely cut off their retreat. When they had expended all their ammunition, our people had recourse to stones and the butt-ends of their muskets. Then they transfixed the French with their bayonets against the walls of the old building, and covered the whole area with the blood and bodies of their enemies. Seven hundred Frenchmen were shot or bayoneted among those ruins—scarcely a man of them that had entered escaped. While this tremendous conflict, which decided the fate of the day, was at its height, Sir Ralph Abercromby, riding towards the ruins, was nearly surrounded by a party of French horse. A French officer made a savage thrust at the old general, but Sir Ralph, receiving the sabre under his left arm, wrested the weapon from his antagonist. A French hussar then rode up to aim a surer blow, but a Highland soldier, perceiving his intention, and being without ball, put his ramrod into his musket and with it shot the hussar. Unfortunately the brave old general, who had always been accused of exposing his person too much, and whose shortness of sight had often led him into danger, received a sabre-wound in the breast in this melee with the French hussars, and, a short time after, he received a musket-shot in the thigh. Between nine and ten o'clock the battle ceased. It was not until he saw the French flying that Sir Ralph could be prevailed upon to quit the field. He had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wounds, officers who went to him in the course of the action had returned without knowing from his manner and appearance that he had been wounded at all, and even now many ascertained it only by seeing the blood trickling down his clothes. But at last, when exertion was no longer necessary, his spirit yielded to the weakness of the body. He became faint, was put into a hammock, and was carried off the field in the midst of the blessings and tears of the soldiery, who loved him as a father. The cut or contusion in the chest was trifling, but the shot wound was dangerous from the first, and proved mortal. He was carried almost immediately to Lord Keith's flag ship, where he

expired on the evening of the 28th.* General Moore was badly wounded early in the action, as was also Brigadier-General Oakes, but both, like their veteran commander-in-chief, remained on the field till the action was over. Sir Sidney Smith, who was serving on shore, and who was always in the hottest fire, and Brigadier-General Hope, were also wounded. On the other side, General Roize, who commanded the French cavalry, was killed on the field, with nearly all the men and horses he led into action, and Generals Lanusse and Rodet died of their wounds. The total number of British killed and wounded is stated at about 1400, and that of the French at more than double that number. The field was covered with the wounded and the dead on it were found above 1700 French, 1040 of whom were buried by the English in the course of two days in the ground on which they had fought and fallen. "I never," says General Moore, "saw a field so strewn with dead!" A corps which, like nearly all the regiments now under Menou, had formed a part of the conquering army of Italy, and which in its pride had taken the name of "The Invincible," was almost annihilated. A standard was taken inscribed with victories and exploits in Italy† Menou, as well as all his army, had gone into action quite confident of success: their numbers were from 12,000 to 14,000. Our effective force on the ground did not exceed 10,000, and during nearly all the conflict about half of that number had to sustain the concentrated attack of the French, the left wing which had been the first threatened with attack, and which continued to be observed by General Rognier with 500 French, scarcely coming into action at all until Menou was already in full retreat. The French prisoners confessed that the battles in Italy were nothing compared to those they had fought since the landing of the British in Egypt: some of them said they had never fought till now‡.

The consequences of the three victories we had obtained were of the utmost importance, as the Arabs, who had witnessed fighting such as their

* Sir Ralph was a truly upright, honourable and judicious man, his great secret, which has been pointed out by all his military contemporaries, was that he never made him an excellent officer. *The disadvantage he took every day was being extremely ill-sighted. He therefore stood in need of a few executive generals under him. It was impossible, knowing him as I did, not to have the greatest respect and friendship for him. The only emotion I feel is, that his death has been nearly that which he himself wished, and his country grateful to his memory will hand down his name to posterity with the admiration it deserves.*—*Private Journal of Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, in 1796 by his Brother.*

† *Ac—Le Passage de la Rivière, le Passage du Tagliamento, le Passage de l'Isone, la Pira de Graz, le Pont de Lodi.*

‡ Sir Robert Wilson, *History of the British Expedition to Egypt*. See—*James Anderson, Lieut. 40th Regt. Journal of the Forces*. See also of the *Transactions of the Army under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby*. See—*James Carleil Moore, Lieut. of his Brother, Lieut. General Sir John Moore—Narrative of a Private Soldier in his Majesty's 42nd Regt. of Foot* written by himself.

Our forces had been reduced by the actions of the 8th and 15th many men were taken away for the care of the wounded and three regiments had been left in the rear to prosecute the siege of Fort Aboukir.

Even according to Rognier's boastful account of the battle the French had 9000 men including 1000 cavalry, together with 46 pieces of artillery. The British had only some 800 cavalry, and their miserably mounted. We had only two 84 pounders, and 34 field pieces, and these were spread along the whole line.

fathers had handed down to them no tradition of, flocked into the British camp with abundance of provisions, the remnant of the splendid Mameluke cavalry soon began to re-appear in Upper Egypt, and even the quiet, spiritless Fellahs thought of resenting the wrongs and insults they had sustained from the French soldiery. The French at Aboukir soon surrendered: in a few days the Capitan Pasha's fleet anchored there, and landed 5000 or 6000 Turks, and the grand-vizier, who had been dozing at El Arish, began to rouse himself. General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson succeeded to the command of the British army, which was reinforced in the month of April by 3000 men. Rosetta and Fort Julien were taken from the French about the middle of April. Alexandria, into which Menou had retired, was almost insulated from the rest of Egypt by General Hutchinson, by cutting through the embankments which served to retain the waters of the Aboukir lake, and by inundating the dry bed of the ancient Lake Mareotis: a British flotilla ascended the Nile capturing the convoys of provisions destined for the French, and carrying several works which had been erected on the banks of that river. The grand vizier was crossing the desert, and the troops from India were expected to be soon at Suez. Leaving General Coote to maintain the lines before Alexandria with 6500 men, General Hutchinson proceeded to Ramanieh, where the French had collected 4000 men, who had dug intrenchments and raised batteries. Having driven the enemy from this important post, Hutchinson proceeded still farther up the Nile towards Cairo, which the grand-vizier was approaching in an opposite direction. Before he could effect a juncture with the vizier's army, the French sallied out of Cairo and attacked it, but so spiritless had they become in their adversity, that 5000 disciplined republicans, with twenty-four pieces of artillery, allowed themselves to be repulsed by a most irregular Turkish army. Now 1200 Mamelukes, finely equipped, joined the vizier, and Turks, Arabs, Syrian*, and Copts, all offered their aid to expel the French. Cairo was soon invested, and, on the 27th of June, the French general, Belliard, capitulated, on the condition that his troops, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, and effects, should be embarked and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean at the expense of the allied powers. The French, who issued out of Cairo, exceeded 13 000 in all: they left behind them 313 heavy cannon and 100 000 lbs weight of gunpowder. At this moment the Anglo-Indian army, under Major-General Baird, was ascending the Red Sea. Baird, who had sailed from Bombay on the 7th of April, with about 2800 British, 2000 Sepoys, and 450 of the East Indian Company's artillery, reached Jeddah, on the Red Sea, on the 17th of May, and was there joined by an English division from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of the 61st regiment, some squadrons of light horse, and a strong detachment of ar-

tillery. On the 8th of June Baird reached Kossair and commenced landing his troops, but it was the month of July before his van division began to cross the burning deserts which lie between the Red Sea and Egypt, and, before he could unite his forces at Cairo, Menou capitulated upon the same conditions as Belliard, and Egypt was cleared of the French.*

In the month of March, the court of Madrid, considering that it could only stop French invasion by submitting in all things to the will of the First Consul, declared war against Portugal, and towards the end of April a Spanish army, commanded by Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, invaded the Portuguese provinces. In June the court of Lisbon purchased a treaty of peace (the treaty of Olivenza), by yielding some territory to Spain, and by engaging to shut their ports against the English. Bonaparte refused to concur in this treaty, and sent a French army, 25,000 strong, through Spain to attack Portugal. The Spaniards not merely allowed the passage of these Frenchmen, but gave them every countenance and assistance they could. The French soon invested Almeida and menaced both Lisbon and Oporto. The helpless Portuguese could do little beyond imploring English succours in troops, ships, and money. Some money—300,000*l*—and some ships were sent, but our government thought it could spare no more troops than the three or four regiments that were already in the country. During these contests, however, an expedition was sent from England to take possession of the island of Madeira, in order to secure it for Portugal. As the negotiations for peace with England, which had been secretly renewed in the course of the summer, were now drawing to a conclusion, and as the French generals were gratified by enormous donations or bribes, the operations of the invading army were soon suspended, and by a definitive treaty, concluded at Madrid in the last days of September, Bonaparte agreed to withdraw his troops and respect the independence and integrity of Portugal, the court of Lisbon, on their part, agreeing to confirm to Spain all the territory which had been ceded by the late treaty of Olivenza, to make over to France one-half of Portuguese Guiana, to shut all the ports and roads of Portugal, in Europe, against all English vessels until the conclusion of peace between France and England, to nullify all preceding treaties and conventions with England, to treat France, in all matters of commerce, as the most favoured nation, and to admit all French commodities and merchandise whatsoever, particularly French broad-cloths. By a more secret article the Portuguese court paid immediately twenty millions of francs to the French republic.

The naval war became very languid, the French

* Sir Robert Wilson—Eneas Anderson—*Le Comte de Noe Mémoires Relatifs à l'Exposition Anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800 &c*

The Comte de Noe who was then a royalist emigrant and an officer in the British 10th regiment of the line, went with Sir David Baird on this expedition. His account of which contains several interesting details not to be found elsewhere.

and Spanish fleets not venturing out of port, and their detached squadrons putting to sea only in the absence of the English. Admiral Gantheaume, however, escaped out of Brest with seven sail of the line and two frigates, got through the Straits of Gibraltar and into the Mediterranean, and, while our fleet in that sea was occupied on the coast of Egypt, he contrived to pick up two of our frigates, and the 'Swiftsure,' a 74-gun ship. The 'Swiftsure,' unaided and alone, fought two French 80-gun ships, at the closest quarters, for more than an hour and did not strike until two other French line-of-battle ships were within gunshot and closing fast upon her. Another French squadron carrying troops from Toulon to Cadiz was not so fortunate. It was obliged by contrary winds to put into Algeiras Bay, right opposite to Gibraltar. It consisted of three line-of-battle ships, a Gallo Venetian 36 gun frigate, and some smaller craft. On the 6th of July, two days after its arrival, this squadron was attacked by Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, with six sail of the line, but the bay of Algeiras was defended by several heavy land-batteries, some of them situated on a rock about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and others on commanding cliffs to the north and south of the town: the cross fire of these batteries completely flanked the entrance to the harbour, which harbour was in itself extremely difficult to navigate, being surrounded by reefs of sunken rocks. For some time only three of Saumarez's ships could get into action, and they had to contend with the three French line-of-battle ships, a number of gun-boats and the land-batteries, which were well served. When two other English ships brought their fire to bear, one of them, the 'Hannibal,' struck and stuck fast on the rocks, where she was soon dismasted and almost destroyed by the terrible fire of the French and Spaniards. After a stern contest, in which he was repeatedly baffled by flaws of wind, Saumarez hauled off. He left the 'Hannibal' behind him to strike, but he had sunk five Spanish gun-boats, and had materially injured both the Spanish forts and the French ships of the line. A few days after this affair five Spanish ships of the line and three frigates, and another French ship of the line, came into Algeiras bay. By working night and day Admiral Saumarez repaired the damages he had sustained in the late action, and on the afternoon of the 12th of July, as the combined squadron, now consisting of ten sail of the line, three frigates and an immense number of gun-boats, was working round Cabarita point to get into the Straits, he made a dash at it with only five ships of the line, two frigates, a polacca, and a hired armed brig. The allies, whose chief anxiety was to land the troops at Cadiz, went away before the wind through

the Straits, and it was night before the English could get fairly up with them. The Spaniards fought but loosely. One of their immense line-of-battle ships, carrying 112 guns, was set on fire, and as she blew up she set fire to another ship of the same flag and of the same immense size, which mounted in the air soon after her, between the two, nearly 1800 lives were lost. A Spanish 74-gun ship was taken, the rest of the combined squadron, much crippled and in a frightful state of confusion, reached Cadiz.

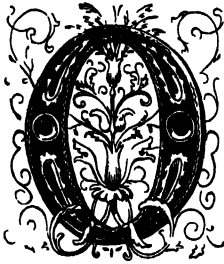
On the 1st of August Admiral Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun boats and other small vessels, stood over to the coast of France to reconnoitre the preparations said to be making for the invasion of England. On the 4th he made an experimental attack upon the flotilla which lay at the mouth of Boulogne harbour. He sunk two floating batteries and destroyed a few gun-boats which were outside the pier. But on the night between the 15th and 16th, going right into the harbour he was repulsed with considerable loss.*

Many circumstances, some of which are explained in the narrative of the events of this year, and some of which will fall to be noticed in the next Book, now rendered the First Consul really eager for some short suspension of hostilities with England. The Addington administration, which had started as a peace ministry, agreed to preliminaries, which were signed on the 1st of October. The Turkish sultan and the young czar Alexander treated with the First Consul, and there was a grand interchange of compliments and of promises, which were never meant to be kept. In the month of November the Marquess Cornwallis went over to France as ambassador plenipotentiary. From Paris, where he was received with the greatest honours and with the very lively joy of a part of the population, his lordship repaired to Amiens, the place appointed for holding the conferences. The discussions, in which Cornwallis had to contend with Joseph Bonaparte and the wily Talleyrand, were prolonged beyond all expectation, and were several times all but broken off in anger and with mutual defiance. Great and reasonable jealousies were excited by the use the First Consul made of the suspension of hostilities, which had followed the signing of the preliminaries in October, in sending out the French fleets, but, at last, on the 27th of March, 1802, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Amiens.

* Besides being moored by the bottom to the shore the French boats and other craft were defended by long poles headed with iron spikes projecting from their sides. Strong nettings were braced up to their lower yards. They were strongly manned by soldiers and protected by land batteries. The whole shore in rear being filled with troops. Nelson had complained that the force put at his disposal was not sufficient but he could never come in sight of an enemy without fighting him.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION



OF the Established Church, regarded by itself, the history, whether external or internal, during this period, amounts to nothing or next to nothing it was disquieted by scarcely any contention among its own members, and the circumstances described in the last

Book * continued to operate in consolidating and fixing the new form into which it had subsided as a political institution, with a more undisturbed action than ever. It had still, however, to sustain some occasional alarm, and a few actual collisions, in the course of the process of adjusting the positions and rights of the various dissenting religious communities, which was not yet quite completed.

This process, which had been one of relaxation in regard to the Protestant sectaries ever since the Revolution, had, as we have seen already, begun to take that character before the commencement of the present period even in regard to the Roman Catholics, at least in England and Ireland. After more than sixty years had passed without any additions having been made to the penal code, the first actual repeal of any part of that code was effected by the English and Irish statutes of the year 1778 †. And the following year witnessed the last mitigation we have yet had to record of the less severe restrictions or disabilities which the legislation that preceded the Revolution of 1688 had imposed upon the Protestant dissenters ‡.

No attempt was made by this latter description of persons to obtain any further relief till after the lapse of several years. But at last they resolved to make application to parliament for the repeal of the two statutes of the 13th of Charles II. st 2, c. 1, and the 25th of Charles II. c. 2, commonly called the Corporation and Test Acts, which made the taking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England, a necessary qualification for being elected to any municipal office, or for holding any office of trust or profit under the crown, whether civil or military. By an act passed in 1718 (the 5 Geo. I. c. 6) the first of these two statutes was so far repealed, as that the not having taken the Sacrament within the period

prescribed (a twelvemonth before the election) no longer made the election of the party *ipso facto* void, and then the Annual Indemnity Acts protected persons who neglected to qualify themselves within the six months succeeding the election, within which the time for removal or prosecution was now limited. Relief had also been already granted to the Protestant dissenters in Ireland from disabilities similar to those which these statutes imposed, by an act of the parliament of that kingdom passed in 1779, which declared that all persons, being Protestants, might there hold and enjoy any office, civil or military, notwithstanding they should not receive nor have received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without incurring any penalties for or in respect of that neglect. The claim of the English Protestant dissenters to be placed in the same condition with their Irish brethren was brought before the House of Commons on the 28th of March, 1787, by Mr. Beaufoy, member for Yarmouth, in a motion that the



MR. BEAUFOY

House should immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider the Test and Corporation Acts, which he prefaced by a long speech. He described the persons aggrieved by the provisions in these laws, which made the taking of the Sacrament a necessary qualification for office, as consisting of three classes,—the first, composed of all those Englishmen who were dissenters from the Church of England, the second, of all the members of the Established Church of Scotland, the third, of all those clergymen of the Church of England who looked upon the prostitution of the most solemn ordinance of their faith to the purposes of a civil test as little less than a sacrilegious

* See Vol. I. p. 518

† Id. p. 520

‡ Id. p. 519

ardour He professed to argue the question solely on grounds of expediency, the principal of which that he stated were the desirableness of not unnecessarily offending or alarming the fears and prejudices of the members of the established church, and the real danger the established church might incur from the free admission to office of at least certain descriptions of dissenters. Some dissenters went so far as to maintain that all establishments were improper. "This," said Pitt, "may not be the opinion of the present body of dissenters [the parties with whom the motion before the House originated], but no means can be devised of admitting the moderate part of the dissenters, and excluding the more violent the bulk must be kept against all, and I am endeavouring to take every prudent and proper precaution." It affords a remarkable illustration of the state of opinion at this time among all parties, to find Fox commencing his reply to this speech by avowing that he should have found himself at one with Pitt, if the latter had gone no farther than to propose that there should be some test for shutting out from office such dissenters as denied the propriety or necessity of established churches altogether. He only complained that his right honourable opponent had afterwards carried out his argument so as to apply it to all dissenters indiscriminately. But Fox really answered every argument that had been brought forward in the course of the debate for maintaining the existing law by the single remark, that it undeniably had not, in any degree whatever, the effect attributed to it, or for the sake of which it was held desirable that it should be kept up. He stated that there were corporations which were entirely filled by dissenters, and that he knew of two such corporations. He afterwards exposed the absurd and mischievous consequences of employing religion for a test in politics. Beaufoy had argued that the law which declared that every man who accepted a commission in the army, or was appointed to a civil office, should take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper compelled a clergyman to administer this sacrament to every person who should demand it upon that ground, inasmuch as, if he refused, a ruinous prosecution for damages was the inevitable consequence. To this North had replied "Every minister is bound by his holy office to refuse the communion to any unworthy person. If he refuses according to law, by law he will be justified: the fear of an action should not prevent a man from doing his duty: if he is right, where can be the fear of an action?" He will gain honour, and the person bringing the action will have a considerable expense, attended with disgrace. The clergy are situated now in the same manner that they were before the Test Act: they could then, and they may now, upon proof, refuse to administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to any unworthy character." Pitt had not expressed himself in terms quite so decided upon this head, if we may trust to the report of his speech. He is stated to

have observed "that there was nothing in the Rubric that supposed a clergyman to be acquainted with all the circumstances of the life of a communicant. The crimes which it was incumbent upon him to object to must be glaring, nor could it be imagined that the state could be deprived of the service of an officer of the army or navy on the ground that they were the most profligate of men, and ought not to be communicants." Thus North seems to have laid himself out to meet the argument that exposed the hardship of the law in its bearing upon the clergy, Pitt, that which pointed to its inconveniences in reference to the state or the public service. Fox very neatly showed that, whether the clergyman had or had not the power of rejecting the applications of communicants, the evil was equally great. "With respect to clergymen giving or refusing the sacrament," he observed, "if the clergyman of the parish refused, he subjected himself to an action, and, supposing that he found means to get through the inconveniences of the litigation, what was the consequence? Why, that, having refused the man the sacrament, he had disabled him from being qualified to hold the office: for the man could not take the sacrament from another clergyman, *and thus there was vested in the minister of a parish a power superior to that of any ecclesiastical court,"* or, he might have added, of any other court or established authority in the state. This was at any rate a sufficient answer to the assertion that the Test Act had made no change in the situation of the clergy, in so far as respected the consequences of their refusing to administer the sacrament: if the Test Act had not altered the consequences to themselves of such refusal, it had at least given a great extension and additional weight to those of them that affected other people. This and all other arguments tending in the same direction, however, were urged in vain when, after a few remarks from Sir William Dolben, formerly the solitary auxiliary of Sir Roger Newdigate in his resistance to Hoghton's bill in 1772, and now the successor of that worthy baronet in the representation of the University of Oxford, the question was put, and the House divided, the numbers were found to be, for Beaufoy's motion, 98, against it, 176.

For the next two years the question was allowed to sleep, but it was again brought before the same parliament, by the same advocate, on the 8th of May, 1789. Mr Beaufoy's motion on this occasion was substantially the same as before,—that the House would immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider of so much of the Corporation and Test Acts as required persons, before being admitted into any office or place in corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. The dissenters, he said, had not indulged the language of complaint in consequence of their former disap-

pointment, nor had they sought the aid of political alliances, or endeavoured to avail themselves of party divisions "they had patiently waited the arrival of a period in which the wisdom of a complete toleration should be generally acknowledged, and in which the experience of other nations should have proved that such a toleration would strengthen the interest of the established church, and so entirely destroy the bitterness of religious variance that the state would afterwards be as little affected by that variance as by a difference of opinion in natural philosophy or any other speculative science."

A great deal to be accomplished all in an interval of two years! The principal novelty in Beaufoy's present speech, which was neither so long nor so elaborate as his former one, was the more detailed statement which he gave of the disabilities inflicted upon dissenters by the laws of which they now sought the repeal. "No office under the crown, though your sovereign may invite you to his service, no commission in the army, though the enemy may be marching to the capital, no share in the management of any of the commercial companies in the kingdom, though your whole fortune may be vested in their stocks, shall be yours, from the direction of the Bank of England, from the direction of the India Company, from that of the Russia, the Turkish and South Sea Companies, you are entirely debarred, for, if you should accept of any share in the management of these companies, or of any office under the crown, or of any military employment, you are within the penalties of the statutes. In the first place you forfeit to the informer the sum of 500*l*, if you cannot pay that sum without delay, the penalty is imprisonment, if you cannot pay it at all, as may be the case with many a brave officer, who has offended against the law by fighting the battles of his country, the penalty is imprisonment for life. In the next place, you are incapable of suing for any debt. Does any one owe you money? Have you intrusted him with your whole fortune? It is in his power to cancel the debt, by annulling your means of recovering it, and for this act of dishonesty, of consummate fraud, of treachery in the extreme, the parliament assigns him a reward of 500*l*, to be bequeathed from the wreck of your fortune. In the next place, the law denies you its protection for his wrongs, his insults, his injuries, however atrocious, you shall have no redress. In the next place, you are incapable of receiving any legacy In the last place, you are also incapable of being guardian to any child, even to your own." Beaufoy afterwards reminded the House that, if there were any persons, as no doubt there were many, who had, no matter how many years ago, held appointments without having qualified themselves by taking the sacrament, all these penalties were still by law hanging over them. Some of the arguments and statements which he advanced, with the object of allaying the apprehensions of his opponents, are also curious, as marking the movement of opinion, and

indeed, in many respects, of the actual condition of things, between that day and this. He maintained that the goodwill of the dissenters to the revenues of the church was ensured, and would still be equally ensured if the Corporation and Test Acts were repealed, by a variety of circumstances. "These circumstances were, that the dissenters, generally speaking (for, he said, there were undoubtedly many exceptions), belonged not to the landed interest of the kingdom, which bears the principal burthen of the tithes, but to the commercial interest, on which the weight is comparatively light. That the voluntary subscriptions of the dissenters for the maintenance of their own clergy were too light to be felt as a burthen, and in their destination and use were constantly regarded as a privilege. That the several denominations of the dissenters differed as much from each other as from the established church, and were so far from being hostile to its ministers, that he believed the clergy themselves would acknowledge that, of the voluntary contributions which they received from their parishioners, those of the dissenters were, in general, the highest and most liberal." He also reminded the House that the repeal would do nothing for any such classes of dissenters as were not able to give a sufficient pledge of their civil obedience—"that the Quakers, who undoubtedly were enemies from principle to the revenues of the church, would still be excluded from the offices of executive government by their refusal to take the oath of allegiance, that the Catholics also would still be excluded by their refusal to take the oath of supremacy." He added, "that he did not mention the Methodists, for that, unless the utmost ardour of devotion with the strongest attachment to the doctrines of the church—unless that could be called differing from the church, he knew not on what ground they could be considered as dissenters." The motion, which was seconded as before by Hoghton, was again opposed by Lord North, and also by Pitt, but their speeches contained nothing new, although the former seems to have spoken with increased earnestness, the latter with even less ardour than he showed in the former debate. They were answered by several members, among others, by Fox, who spoke at considerable length, and with his usual animation and force. Sir James Johnstone said he should vote for the question, although he had before opposed it. He had at that time thought that all the old women and children would cry out, the church was in danger; but he found there had been no such cry, and he was fully persuaded that there had not been any grounds for such a cry at all.* Mr William Smith contested the assertion which had been again made by North, that a clergyman was equally warranted in refusing to administer the sacrament to a notorious ill-liver, whether he had a place or employment, or not he believed, he said, that the

* Sir James mentioned in the course of his short speech that he understood there were then two ministers of the Church of England sitting as members of the House.

noble Lord would find but few lawyers who would affirm such to be the law. North had gone so far as to declare it to be his opinion, that, although no person had ever been examined and convicted under the enactments proposed to be repealed, yet, if they had been enforced, the doing so could not have been called persecution, unless it was persecution for the legislature to maintain its laws [which, by the by, it might very well be]. He also called the conduct of persons who had introduced themselves into corporations without taking the test "a sort of mental fraud, which did not recommend such persons to the indulgence of the legislature: it was an evasion and abuse of an act of parliament, which solemnly and substantially required that the test should be given fairly and truly." To this Smith replied — "What were the Indemnity Acts passed for, but to be resorted to as a protection against the consequences of not having conformed?" North, however, kept to his extraordinary avowal. Rising to explain, he said "The fact he understood to stand thus: the Indemnity Acts came frequently, and the persons who had taken offices and not qualified, instead of availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the Act of Indemnity, did not conform, but waited till another act came forward, and so on from time to time without taking the test at all. This, he must say, was an abuse of the indulgence of the legislature." Fox's able speech was almost wholly argumentative. He and Pitt were followed by Windham, who supported the motion principally on the ground that, even supposing the dissenters to be hostile to the established church, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, while it removed an irritating stigma, could give them no more real power than they already had, and then the House divided, when the motion was negatived, but only by the narrow majority of 122 against 102. It will be observed, however, that the present vote, as compared with the last, indicated scarcely any accession to the number of the friends of the repeal, although there was a considerable falling off in the force that came down to resist Beaufoy's motion. The zeal or determination of his opponents seems to have somewhat given way, but, probably, few or none of them had gone over to the other side.

A few days after this decision of the Commons, an unsuccessful attempt was made in the other House by Lord Stanhope to rid the statute book of some old laws, which he conceived to press with unnecessary severity, not so much upon dissenters as upon members of the established church. It is certain that, whatever might be the grievances thus sustained by the class of persons who were the objects of his lordship's present anxiety, this ingenious but most eccentric peer, who never professed much attachment either to church or state, was about the last member of the legislature whom the great mass of them would have chosen for their advocate. However, on the 18th of May, his lordship, self-elected to this office, came forward,

according to previous notice, with what he designated "A Bill for relieving members of the Church of England from sundry penalties and disabilities to which, by the laws now in force, they may be liable, and for extending freedom in matters of religion to all persons (Papists only excepted), and for other purposes therein mentioned." In a debate on the Regency Bill, on the 17th of February, Stanhope, following the example of Mr. William



EARL STANHOPE

Smith in the Commons, had moved an amendment on what was called the Uniformity Clause (prohibiting the regent from giving the royal assent to any bill for repealing the act passed in the time of Charles II, for the uniformity of public prayers), with the view, as he explained himself, of preventing that clause from standing in the way of the repeal of a number of preceding statutes, which were referred to and ratified in the Uniformity Act, and upon that occasion he had rapidly reviewed some of the most remarkable of these old laws, and pointed out what he considered their absurd and persecuting character. He was replied to by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Moore) and the Bishops of Salisbury (Barrington) and Gloucester (Halifax), none of whom, however, attempted to defend the enactments in question, they merely deprecated such a discussion at that moment, as having nothing to do with the business in hand, and argued that the ancient penal provisions, to which attention had been called, had been long buried in oblivion, and had wholly ceased to be enforced. In his present bill, and in the speech with which he introduced it, Stanhope gave a more elaborate and methodical exposition of the old laws respecting religion still remaining on the statute book, which he described as being a disgrace to the country, although he professed to notice only about a tenth part of them, being convinced, as he said, that that sample would prove more than sufficient to induce the House to pass the bill.

In the first place there were the laws about going to church, of which the principal were, that every person must attend at church every Sunday and holiday, or forfeit twelve pence (by the 1 Eliz c 2, § 14); that every person above

the age of sixteen, not going to church for a month, should forfeit 20^l and should besides, after absenting himself twelve months, be bound with two sufficient sureties in 200^l at the least for his good behaviour, until he should conform (by 23 Eliz c 1 § 5), that, if he cannot pay the fine, he should be committed to prison, there to remain till he paid or conformed (by § 11), that all persons, above the age of sixteen, forbearing to go to church for a month, without any lawful cause, should, upon conviction of that offence, be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise until they should conform (by 35 Eliz c 1, § 1), that the fine of 20^l per month, incurred for not going to church, might, though legally tendered, be refused by the crown, and two-thirds of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the offender seized, instead of the said 20^l (by 3 Jac I c 4, § 11), that every person should pay 10^l per month for every servant, for every visitor, and for the servant of every visitor, in his or her house, who did not go to church (by §§ 31 and 32), that over and above these new penalties the ecclesiastical courts might exercise their jurisdiction against persons thus offending, as fully as they might have done before the making of this act (by § 39). Even the Toleration Act (the 1 Will and Mary, c 18) provided (by § 16) that all the old laws respecting attendance upon divine service on Sunday should still remain in force, and be executed against all offenders unless they went to some congregation or assembly of religious worship allowed or permitted by the act. By the 29 Eliz c 6, § 1, it was enacted that every feoffment, gift, grant, conveyance, alienation, estate, lease, incumbrance, and limitation of use, of or out of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments whatsoever, had or made at any time since the beginning of the queen's majesty's reign by any person subjecting himself to the penalties of the statute respecting attendance at church, if it was revokable at the pleasure of such offender, should be taken to be utterly frustrate and void as against the crown for the levying of the fine incurred, so that, as Stanhope put it, a son might forfeit his estate, if settled upon him by his father at his marriage or at any other time, in case his father did not go to church, though he (the son) himself did. And by the 21 Jac I c 4, § 5, it was provided that any information, suit, or action, against any person or persons for not frequenting divine service, might be laid in any county, and at the pleasure of any informer. It was laid down by Dr Burn that "he who misses either morning or evening prayer, or goes before the whole service is over, is as much within the statute of the 1st Eliz c 2, § 14, as he who is wholly absent,"* and this clause, imposing a fine of twelve pence for every day's absence from church, without lawful or reasonable excuse, expressly declares that, if they would avoid the fine, people must repair to their parish churches, "then and there to abide orderly and soberly dur-

ing the time of the Common Prayer, preaching, or other service of God then to be used and ministered, not only upon Sundays, but upon all the other days ordained and used to be kept as holidays."

Then there were the laws about fasting. The enactments contained in the 5 Eliz c 5, entitled "An Act touching politic constitutions for the maintenance of the Navy," by which every person who should eat flesh upon a fish-day was made liable to a fine of three pounds, or to three months' close imprisonment, had indeed expired. but Stanhope complained that the eating of meat on the old fish-days was still an ecclesiastical offence, and he proposed to declare in his bill that no person should for the future be sued in any ecclesiastical court for eating any kind of meat on any day of fasting or of abstinence. He also commented on the inconsistency of some of the old laws on this subject, for instance, this statute of 5 Eliz c 5, says (§§ 40 and 41), "And because no manner of person shall misjudge of the intent of this statute, limiting orders to eat fish and to forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politically for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and repairing of port towns and navigation, and not for any supererogation to be maintained in the choice of meats, be it enacted that whosoever shall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify, that any eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other politic laws are and be, that then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be." And this clause, we believe, has never been repealed, and is still in force. Yet by the 2 and 3 Edw VI c 19, the two archbishops, the bishops, archdeacons, and their officers are empowered to execute the laws respecting the eating of fish, as if their observance were really a matter of religious duty.

Thirdly, there were the laws about rites, excommunication, &c. "Excommunicated persons," says Dr Burn, "shall be inhibited the commerce and communion of the faithful, and they who communicate with them shall be punished by ecclesiastical censure," and he lays it down that by commerce is meant buying or selling, or other interchange of wares or merchandises, and that "where a man is excommunicated by the law of holy church, and he sueth an action real or personal, the defendant may plead that he who sueth is excommunicated,"* so that, as Lord Stanhope remarked, no person excommunicated could recover a just debt. "Beides which," continued his lordship, "a writ de excommunicato capiendo may, in various cases, be issued out against the person excommunicated, who may be arrested thereupon and kept in prison. There are various cases in which the said writ may issue, and, by the statute of the 5th Eliz, c 23, § 13, the said writ de excommunicato capiendo may be awarded in various

* Ecclesiastical Law, iii 189

* Ecclesiastical Law; title Excommunication

cases, and, amongst others, in cases of heresy, or error in matters of religion or doctrine, or incontinency, or for a person refusing to have his child baptized, or for refusing to receive the communion as received in the Church of England, or for refusing to come to divine service." Even the statute of the 29 Car II, c 9, taking away the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, contains the following proviso "Provided always, that nothing in this act shall extend or be construed to take away or abridge the jurisdiction of Protestant archbishops or bishops, or any other judges of any ecclesiastical courts, in cases of atheism, blasphemy, heresy, or schism, and other damnable doctrines or opinions, but that they may proceed to punish the same according to his majesty's ecclesiastical laws, by excommunication, deprivation, degradation, and other ecclesiastical censures, *not extending to death*, in such sort and no other as they might have done before the making of this act, any thing in this law contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

By another statute, the 30 Car II, st 2, c 1, it is enacted (§§ 5 and 6) that every peer or member of the House of Peers, or peer of Scotland, or peer of Ireland, or member of the House of Commons, who shall go to court* without having made the Declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints therein contained, shall be disabled to hold any office, civil or military, or to sit in parliament, or to make a proxy in the House of Peers, or to sue or use any action in law, or to prosecute any suit in equity, or to be guardian of any child, or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, and be deemed or adjudged a popish recusant convict, that is to say, shall be as excommunicated, shall not come within ten miles of London, and shall not remove above five miles from his habitation in the country. "Many members of the House of Commons," observed Stanhope, "a majority of the House of Lords, and perhaps the whole bench of bishops, are liable to these absurd penalties at this moment, and any person who has incurred these penalties is in a very awkward situation, because the act makes it an incurable recusancy, unless cured in the very next term after such person has been at court. So that, by this law, a very singular circumstance has perhaps taken place, and the whole bench of Protestant bishops may perhaps be at this moment Popish recusants convict." His lordship added, "that, if he thought that the right reverend and learned prelates would not support his bill, he might, by means of this absurd law, clear the House of them, and carry the bill through in their absence, for they could not even vote by proxy."

Stanhope also proposed to include in his measure of repeal certain clauses of the statute 1st Jac I, c 4, by which it was declared that no woman, nor

any person whatever under twenty-one years of age, except sailors or ship-boys, or the apprentice or factor of a merchant, should be permitted to pass over the seas, except by licence from the king, or from six or more of the privy council under their hands, on pain of the forfeiture of his office and his goods by the officer of the port, of his ship and tackle by the owner of the ship, of the master and all the mariners forfeiting their goods and being sent to prison for a twelvemonth, of the party going abroad, if under the age of twenty-one, forfeiting all his or her lands, goods, money, and estates in trust, and of the party sending him and her abroad forfeiting 100^l the one half of all these forfeitures going to the king, and the other half to whosoever should sue.

In the concluding part of his speech his lordship made some observations on the canons of the church promulgated in 1603, respecting which, however, he had not thought it necessary to insert any thing in his bill, as he held that they were, in fact, not binding by law either upon the laity or the clergy, although the latter were commonly supposed to be subject to them. He quoted, as specimens of the objectionable character of many things in this code of clerical law, the 3rd canon which declares that whosoever should affirm that the Church of England is not a true and apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrines of the apostles, shall be held as excommunicated, and be incapable of restoration "but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of this his wicked error," the 4th and 5th, which in like manner excommunicate whoever shall affirm that the form of God's worship in the Church of England containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures, or that any of the Thirty-nine Articles "are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto," the 65th, which enjoins upon all ordinaries carefully to "see and give order that those who refuse to frequent divine service, or who stand lawfully excommunicated, be, in the parish church, at the time of divine service, upon some Sunday, denounced and declared excommunicated, that others may be thereby both admonished to refrain their company and society, and excited the rather to procure out a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, thereby to reduce them into due order and obedience," the 72nd, which forbids any minister, without the licence of the bishop of the diocese under his hand and seal, to "attempt, upon any pretence whatsoever, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture, or cozenage, or deposition from the ministry," the 73rd, which says, "Forasmuch as all conventicles and secret meetings of priests and ministers have been ever justly accounted very hurtful to the state of the church wherein they live, we do now ordain and constitute that no priests or ministers of the word of God, nor any other persons, shall meet together, in any private house or elsewhere, to consult upon any

* The words of the act are "Shall come adventively into or remain in the presence of the king's majesty or queen's majesty or shall come into the court or house where they or any of them reside as well during the reign of his present majesty as during the reigns of any his royal successors kings or queens of England."

matter or course to be taken by them, or, upon their motion or direction, by any other, which may any way tend to the impeaching or depraving of the doctrine of the Church of England, or of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any part of the government and discipline now established in the Church of England, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*," and the 115th, which, after reciting that "the churchwardens are sworn to present both the disorders of persons and the common fame that is spread abroad of them," proceeds as follows "We do admonish and exhort all judges, both ecclesiastical and temporal (as they regard and reverence the fearful judgment-seat of the highest Judge), that they admit not in any of their courts any complaint, plea, writ, or suits against any such churchwardens for making any such presentments, nor against any such presentments, nor against any minister for any presentment that he shall make, all the said presentments tending to the restraint of shameless impiety, and considering that the rules both of charity and government do presume that they did nothing therein of malice, but for the discharge of their consciences" It had been decided in 1737 by the Court of King's Bench that these canons, never having received the sanction of parliament (although they had been confirmed by the king), do not bind the laity, but Lord Hardwicke, the chief-justice, in delivering this judgment, admitted that the clergy were bound by them Lord Stanhope, however, argued that the ratification of them by James I under the great seal was not authorised by the statute, the 25th Hen VIII, c 19, under which his majesty professed to perform that act, and that, therefore, they were, even in regard to the clergy, only so much waste paper They were, nevertheless, he added, extremely useful as records of the persecuting spirit and superstition of past times *

That the bill might have the better chance of success, a number of provisoes were inserted in it, the more strictly to limit its operation to its professed object The first of these provisoes was, that nothing in the act should extend to the giving relief to the Papists And the language which his lordship held upon this head is instructive as to the state of opinion at the time He "expatiated concerning what he described as the various abominable, execrable, and dangerous principles of Papists, which made them unsafe citizens of the state But it was, he said, with particular satisfaction that he was in the House the other day when his noble friend near him (Lord Rawdon) presented a petition from persons styling themselves Catholic Dis-senters, in which petition those persons utterly disclaimed, reprobated, and protested against the

principles of popery. Therefore it appeared to him just that the law should some day draw a line of discrimination between the persecuting Papists and those who publicly and unequivocally disclaim all those abominable and detestable principles" Here we have the most extreme liberalist of his day—the man who professed, to quote the preamble of his bill, "that the right of private judgment in matters respecting religion is and ever must be the unalienable right of mankind, and as such ought always to be holden sacred and inviolable"—nevertheless, warmly advocating restrictions and exclusions on account of doctrinal opinions, and distinctly denouncing all Roman Catholics who would not repudiate the designation of Papists as undeserving of the privileges of free citizens Nor was Lord Stanhope singular in entertaining these views They were the common creed even of the most ardent friends of religious freedom at this date Even Charles Fox expressed himself on the subject of the unlimited toleration of mere opinion with considerable hesitation In his speech a few days before this, on Mr Beaumont's motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, although he seems to have come at last to the conclusion that the legislature ought not to have attacked persons professing the Jewish religion with penalties and disabilities until they had actually begun to carry into practice their dangerous doctrines, yet, in a preceding passage, he had expressed very nearly the same opinions as Stanhope After observing that in the position,—that the actions of men and not their opinions were the proper objects of legislation—he was supported by the general tenor of the laws of the land, he went on—"History, however, afforded one glaring exception, in the case of the Roman Catholics The Roman Catholics, or, more properly speaking, the Papists (a distinction which, he trusted, was perfectly understood by all who heard him, and would ever be maintained by the English Roman Catholics in time to come), had been supposed by our ancestors to entertain opinions which might lead to mischief against the state But was it their religious opinions that were feared? Quite the contrary Their acknowledging a foreign authority paramount to that of the legislature their acknowledging a title to the crown superior to that conferred by the voice of the people, their political opinions, which they were supposed to attach to their religious creed, were dreaded, and justly dreaded, as inimical to the Constitution." Thus, it must be confessed, is very like a defence of the penal laws against the Catholics, at least at the time when they were passed. As for the distinction taken between the persecution of the Catholics for their religious and the persecution of them only for their political opinions, it certainly would have afforded but little satisfaction to any of the objects of the penal laws, either when these laws were first placed upon the statute book, or when Fox thus pronounced their apology or vindication. Nor would it be much to be wondered at

* As an instance of the nonsense, or worse, of many of the old laws relating to ecclesiastical matters Lord Stanhope quoted the statute of the 13th Edw III, stat 3 c 9 as enacting that a man marrying two wives or one widow shall be tried for bigamy in the spiritual court and so making it equally penal to marry one widow as to marry two wives His lordship appears not to have been aware that the bigamy here referred to is the marrying a second wife after the death of the first, or the marrying a woman after the death of her first husband the only kind of bigamy recognised in the canon law. The statute in question is entitled "A statute of (that is respecting) the clergy"

that persons should be slow to believe that they were punished merely on account of their political opinions, who found themselves excluded from the rights of citizenship, and almost driven out of the pale of society, because they could not subscribe to declarations and oaths against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. Other provisos of the bill were, that it should not repeal any part of the Corporation Act, of the Test Act, or of the 12 and 13 Will III c 2, entitled "An Act for the Further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject." Stanhope intimated in conclusion that, in endeavouring to procure the repeal of the old laws against recusancy, he was not merely seeking to remove a disfigurement from the statute book. "The laws which he had mentioned," he said, "might be enforced not only by the church, but by a common informer. And he produced above thirty cases in which the persecuting laws respecting religion had been enforced within the last twenty-six years. Some of these cases related to Catholics, and others to Protestant Dissenters. How shocking and disgusting it was to read, amongst those cases, that poor men's tables, chairs, deal shelves, pewter dishes, bolsters, and beds had been sold by public auction, in order to pay the penalties for not going to church! Others of these laws had been enforced within the last ten years, and some within the last twelve months. No later than yesterday he received a letter inclosing the case of a Protestant Dissenter who had been prosecuted under the laws of recusancy this very year."

The bill having been read a first time and ordered to be printed, the debate upon it was taken on the motion for the second reading, on the 9th of June. The motion was opposed by the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Bangor (Warren), the Bishop of St Asaph (Halifax), and, in a very clever speech, by Horsley, Bishop of St David's. The most forcible objection urged against the measure was grounded upon the vagueness both of some of the propositions summed in the preamble, and even of some of the enacting clauses. The Archbishop of Canterbury said, "that although he was ready to allow that there were on the statute-book some acts of a persecuting spirit in matters of religion, which had better be repealed, and as willing as any man to agree to their repeal, he could not but object to the present bill proceeding any farther." His grace, however, seemed also to be of opinion that there were many questions, both in religion and morals, which the law ought not to suffer to be discussed, even with the calmest reasoning, except by those who took the orthodox side. "If," he said, "the atheist were to be allowed to defend his atheism by argument, he saw no reason why the thief might not be permitted to reason in behalf of theft, the burglar of burglary, the seducer of seduction, the murderer of murder, and the traitor of treason." The Bishop of Bangor defended the propriety and wisdom of the law obliging all per-

sons to frequent some place of public worship on Sundays, on the principle, which he said could be proved in various ways, that it was the indispensable duty of every man to worship God in the church. It may be doubted how far some of his lordship's right reverend brethren would have admitted such attendance on divine worship as that contended for to have necessarily any thing to do with this principle. How could those who believed in no other church except the established church hold that any theological principle, at least, was satisfied by compelling people merely 'to come to some (licensed) congregation or assembly of religious worship,' which, since the passing of the Toleration Act, was all that the law actually did? Such public worship could be no attendance at church at all, according to their views, any more than spending the Sunday in the streets or in the fields. Dr Warren, in the course of his speech, "alluded to a chapel which was opened many years ago in the east part of the town, where a clergyman of the name of Henley (the famous Orator Henley) publicly preached blasphemy for many years together" so tender, he stated, were the courts of pronouncing a determination which might bear hard on private judgment in matters of religion, that it was not till after many unsuccessful attempts had been made that the suppression of this chapel was at last effected. The bishop contended that, if the present bill passed, they would have a chapel of this sort in every street. Horsley insisted upon the deliberation and caution with which any repeal of a whole branch of laws ought to be proceeded in. "My objection to the bill upon the table," he said, "is, that I can discover nothing in it of this discretion: it drives furiously and precipitately at its object, beating down every barrier which the wisdom of our ancestors had opposed against vice and irreligion, and tearing up the very foundations of our ecclesiastical constitution. My lords if this bill should pass it to a law, no established religion will be left. My lords, when I say that no established religion will be left I desire to be understood in the utmost extent of my expressions. I mean, my lords, not only that the particular establishment which now subsists will be destroyed but that no establishment will remain of the Christian religion in any shape—nor indeed of natural religion. My lords, this bill, should it unfortunately pass into a law, will leave our mutilated constitution a novelty in the annals of mankind—a prodigy in politics—a civil polity without any public opinion for its basis." As to some matters not at all connected with religion, which were oddly enough intermixed in the bill, his lordship had nothing to say. He had no objection to the noble earl's eating beef, in preference to any other meat, on any day of the year or any hour of the day. But the very first clause of the bill abrogated in a lump all the laws in the statute-book relating to the observance of the Lord's Day. He admitted that perhaps some extravagant severity in the penalties of these laws

might call for mitigation; but to the 1 Eliz c 2, § 14, no such objection could be made. "This law," said Horsley, "only imposes upon every person who, without a lawful or reasonable excuse, shall absent himself from his parish church or chapel on Sundays or holidays the very moderate fine of one shilling for every offence, over and above the censures of the church. My lords, this fine is too small to be oppressive upon the poorest of the people. Suppose that the common day-labourer be absent from church every Sunday in the year, and that the fine be levied for every offence, my lords, the amount of it in the whole year, even upon the supposition that it may be levied twice on each Sunday, is much less than the offender would probably squander in the same time in riotous pleasures, to the great injury of his family, if he were released from the restraint of this law. This penalty, my lords, is just what the penalty of such a law should be, it is a lighter evil to the individual than he will be apt to bring upon himself by the neglect of that which the law requires to be done for, my lords, it is a notorious fact, that the common people of this country, if they do not keep the Sunday religiously, keep it in another manner, if they do not go to church, they spend the day in houses of riotous pleasure." When we read such an argument as this, we feel the change of times, and how much we have cast away for ever, in theory at least, if not in practice, of the principles upon the subject of religious liberty that were generally received fifty years ago. Bishop Horsley was one of the ablest men of his day, yet a speaker who should now reason in this way, advocating the expediency of preventing the labouring classes from spending their money improperly by a moderate annual tax of five pounds sterling on such of them as did not go to church, would be thought to be turning the matter into burlesque. The bishop, in continuing his harangue, dwelt upon the abatement of any little severity there might be in the law by the allowance given to lawful and reasonable excuses. A reasonable excuse, he argued, was every excuse which the reason of man may approve, judging not by the laws in being at the time when the statute was passed, but by its own laws and its own maxims. For example, in the present state of manners, great distance from the parish church or chapel must be deemed a reasonable excuse. And, added the right reverend prelate, "in the present state of manners, I conceive, my lords, that the ordinary occupations of life form a reasonable excuse of absence from divine service upon holidays, with the exception of a very few—namely, Christmas Day, Good Friday, the King's accession, and occasional fasts and thanksgivings."

With the exception of these few days, the ordinary occupations of life are, as I conceive, a reasonable excuse of absence from church on any holiday. My lords, they are much more, they are a lawful excuse—they are such an excuse as the magistrates before whom an information may

be laid are bound by law to take notice of." But surely the bishop could not mean to assert that such an excuse as this could be held a good plea in the contemplation of the law coming from a person who had no occupation whatever, or no real cause to detain him from church except his own inclination. If his lordship's meaning was, that it would be defence enough for any person charged with absenting himself from divine service on a holiday, to answer merely that it was no longer customary for people to go to church on that day, then it would have been better to have said so distinctly—and it would also clearly be better at once to abolish a law which must upon this view be regarded as, to all intents and purposes, a dead letter. In the sequel of his speech Horsley made some observations on the proper limits of that right of private conscience which the existing laws enforcing attendance at church were asserted to violate. "My lords," he said, "the right of conscience is unalienable, but it is not infinite, it is limited. The right of conscience is unalienable, within the limits of a certain jurisdiction. Conscience and the magistrate have their separate jurisdictions, each is supreme, absolute, and independent, within the limits of its own. The jurisdiction of conscience is over the actions of the individual as they relate to God, without reference to society; conscience judges of what is sinful or not sinful in our actions. The jurisdiction of the magistrate is over the actions of men as they respect society: he is the judge of what harm may or may not result to society from our actions, and this harm he has a right to restrain and to punish, in whatever actions he decries it, in defiance, my lords, of the plea of conscience. In the exercise of this right the civil magistrate is supreme and absolute, as conscience in the exercise of hers. Conscience cannot be conscientiously pleaded against the magistrate in the exercise of this right." And it must be confessed that, however harshly this doctrine may sound, it appears to flow necessarily from the very nature of a political society, which would be reduced to confusion and dissolved if the supreme authority were liable, in any matter whatever, to be set at defiance by even the most conscientious convictions of individuals. The casuistry of how far the individual ought to comply with the law when it is opposed to his conscience—whether it is his duty to do what it requires, or to prefer paying the penalty to rendering obedience. That in the one way or the other the authority of the law must be upheld is clear upon the very definition of what a law is. In fact, the law may be regarded as the general conscience of the community, to allow which to be contravened in any case by the private conscience of an individual would manifestly be the height of absurdity and injustice. Thus, in the particular case at present under discussion, the general judgment having determined, possibly for ends which appeared to it of the highest importance, that attendance on

divine worship should be universally enforced by fines or other penalties, this regulation was surely not to be set at nought—in other words, to be in effect repealed and annulled—by any individual who should hold, however conscientiously, that it was wrong to obey it. There are various ways in which the difference between such dissenting individuals and the rest of the society may be settled: they may persuade the rest that the law is really objectionable, in which case it will be given up, or, without persuading the other party, they may, by force or stratagem, get the upper hand of them, and compel them to abolish it, or, if they can compass none of these things, they may break off from the community of which they have hitherto formed a part, and try if they can find or form another for themselves in which the laws shall be more to their mind. But meanwhile, as there is no extraneous authority to which the parties are amenable, the strongest of the two evidently both must and ought to have its own way, the law must be maintained, at whatever expense to the consciences of its opponents. Of course it is an important principle of legislation that regulations thus conscientiously objected to by a portion of the community should be resorted to as sparingly as possible, but it is not possible that they should be altogether avoided, so long as the diversity of human opinions upon all sorts of subjects continues to be what it has ever been, and what there is every reason to believe it ever will be, while any freedom of thought shall exist.

The three Welsh bishops, who thus bore the burthen of the debate, all protested against Stanhope's doctrine that the canons were not binding on the clergy, and Horsley even asserted that the received maxim that they were not generally bind-



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ing on the laity was to be understood with many exceptions and restrictions. But no one of the right reverend prelates appears to have really answered or noticed the noble earl's argument on this head. What Stanhope said was, that the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., which James I. cited as his authority for ratifying the canons of 1603, only gave an authority to ratify a revision of

old canons, which revision was enacted to be made, not by the convocation, but by a committee, half laymen, half clergy, consequently, James's ratification was null and void in law. The bishops chose to suppose that his lordship's objection rested on the act of the 17th of Charles I., abolishing the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the heads of the church, which act they rightly stated was repealed as to that matter, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction restored, by a subsequent act of the 13th of Charles II., but when Horsley, after going over the matter, intimated his suspicion that a proviso in this latter statute, declaring that it should not have the effect of confirming any canons not formerly confirmed, allowed, or enacted by parliament, was probably the foundation of his lordship's "singular opinion," Stanhope shook his head in dissent.

In reply, Stanhope said he was determined to persevere with his measures of ecclesiastical reform in the face of whatever opposition, and, if the right reverend bench would not suffer him to remove their rubbish by cartsfull, he would endeavour to carry it off in wheelbarrows, and, if that mode of removal was resisted, he would, if possible, take it away a little at a time, with a shovel. The question being then put, the motion for the second reading of the bill was negatived, apparently without a division. Stanhope immediately produced another bill, entitled "A Bill to repeal an Act of the 27th of Henry VIII., to prevent vexatious suits relative to prosecutions for tithes from the Quakers," but, after a short conversation, it was agreed that this measure should not be formally presented till another day. When upon his lordship remarking that his second bill would probably meet with the same success as his first, Thurlow, nodding his black brows, seemed to scowl from the woolstack a cordial assent to that prediction, Stanhope exclaimed, "On another occasion I shall teach the noble and learned lord law, as I have this day taught the bench of bishops religion." The debate on the Tithe Prosecutions Bill was taken on the 3rd of July on the motion for its being committed. By the 7 and 8 of Will III. c. 8, it had been enacted that small tithes, under the value of forty shillings, might be recovered by complaint to two justices of the peace, by another statute (c. 34) of the same year the same regulation had been extended to all tithes great or small, for which Quakers were liable, under the value of ten pounds, and by the 1 George I. stat. 2, c. 6, it was extended to all other dues or payments to the clergy, such as Easter dues, &c., withheld by persons of that persuasion. Ever since the passing of these laws, the manner in which tithes and other dues were usually recovered from Quakers had been by application to two justices of the peace, who ordered a distress to be made on the goods of the party. But recently, Lord Stanhope stated, some of the clergy had preferred seizing and imprisoning the persons of their Quaker debtors, under the 27 Hen VIII. c. 20, which authorized parsons,

vicars, or curates, by due process of the ecclesiastical laws, to convene any one refusing to pay his tithes, offerings, or other dues, before his ordinary or other competent judge, who, for any contempt, contumacy, or disobedience was to require the assistance of any two justices of the peace for the shire, and then such justices were empowered to attach the party's person, and commit him to ward, there to remain, without bail or mainprise, until he shall have found sufficient surety to give due obedience to the process, decrees, and sentences of the ecclesiastical court. Under this law a Quaker, a man of some property, had, about two months before, been incarcerated in the common gaol of Worcester, for refusing to pay a sum of five shillings, was there still, and to all appearance, if he did not desert his religious principles, must remain in confinement for life. At Coventry six Quakers had been lately prosecuted for Easter offerings, amounting to about fourpence each, and, having been brought into the spiritual court, had been subjected to such expenses as had swollen this original debt of two shillings to very nearly 300l. But, as by their religion they never can pay," continued Stanhope, "nor any of the other Quakers for them, some of them have been excommunicated, the consequence of which is, that they cannot act as executors, that they cannot sue in any court to recover any debt due to them, and, in forty days after excommunication, they are liable to be sent to prison there to remain till death shall deliver them from a gaol, where they may be dying for years, and perish by inches, and this merely for the sake of a few pence, which few pence even might have been immediately recovered by means of the humane act of King William, had the priest thought fit." Some of these Quakers, his lordship added, were so highly respected at Coventry, that some of their neighbours who were not Quakers had raised money by subscription to stop all further proceedings against them, but this interference, he contended, would have the most fatal effects upon the whole body of Quakers for the future, inasmuch as it would only serve to whet the avarice of the proctors of the spiritual court. His lordship expressed his willingness that the clergy should recover their tithes, even to the last farthing, but not by means that were tyrannical or vexatious, and he therefore proposed, in the present bill, to repeal the act of the 27th of Henry VIII, and to declare that no suit should hereafter be brought or be maintainable in any ecclesiastical court for the recovery of any tithes, dues, or other spiritual profits. Lord Kenyon, however, thought the 3rd of July too late in the session for the introduction of a bill which required the most serious discussion to leave the right of the clergy to recover their tithes in the hands of a justice of the peace, he also said, was an arrangement not to be borne, and far worse than would be the abolition of tithes altogether. Lord Abingdon, too, delivered something like a sermon against the measure, which he was afraid might raise a confagration

that would endanger the whole fabric both of church and state—although he acquitted its author of any such design, expressing the highest opinion both of Stanhope's talents and of his goodness of heart, founded, as he stated, on his knowledge of him in former days, when they had been bred up together in the same seminary at Geneva; but he implored his old fellow student not to persist in pointing out, as he was doing, to the numerous incendiaries in the country how to throw all things into anarchy and confusion on that subject he would say no more at present, but the times, he feared, were coming when he should be forced to speak out more plainly,—and, in the end, on the question being put, the motion for committing the bill was negatived, apparently without a division.

We have gone into the subject of these two bills of Lord Stanhope's at the greater length, partly because the old laws which he attempted to abolish still, we believe, after the lapse of more than half a century, remain most if not all of them on the statute-book, and may be any day enforced. The debates, also, both upon these measures and upon the other propositions that were brought forward in parliament during this period for the alteration of various parts of our ancient ecclesiastical system abound in matter that illustrates the actual state both of religious liberty and religious opinion at the time. We have confined our notices, and shall continue to do so, principally to the facts stated by the various speakers, counting their mere general reasonings to belong rather to moral philosophy than to history.

The next great discussion of this kind took place in the following session in the House of Commons, when the question of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was once more brought forward on the 2nd of June, 1790. The motion, which was conceived in the same terms with that submitted in the preceding year by Mr. Beaufof, was, on this occasion, made by Fox, who introduced it by a long speech. It ran, however, for the greater part merely upon the arguments and considerations which are familiar to everybody in favour of religious toleration, and contained hardly anything worth repeating at the present day. At the moment when it was delivered the mighty political earthquake, the first throes of which were shaking a neighbouring realm, was already gathering around it the hopes and fears of all classes of men in England, and both the most conspicuous leaders among the dissenters and their present distinguished advocate had, ere now, sufficiently indicated, on several occasions, the sympathy which they felt for the regenerators of France. It was a feeling, whether wise or the reverse, the manifestation of which was little likely to recommend either the advocate or his clients to the audience he now addressed. Yet the subject could not be altogether passed over, although Fox dwelt as long as he could upon the loyalty of the dissenters in past times, the zeal with which they had stood forward in support of

the constitution at the Revolution, and during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, before he proceeded to the more delicate topic of their modern politics "Innovations," he at last observed, "were said to be dangerous at all times, but particularly so now, from the situation of affairs in France. But the hopes of the dissenters were not founded upon the most distant reference to the transactions which had taken place in that kingdom. Their application to the House on the present subject had been made three years ago, when the most sagacious among them could not form anything like a conjecture of what had since happened in that country.

Yet," he added, "he saw no reason why the example of France ought not to have its influence: the church there was now suffering for its former intolerance. However he might rejoice in the emancipation of near thirty millions of his fellow-creatures and in the spirit which gave rise to the revolution, yet he was free to own there were some acts of the new government which he could not applaud. The summary and indiscriminate forfeiture of the property of the church came under this description. But the violence of this proceeding might in some measure be attributed to former ecclesiastical oppressions, and, in particular, to the impolitic revocation of the Edict of Nantes. . . . Previous to this period there existed no Test. Protestants and Catholics were indiscriminately admitted into civil and military offices, but by that rash measure liberality and toleration were thrown away, the arts and manufactures were driven into other countries, to flourish in a more genial soil, and under a milder form of government. This should serve as a caution to the Church of England. Afterwards he alluded to certain recent publications of Dr Priestley and Dr Price. The former had openly avowed himself hostile to the established church, but this, Fox said, was no worse than what had been done by the present Duke of Richmond and by Pitt himself, both of whom had, a few years ago, endeavoured to alter the existing constitution of parliament, and both of whom were now high in office—one of them, indeed, at the head of the government. After such instances of what little influence opinions had on practice, he jocularly added, Dr Priestley might, with as much safety, be set at the head of the church as the right honourable gentleman at the head of the treasury. As for Price, he had, he said, in his sermon on the anniversary of the Revolution, "delivered many noble sentiments worthy an enlightened philosopher who was unconfined by local attachments and gloried in the freedom of all the human race," but Fox did not approve of politics from the pulpit and, although he agreed with Price in his general principles, he considered that his arguments would have better become a speech than a sermon. In conclusion, he ventured upon a prophecy which was certainly not fitted to make much impression upon the more reflecting among his hearers. "Whatever," he said, "might be the fate of the present question, of this he was

fully confident, that, if the Test laws were once repealed, the jealousy of the church would be at an end if the barrier of partition were removed, the very name of dissenter would be no more."

After the motion had been seconded in a short speech by Sir H. Hoghton, Pitt rose to oppose it, and spoke at great length. He endeavoured to turn to account a recent proceeding of the dissenters, who had published certain resolutions, signed by a Mr Jeffries, directing their friends to vote at elections for such members as should by their conduct on this question prove themselves to be friends to civil and religious liberty. Thus, Pitt argued, was attempting to impose a test upon the members of that House, at the very moment that they were seeking relief from a test themselves. Throughout his speech, the premier expressed himself with much more decision than he had done in the debate of the preceding session on the necessity of maintaining the Test and Corporation Acts as indispensable securities of the existing constitution of church and state. On both sides men were warmed and excited by the aspect of the time, and doubt and indifference alike were now giving way everywhere before the eager feelings that were drawing all towards one or other of the two great opposing arrays,—that of the defenders of existing institutions, or that of the reformers and regenerators. Pitt was elaborately and ably answered by Beauclerk, and then, after Mr Powys had delivered a short speech, in which he made the remark that Fox's principles, if carried out, would open places of trust and power not merely to the Protestant dissenter, but to the Papist, the Jew, the Mahometan, the disciple of Bramah, or of Confucius, and the sectary of every religious persuasion (or, he might have added, of no religion at all), to which Fox responded by a *Hear! hear!* of assent—so long a way had he now been carried a head of his hesitating half-admissions of the preceding session,—and Mr Yorke had also said a few words, Burke rose. Fox had already intimated that his right honourable friend, whose opinions, he said, always had the greatest weight with him, did not think as he did on the present question, and Burke now commenced his speech by stating that on the two former occasions when the question had been agitated he had absented himself from the House, not having brought his mind to any decision on the subject, and even yet he had not been able to satisfy himself altogether, though certainly in a much greater degree than before, when he could not lay hold of any one straightforward principle for the better guidance of his judgment. He was now, however, from information he had lately received, ready to say why he could not vote for his right honourable friend's motion. He defended Fox from an attack that had been made upon him by Pitt, who had said that, if a man of his bold and enterprising character became minister, he might endanger the safety of the state by his countenance of dissenters upon the principles he had that night

avowed The manner in which his right honourable friend had opened the question, Burke observed, and the many very weighty and sound arguments he had brought forward, in a manner so open and clear, ought to have rescued him from such a sarcasm, and he then recalled to Pitt's recollection the much broader and grosser language than any that had fallen from Fox that had been used on one occasion in the House of Lords by his own father, the late Earl of Chatham, in reference both to the ritual and the priesthood of the established religion, when he concluded a passionate defence of the dissenters by exclaiming, "We have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy"* Yet Chatham had for some years directed the government of the country with equal glory to the national character and safety to the constitution both in church and state Turning to the question immediately before the House, Burke began his reply to Fox by a characteristic declaration "Abstract principles," he said, "as his right honourable friend well knew, he disliked and never could bear, he detested them when a boy, and he liked them no better now he had silver hairs" With the deduction of natural rights, therefore, into which Fox had gone, he did not concern himself he found himself and his fellow-countrymen in a state of artificial society, which had annihilated all natural rights, and in discussing this question he could only look to the actual circumstances of the times He then contended that the established church which he avowed his anxiety to preserve, was at present in real danger, that there was, not a false alarm calculated to answer some purpose of mischief and oppression, meditated by the church herself, but strong and warrantable ground of serious apprehension for the church's safety This he endeavoured to make out by quotations from the proceedings of certain bodies of the dissenters, and the publications of some of their clergy—Mr Robinson, Mr Palmer, Dr Priestley, and others, all breathing the most violent hostility to the establishment, and the determination to exert every effort to effect its overthrow He denounced the destruction of the French church as a shameful act of spoliation, but pointed to it at the same time as a lesson teaching that every symptom of danger to that of this country ought to awaken apprehension, and make the House proceed in regard to all such propositions as the present with additional caution Had the question been brought forward ten years ago, he should have voted for the repeal, but at present a variety of circumstances made it one which it was in his opinion imprudent to stir He did not, however, approve of the existing test, and should be glad to propose the substitution of another, the draft of which he had in his pocket, if the House would grant him a committee to examine into the conduct of the dissenters, and the doctrines respecting the established church which they had recently avowed If the statements he had made

as to that conduct and these doctrines should upon investigation turn out to be unfounded, he would hold himself bound to vote for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts Other shorter speeches followed from Mr W Smith in support of the motion, and from Mr Wilberforce and Sir William Dolben against it, and then Fox rose to reply What he had heard, he said, with the greatest concern in the course of the debate was the speech of his right honourable friend (Burke). "It had filled him with grief and shame Sentiments had been uttered which he could have wished to have remained a secret for ever Though he was indebted to his right honourable friend for the greatest share of the political knowledge he possessed—his political education had been formed under him—his instructions had invariably governed his principles,—yet, mortified as he had been by his speech of that evening, he had, however, received this consolation from it,—that every principle which he had laid down had been avowed by his right honourable friend in the course of his speech While he had stated his principles, and had argued from an application of inferences deducible from those principles, his right honourable friend had, on the contrary taken pamphlets, private letters, anecdotes, conjectures, suspicions, and invectives for the materials of his speech, which he had worked up with all the charms of fancy and the embellishments of oratory for which his right honourable friend was so eminently distinguished Such had been the grounds upon which he had founded his opposition to the motion under discussion, to which he declared he should have been a friend ten years ago What did this prove, but that he had retained his opinion upon the subject ten years longer than his right honourable friend?" Fox, however, was well aware that in the part he was now taking he had the feeling both of the House and of the country against him, and that the particular time chosen for urging this claim of the dissenters was generally considered the strongest objection to it By all who apprehended danger to the existing institutions of the country, and were anxious for their preservation, such a movement at the present moment was regarded as merely a part of the warfare which they believed was about to be waged against whatever their patriotism or their prejudices held dearest and most sacred—as but a prelude to other attacks, which would be the more difficult to be repelled if this should succeed. Fox had admitted in his opening speech the temporary unpopularity to which he should probably subject himself by the course he was taking, and some remarkable indications in the course of the debate showed the extent and the powerful influence of the feeling which existed against the motion First, one member, Mr James Martin, member for Tewkesbury, rose and stated that, although the opinion which he had entertained in favour of the repeal remained unchanged, he yet felt himself obliged on the present occasion to vote against the motion in compliance with the positive

* See vol i p 152

instructions of his constituents, and afterwards, another member, Mr Samuel Smith (who sat, we believe for the city of Worcester*), who had also voted with Beaufoy in the preceding session, made a declaration to the same effect. The result was what might have been anticipated from these and other symptoms when the House divided, at a late hour, the motion was negatived by a majority nearly nine times as great as the last division had shown, the numbers being, Yeas 105, Noes 294. From the date of this quietus the question of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, in so far as they affected the English dissenters, was no more heard of in parliament during the present period, nor for many years after.

In the new parliament, however, which assembled in November, 1790, an attempt was made to obtain an exemption from these laws for persons born in Scotland. On the 10th of May, 1791 a petition from the General Assembly of the Scotch Church to that effect having been first presented and read, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had taken charge of the petition, rose to move that the House would immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider how far the clause of the Test Act imposing upon persons taking office the obligation of receiving the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England extended, or ought to extend, to persons born in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. It may appear at first sight somewhat remarkable that, although eighty five years had now elapsed since the union with Scotland, this was the first application that had come from the General Assembly for relief from a statute which, whatever might be urged in support of its expediency as a security for the established church in England, was scarcely to be defended upon the same grounds, in so far as it was directed against natives of the northern part of the island, who were the members of a church equally recognised by the law with the Anglican establishment. But the fact is to be explained by the doubt which existed as to whether the Test Act really was operative against natives of Scotland, seeing, that it had been declared, by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Union, that there should thenceforth be a communication between the subjects of the two kingdoms of all rights, privileges, and advantages which did or might belong to the subjects of either, excepting only where it was otherwise expressly agreed in the treaty, and by the 25th, that all laws in either kingdom, so far as they were contrary to or inconsistent with the terms of the articles of the said treaty, or any of them, should from and after the Union cease and become void. On the other hand, however, the act for securing the Presbyterian church government in Scotland, which was incorporated with the Act of Union, had only provided that none of the subjects of the kingdom of Scotland should be liable to, but that all and every of them should be for ever free

of, any oath, test, or subscription inconsistent with the said Presbyterian government, worship, and discipline, *within that kingdom*, and that the same should never be imposed upon or required of them in any sort *within the bounds of that church and kingdom*, and the Act for securing the Church of England, which was likewise made an essential and fundamental part of the compact, had expressly declared that all the acts of parliament previously in force for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof—among which, unquestionably, were to be included the Test and Corporation Acts—should still remain and be in full force for ever. Accordingly, the Annual Indemnity Acts had never made any distinction between the natives of Scotland and of other parts of the kingdom in the protection which they extended to the holders of office who had not qualified within the legal time. The present petition of the General Assembly, Sir Gilbert Elliot stated, had originated with an individual clergyman of the Scottish church, a man of learning and highly esteemed for his private worth, who was actuated by no party motive, but had been induced to submit his proposition to the Assembly by the late debate on Mr Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test Act, in which it appeared to him the relief of the English Dissenters had been resisted almost entirely upon considerations which told rather in favour of extending such relief to members of the Church of Scotland. Having communicated his views to another clergyman, they joined in drawing up a motion, or overture as it is called, which, after receiving an ample discussion, was unanimously adopted by the Assembly, and instructions given to the general committee called the Commission to take the necessary steps for effecting the desired object. In the Commission also, of course, all parties professed to approve of the object, but it appeared that there had been a difference of opinion as to the proper mode of proceeding, and the present petition had only been carried by a vote of nine against eight—numbers indicating, by the by, the slight degree of interest that was taken in the matter, for the Commission consists of all the members of the Assembly, who amount to about four hundred, although it is true, indeed that it is not usual for any but those residing in Edinburgh or the neighbourhood to attend. Sir Gilbert, after urging that the danger to the established church, which was made an objection to the claims of the English Dissenters, could not be fairly employed as an argument against the present motion, proceeded to encounter the objection founded upon the alleged ratification of the Test Act in the Treaty of Union. He read, we are told, three or four clauses to prove that the matter was left completely open, and entered into a detail of the proceedings of the Scotch and English parliaments, from which he drew a conclusion that the exemption from the test was considered to be contained in the treaty. Propositions were made, he

* A Mr Samuel Smith also sat in the parliament as one of the representatives for the borough of St. Germans.

said, in the Scotch parliament, prior to the Union, to insert in the articles provision for an exemption against the Test Act, which propositions had been negatived. An exemption was, however, made, in Scotland, from all future tests, by which it was plain they did not mean to renounce the exemption from tests in other parts. The delicacy of the times rendered it advisable for them to abstain from explicit declarations, but it was evident that they had left it open to the construction of future reason and justice. The parliament which negatived the provision for the exemption were known to have gone upon the idea that it had been provided for in the articles as they stood, and the same opinion had been acted upon by the British parliament." But it is evident from the express stipulations of the treaty, which have been quoted above, that this account of the matter would hardly stand a close examination. Without going the length of holding, that either this or any other part of the Act of Union was to be considered absolutely fixed and unalterable, we cannot see how the Scotch could pretend that they had not, by adopting the Act for the Security of the Church of England as part of the treaty, distinctly subjected themselves to the provisions of the Test and Corporation Acts in England, in the same manner with all other persons accepting or holding office there, at least until the parliament of the United Kingdom should repeal that part of the treaty. It might be contended, to be sure, that the present motion was, in substance, merely asking parliament to do this, or, at any rate, that, if Parliament was competent to such repeal, it might entertain the present motion. The motion, which was seconded by Francis, was supported by Mr Pulteney,* Mr Anstruther, Sir Adam Ferguson, Fox, and Colonel Macleod. Fox's speech was the most remarkable on this side, and went farther, perhaps, or at least was more explicit, than any of his previous declarations on the subject of religious liberty. He professed himself, he said, the friend of toleration without any restriction, and, at the same time, of an established church, and every argument, he thought, that could be advanced in favour of either was applicable to the support of the present motion. There appeared to him to be a considerable degree of doubt whether the Test Act did or did not apply to members of the Church of Scotland, and therefore he conceived the motion for going into a committee, to inquire how the law stood, to be extremely proper. But, admitting that it did apply to Scotsmen as well as Englishmen, still it was only the taking or holding office in England that subjected either to the test. Could anything more strongly illustrate the uselessness and absurdity of the law? "If," said Fox, "a man to the north of the Tweed accepted of an imperial office, he was not to communicate with the church by law established there,

but, if he accepted of the office on the other side of the Tweed, he was required to do so under heavy pains and penalties. There was no law to prevent the king from residing in Scotland. Suppose he were to do so, he might appoint all his officers of state, without any one of them being obliged to qualify according to the Test Act, and let in all the imaginary dangers to church and state against which it was held up as the impregnable barrier. A person receiving his majesty's orders to raise a regiment in Scotland might there appoint all his officers without any test, but the moment they came into England they must take the test within a time limited, or incur the penalty of outlawry." Reverting afterwards to the general principle on which the motion was founded, he avowed his opinion to be, there were few acts on the statute-book regarding religion which ought not to be completely expunged. "Instead of that," he continued, "they busied themselves in explaining, mitigating, or suspending, and, whenever the only proper remedy was mentioned, the answer was, they are not executed—the very worst character that could be given of them. This had been the answer to all the propositions that had been lately made. Ought not the House at last to see that laws unfit to be executed, that were sometimes the instrument of partial oppression, but never of public benefit, were not fit to remain?" The motion, however, met with the most uncompromising resistance from the ministerial side of the House. The opposition was led by the lord-advocate for Scotland, Mr Robert Dundas,* nephew and son-in-law of Pitt's staunch right-hand man, the secretary-at-war, in a maiden speech, and afterwards both "Old Harry" himself and Pitt advanced to the rescue of the established constitution in church and state. The only member, however, who seems to have regarded the Act of Union as a complete bar to the motion was the Master of the Rolls (R. T. Arden, Esq. †), and even he, although in the beginning of his speech he declared his opinion to be that the conditions of the treaty of Union were unalterable, appears to have afterwards admitted that the part of the compact which was considered to ratify and confirm the Test and Corporation Acts might be changed if "some very strong reason indeed could be stated." The right honourable secretary-at-war undertook to explain to the House the true and precise situation in which Scotland had stood with regard to the Test Act at the time of the Union. "It was certainly known to the Scotch nation," said Dundas, "that the Test Act existed in England, as the debates that ensued in their own parliament, previous to the settlement of the treaty of Union, clearly demonstrate. For, when the articles of the treaty were sent to Scotland, and before they were returned to England, several propositions were made in the Scotch parliament for

* But who was this member? We have not been able to find the name either in Benson's *Chronicle*, or in the *Register*, or in the *History* given in the *Parliamentary History*. Yet it frequently occurs in the debates during this and the preceding parliament, and in the last mentioned work it is given in the Index of speakers as William Pulteney.

* Afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Scottish Court of Exchequer.

† Afterwards Baron Alvanley in the Irish Peerage.

relieving the Scotch from the effect of the Test Act, which were all, after serious debate, rejected, and, in order to prove why they were rejected, he would plainly state who were the party that wished to insert that article into the treaty of union. The party who wished not to insert that article consisted of those who were friends to the Revolution, friends to the Hanoverian succession, and friends to the treaty of Union, in short, they were all the great Whig families in the country. On the other side, those who wished to have the Scotch relieved from the Test Act were the enemies to the Revolution and to the House of Hanover and who wanted to impede and prevent the treaty of Union, and, what was more, they were people who were no friends to, nor had any communion with, the church of Scotland. This came out by publishing the names of those who divided on the different propositions that had been debated in their own parliament, so that, the truth being known, they acted like wise men, and distinguished their friends from their foes, by which means the Union was brought about, and the conclusion certainly was, that, if a different conduct had been pursued, no union would have taken place." He argued, therefore, that it was quite unfair in his countrymen, after having thus undeniably acquired their share of the advantages of the Union by yielding this point at the time the bargain was made, to turn round now and demand back what they had so given up. On the whole, Dundas, in his strong way, protested that, if the present motion should be successful, he could not but think and say that the dissenters of England, in the refusal that had been given to their repeated applications for relief from the Test Act, had been treated unjustly, harshly, and cruelly. Pitt, who rose after Fox, maintained that the doubts which had been expressed as to how the law really stood were quite absurd, having gone over all the facts and circumstances of the case he came decidedly to the conclusion, "that historical inference, contemporary exposition, and the practice of eighty years proved it to be law, that members of the church of Scotland were not exempted from the Test Act in England." The grievance, however, he conceived was wholly imaginary, in so far as such persons were concerned he understood that the general sentiment of members of the Scottish church was that there was no harm in communicating with the church of England, those who objected to do so were for the most part dissenters from the established church of Scotland—in other words, were the same description of persons as the natives of England against whom the Test Act was directed. What was thus asserted was certainly not true to anything like the extent assumed, and, if the fact had been as Pitt supposed, much might still have been said in support of an alteration of the law, but the great majority of the members were satisfied with the reasoning they had heard against the motion, and on a division it was negatived by 149 votes against 62. Three-fifths

of the House, it thus appears, had taken no interest in the question.

But, while nothing was effected by this attempt to extend the religious liberties of the Protestant dissenters, parliament had already during the present session consented somewhat to lighten the disabilities of another class of dissenters, whose grievances indeed were of a much more substantial kind. A considerable number of the English Roman Catholics had recently, with the view of allaying the chief apprehensions to which they seemed to owe their exclusion from the rights of citizenship, come forward with a declaration of their non belief in certain doctrines, sometimes attributed to their church, namely, the doctrines that princes excommunicated by the pope might be justifiably deposed or murdered by their subjects, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, and that ecclesiastical absolution had the power to dissolve moral obligations. Those who made this declaration styled themselves Protestant Roman Catholics,—perhaps not without some notion of propitiating their Protestant fellow subjects by the assumption of a name sounding a little like their own, though it may probably, at the same time have had the effect of keeping back many of the more scrupulous among the members of their own communion, who would have joined them if they had not assumed so heretical a designation. The position which a portion of the English Catholics had thus taken up, however, was thought to be likely to procure them some favour from the legislature, and, accordingly, on the 21st of February (1791), Mr Mitford (afterwards Lord Redesdale) moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in "a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called Protestant Catholic Dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, are by law subject." Mr Mitford observed that, in Burn's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' not less a space than seventy pages was occupied with an enumeration of the penal statutes that were still in force against Roman Catholics. What he proposed to do now was to pass a measure in favour of the English Protestant Catholics, which would give them the same relief that had been accorded to the Catholics of Ireland by an act passed by the parliament of that kingdom eight or nine years before. The Irish act alluded to is the 21 and 22 Geo III c 24, passed in 1782, for the relief of persons professing the popish religion, who should have taken an oath prescribed in a previous act, the 13 and 14 Geo III c 35, entitled "An Act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him," which oath, omitting the recognition of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy and the abjuration of that of the pope, bound the party taking it only to the rejection of the opinions, that it is lawful to murder any person on pretence of his being a heretic—that no faith is to be kept with heretics—that princes, when excommunicated, may be deposed or mur-

ferred, and to the usual affirmation touching the non-existence of any temporal or civil jurisdiction within this realm in the pope or any other foreign power. By the act of 1782, Roman Catholics who should have taken this oath were declared qualified in Ireland to acquire by purchase, descent, or otherwise, and to dispose of by will, any lands or other heritable property, except advowsons, or manors, or parliamentary boroughs, and were also relieved from the 8 Anne, c 3, subjecting them to fine and imprisonment for not testifying when they heard mass, from the 7 Will III c 5, and 8 Anne, c 3, making it unlawful for them to keep horses of the value of 5*l*, from the 9 Geo II c 6, imposing amercements on papists for robberies by privaters, from the 6 Geo I c 10, compelling a papist, when elected a watchman, to find a Protestant watchman in his stead, and from the 2 Anne, c 6, forbidding them to inhabit Limerick or Galway and popish ecclesiastics taking the oath within six months, and registering their names and abodes, were discharged of all penalties imposed by the 9 Will III c 1, and the 2 Anne, c 6 & 7, provided they should not be convicted of officiating in a church with a steeple or bell, or at any funeral in a church or churchyard, or of performing any of the rites or ceremonies of the popish religion, or wearing the habits of their orders, excepting in their usual places of worship or in private families, or of using any symbol of ecclesiastical authority, or assuming any ecclesiastical rank or title. The benefits of the act, however, were not to extend to any one who should have been converted, or, as it was expressed, perverted, from the Protestant religion, nor to popish ecclesiastics who should endeavour to pervert any Protestant. We may here also mention that by another Irish act of the same year, the 21 and 22 Geo III c 32, Roman Catholics taking the above-mentioned oath were allowed to keep schools, notwithstanding the 7 Will III c 4, and the 8 Anne, c 3, provided they did not receive any Protestant among their scholars, and also provided that they had the authority of the ordinary of the diocese, which he might recall whenever he thought proper, and the right of being guardians to their own children, or to those of any other person of their communion, was granted to all Roman Catholics except ecclesiastics, notwithstanding the 14 and 15 Char II c 14, the 6 Will III c 3, and the 2 Anne, c 4.* These two bills had been introduced into the Irish House of Commons by Mr Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy), and they had been carried through mainly per force of the enthusiasm on the one hand, and the alarm on the other, excited by the volunteer associations. Even these influences, however, had not proved powerful enough to secure the success of a third bill which Gardiner proposed, for permitting marriages between Protestants and Catholics. Mr Mitford's bill for the

relief of the English Protestant Roman Catholics contained an oath to be taken by those who were to receive the benefit of the measure, very nearly of the same tenor with that in the Irish act of the 13 and 14 Geo III c 35; and it enacted that no Catholic taking such oath should be prosecuted as a recusant, on any of the old statutes of Elizabeth and James,* for not resorting to church or keeping any servant not so resorting, nor on any of the statutes of Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and Charles II,† for being a papist, or reputed papist, or for professing or being educated in the popish religion, or for hearing or saying mass, or being a priest or deacon, or entering or belonging to any ecclesiastical order or community of the Catholic religion, or being present at or performing, or assisting in the performance or administration of, any rite, ceremony, practice, or observance of the popish religion. It relieved all Catholics taking the oath from the liability to be removed from London, under the 3 Will and Mary, c 9, from the penalties they incurred, if peers, under the 30 Char II, by coming into the presence of the king, and from their obligation of having their deeds and wills registered, according to the 3 Geo I, c 18. It enacted that no Roman Catholic should be liable to be summoned to take either the oath of supremacy contained in the 1 Will and Mary, stat 1, c 8, or the declaration against transubstantiation in the 25 Chas II, c 2, and it permitted Catholics to practise as barristers or attorneys without taking these oaths, provided they took the new oath prescribed in the bill. These clauses, however, did not open the doors of either House of Parliament to Roman Catholics, who were still bound to take the old oaths in all cases (excepting those specified in the bill) in which that was necessary for the acceptance of any place or office or the performance of any function, as it was to enable any one to take his seat either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. The oath of supremacy, too, might still be tendered to any person presenting himself to vote at the election of a member of parliament. The bill further legalized Roman Catholic places of worship, provided they were registered and the door kept unlocked during the time of service, and it also, like the late Irish act, removed the penalties against Catholics for acting as teachers, on condition, however, that they received no children of Protestant fathers among their scholars. They were specially prohibited, too, from keeping school in Oxford or Cambridge.

Such, at least, were the enactments of the bill as it was passed by parliament. It was different, however, in some particulars when it was first brought forward in the House of Commons. A standing order had been passed on the 30th of April, 1772, to the effect that no bill relating to

* The statutes enumerated were the 1 Eliz. c 2, the 28 Eliz. c 1, the 29 Eliz. c 8, the 35 Eliz. c 2, the 2 (Julius) Jac I c 4, the 3 Jac I c 4 & 5, and the 7 Jac I c 5.

† There were the 28 Eliz. c 1, the 27 Eliz. c 2, the 28 Eliz. c 2, the 2 (Julius) Jac I c 4, the 3 Jac I c 5, the 5 Char I c 2, and the 30 Char II c 2.

* This latter part of the act was explained and amended by a subsequent Irish act passed in 1790, the 40 Geo III c 99.

religion, or the alteration of the laws concerning religion, should be brought into the House, until the proposition should have been first considered and agreed unto in a committee of the whole House, and, in conformity with this regulation, it was ordered that Mitford's motion should be referred to such a committee on the 1st of March. The motion to that effect was seconded by Mr Windham, and Pitt also expressed his hope that the House would at least be unanimous in receiving the bill. Fox regretted that the proposed measure did not go a great deal farther—that it did not comprehend Roman Catholics of every description, and grant to them, besides, every right and privilege enjoyed by Protestants. He expressed himself upon this head with great warmth, declaring that he could not but regard the compromise of principle involved in the bill as shameful in the highest degree. When the House went into committee on the 1st of March, Mitford intimated that, without entering into the discussion of first principles, his own opinion was in favour of extending relief from all the penal and disqualifying statutes to all Catholics, but that he had restricted the scope of the present bill in deference to the popular feeling, which would not have tolerated a more comprehensive measure. Fox, however, repeated his former objection: he contended that the prejudices of the people would probably be as much irritated by the partial relief proposed to be granted as they would have been by a bolder and more liberal measure. "He believed," he said, "that in Ireland all the acts against Roman Catholics were repealed, and no danger had arisen, on the contrary, the Catholics had behaved incomparably well ever since and had given the most substantial proofs of their loyalty and attachment to government." It would seem from this remark that a great part of Fox's violent dislike to the present bill was founded merely upon its title, or rather upon the description given of it in the motion for leave to bring it in, for, although it professed to relieve only the "protesting" Catholics, it was really substantially the same with the Irish act with which he thus invidiously contrasted it. And we may also suspect that the circumstance of the author of the bill being a Tory, or ministerialist, did not contribute to recommend it to his favourable regards. Fox concluded by moving an amendment embodying his views, which, however, he afterwards withdrew. Burke, who spoke at considerable length, allowed that the doctrines asserted by his right honourable friend, though he could not subscribe to all of them, did the highest honour to his head and heart. But for himself, he held that the way to obtain any desired end was to accept a little of what was wanted when more was not attainable, and also that the surest mode of remedying grievances was to proceed with moderation, and do away a little at a time, rather than to attempt curing them all at once. Pitt could not quite agree with the principles on the subject of religious liberty maintained either by Fox or

Burke, but he also seemed inclined to go farther than the present bill. "It was," he said, "his wish that either in that bill, or in some other which might be brought in during the present session, many of the statutes to which the right honourable gentleman opposite to him had alluded should be repealed, and, amongst these, all those harsh and severe laws which certainly ought not to stand on the statute-book, and which it would be shameful to enforce against the Roman Catholics, or any other description of dissenters, for the offences there alleged as offences to be punished in so extraordinary a manner. It would be proper to repeal those statutes if the present bill, or any measure of the kind, passed, because, in that case, if relief of the nature proposed by his honourable and learned friend who had made the motion was granted to one description of Roman Catholics, and the statutes to which he had alluded were suffered to remain unrepealed, it would have something like the effect of re-enacting them, as it would appear that the legislature, apprised, as they had been of their existence, thought that the other description of Roman Catholics merited to have such disgraceful statutes remain in force against them." The attorney general, Sir Archibald Macdonald (afterwards chief baron) also thought that the bill was not sufficiently comprehensive. Several printed papers, he stated, had been put into his hands which had appeared in the course of the controversy now going on between the protesting and the non protesting Roman Catholics, and in which the latter gave as sensible reasons as he had ever read to show that they had as fair a claim to be embraced in the bill as the former. After Mr William Smith had assured the House that the Protestant dissenters, though seldom feeling or acting together in regard to anything, were nearly unanimous in favour of the present measure, leave to bring in the bill was granted.

On the 1st of April, when the House was in committee on the bill, after one or two alterations had been made in the wording of the clause containing the oath Fox objected to a change which had been made since it was first introduced in the name by which the persons for whose benefit it was designed were designated, they were now, it seems, described as Papists, instead of Catholic dissenters. But Mr Mitford stated that the new appellation was given to them at their own desire. When the report was brought up on the 8th the oath was further amended in the part of it relating to the opinions which were to be abjured, and a clause allowing Catholics who should take the oath to present to church livings was struck out. The clause was supported by Fox and Windham, but Pitt intimated—alluding to the other House—that, if it were left standing, it would certainly obstruct the progress of the bill. Fox seems to have by this time become somewhat more reconciled to the measure. He approved, he said, of the clause, but, if there was to be any strong opposition to it, he would not run the risk of endangering the bill.

by insisting upon it. He argued, however, that the church of England could be placed in no greater danger, nor have any better reason to complain, although Roman Catholics were allowed to present to livings, than the church of Scotland in consequence of the right enjoyed, and every day exercised, by the king, of presenting to livings in it, although his majesty was obliged by law to be himself a member of the English church. To this Mr Serjeant Watson answered that the king was by law head of the church of Scotland as well as of the church of England. In the end, Fox said, "he certainly had a mental reservation upon this bill, and was not ashamed to own it, because he knew it would not go so far as it ought to do, and, until another bill was brought in to go much farther, he would not be satisfied that justice was done either to the Roman Catholics or many other dissenters from the established church, whom he thought deserving, from their conduct, of the countenance of the legislature. To this bill he agreed, in hopes that a better and more extensive one, upon the principle of toleration, would soon be brought forward."

The debate on the bill in the Lords took place on the 31st of May, on the motion for the second reading. Scarcely any opposition or objection was made to the general principle of the bill, Dr Hinchcliffe, the bishop of Peterborough, alone spoke of the danger of the measure, and besought their lordships to proceed with caution, contending that the conduct of the Roman Catholics was no criterion of their principles, and expressing his hope that care would be taken to prevent the keepers of Popish seminaries from attempting to convert the children of Protestant parents, but the terms of the proposed oath were subjected to a good deal of criticism. The most remarkable speech was that delivered by Horsley, who still presided over his first see of St David's. Horsley, who rose after the Archbishop of Canterbury, professed great charity for the Roman Catholics and a perfect abhorrence of the penal laws, but he doubted whether the present bill had been sent up from the lower House in a shape fit to be sent to a committee. He had no hesitation in saying that the opinions which separated the Roman Catholics of the present day from the communion of the Church of England were not of the dangerous description which might render the extermination of those professing them an object of just policy. He quarrelled with the present bill, not for the relief it gave, but for the partiality of its operation, and its insufficiency for its own purpose. "My lords," said Horsley, "this bill is to relieve Roman Catholics from the penal laws, under the condition that they take an oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration, the terms of which oath the bill describes. The bill, therefore, will relieve such Roman Catholics as take this oath, and none else. Now, my lords, it is, I believe, a well-known fact, that a very great number—I believe I should be correct if I were to say a very great majority—of the Roman

Catholics scruple at the terms in which this oath is unfortunately drawn, and declare they cannot bring themselves to take it." The Catholics who felt in this way were not Papists in the opprobrious sense of that term, they were ready to swear allegiance to the king, to abjure the Pretender, and to renounce both the pope's civil authority and every other obnoxious doctrine specified in the oath, but they objected to the terms in which some of these doctrines were characterised. In particular they felt strongly averse to apply to the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the pope might be deposed by their subjects the epithets impious, unchristian, and damnable, considering that this doctrine, however universally rejected now, was undoubtedly as universally received in former ages, at least as a speculative truth, though it might have been rarely or never acted upon. Why should the Roman Catholics of the present day be called upon to stigmatise their ancestors for merely holding that erroneous opinion, as devoid of pity, as no Christians, and as persons that had died under a sentence of eternal damnation? The terms in which the pope's civil authority was renounced was also matter of scruple to that division of the Roman Catholics which the right reverend prelate considered as the majority. They thought that the words used in the oath went to a denial of the pope's spiritual authority, which they could not conscientiously abjure. The bill, or at least the oath as it now stood, had been drawn up under the direction of, or in concert with, a body called the Catholic Committee, which was held to represent the party known as the Protestant Catholics. But the measure in its present shape was generally opposed by all the rest of the Catholic body. "The matter in dispute," continued Horsley, "is the propriety of the oath as it stands in this bill, which oath the one party is ready to accept—the other repudiates. The dispute began in terms of mutual respect and great moderation, but, as the dispute went on, both sides, as is the case in all disputes, grew warmer. Both sides have now lost all temper, and the quarrel, a religious quarrel, my lords, is raging. The scrupulous Catholics speak of the writings on the other side as schismatical, scandalous, and inflammatory. The Catholic Committee charge the former with inculcating principles hostile to society and government, and to the constitution and laws of the British. My lords, these reproaches are, I think, unmerited on either side, but they are for that reason the stronger symptoms of intemperate heat on both sides." And from all this he contended that the bill, if it should pass into a law, would only inflame the quarrel between the two parties—would only put arms into the hands of one of them by which their opponents might be subjected to the most horrible persecution. He feared greatly, from the state to which matters had been brought, that the oath could not now be amended, so as to be made unobjectionable, in committee. "Look," said his lordship, "at the state of the controversy

among the Roman Catholics Three of the four Roman Catholic bishops who call themselves the apostolical vicars for the four districts of this country—three out of these four have promulgated an encyclical letter, in which they reprobate the oath as it stands in the present bill, and they go farther,—they advance this principle, that a conscientious Catholic ought not to take any oath declaratory of any opinion upon doctrinal points till it has received the approbation of his ecclesiastical superiors The gentlemen of the Catholic Committee exclaim against this as an extravagant stretch of authority,—I confess, my lords, I see no extravagance in it, I believe, were I a Roman Catholic, I should think it my duty to submit to it,—but the Catholic Committee are indignant under this usurpation of authority, as they think it, of the apostolical vicars, and a paper has appeared, signed by the gentlemen of the Committee, which I know not very well what to call my lords, it looks something like an appeal to the Pope, and yet I can hardly suppose that an appeal to him has been actually made, or that this is a copy of a paper sent as a formal appeal to Rome The Committee, in this paper, it seems, declared that they appealed “to all the Catholic churches in the universe, and especially to the first of all Catholic churches, the apostolical see, *rightly informed*” From all this Horsley contended that in present circumstances the British legislature could not with any good effect stir in the matter, it would be perfectly useless to pass a law giving relief, upon the condition of an oath which one section of the persons to be relieved declared unhesitatingly that they could not take, and which the rest said they must go to Rome and ask the Pope whether they could take or no The remedy for this would be to find an oath which might be sufficient on the one hand for the security of government, and which, on the other, the Roman Catholics generally would be willing to take Such, his lordship contended, was the oath contained in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed in 1778 that oath had in fact already been taken by the majority of the Roman Catholics, and by the four apostolical vicars themselves He was very sorry that this oath had not been adopted in the present bill, but from what he had heard he had much doubt whether, if their lordships went into committee, they would be unanimous in substituting that oath for the one actually standing in the bill, and for that reason he feared the bill was incurable

The general opinion of the House, however, was that the bill should be committed The Bishop of Salisbury (Dr Douglas) afterwards spoke in its favour, and both Lord Stanhope and the Marquess of Lansdowne expressed their gratitude to the episcopal bench for their support of the measure Lansdowne said that, although he had always supported the claim of the Protestant Dissenters to relief from the Test Act as a matter of right, he owned his opinion as to the case of the Catholics

had been formerly very different. “Their claim, if they had any, was an indulgence, not a right but, from a strict observance of their change of character and system in every part of the world, he was now inclined to think them a harmless people, who deserved the same indulgence and had the same right as other sects to protection and toleration” The Duke of Leeds declared himself a hearty friend to the bill, but, from what he had read on the subject, he could not but think that the prelates were right in their dispute with the Catholic Committee He did not dislike the oath of 1778, but he preferred that which was taken by the Irish Roman Catholics—namely, as has been above explained, the oath prescribed in the Irish Acts of 1774 and 1782 And in the end this Irish oath, with a very slight alteration, was the one adopted its substitution was moved by Horsley when the House went into committee on the bill on the 3rd of June, and thus amended the bill was passed into a law without any further opposition

The next session of parliament was distinguished by the passing of a bill for the relief of another description of dissenters, “the pastors, ministers, and lay persons of the Episcopal communion in Scotland” Ever since the Revolution of 1688 the Scottish Episcopalians had been regarded by the law as a body hostile to the established government, and had themselves in general maintained an attitude of alienation towards the new order of things The act of Queen Anne, passed in 1712, indeed, had given to the Episcopal church a toleration and legal existence in Scotland, which it had not had for the preceding twenty four years, and had enabled its pastors to perform their religious functions without impediment from the Presbyterian clergy* But, after more than thirty years of comparative freedom from molestation, the conduct of many of the Scottish Episcopalians during the rebellion of 1745 again drew upon them the eye of the government, and, immediately after the suppression of that attempt, parliament passed an Act (the 19 Geo II c 38), “more effectually to prohibit and prevent pastors or ministers from officiating in Episcopal meeting houses in Scotland without duly qualifying themselves according to law, and to punish persons for resorting to any meeting houses where such unqualified pastors or ministers shall officiate” “It is notorious,” said the preamble of this Act, “that for many years last past during the reign of his present majesty, and of his late majesty King George I, a great number of meeting houses have been set up and maintained in the city of Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland, by persons professing to be of the Episcopal communion, whereof the pastors or ministers have never taken the oaths to his majesty or his royal father, nor ever did, in express words, during the exercise of divine service, pray for his majesty and the royal family, by means whereof those

* See Hist. Hist. of England, iv 648

illegal meetings have greatly contributed to excite and foment a spirit of disaffection amongst numbers of persons in that part of the kingdom against his majesty's person and government which hath been one of the causes of the wicked and unnatural rebellion lately raised and carried on against his majesty in favour of a Popish pretender," and it went on to state, that the abuse of so much liberty and forbearance as had been hitherto shown, during the present and the late reign, towards such nonjuring Episcopal ministers, made it absolutely necessary that the laws in force concerning them should be more punctually executed and also that some further provision should be made to prevent the continuance of so great a mischief. It was, therefore, enacted that the sheriffs should make out lists of the number of Episcopal meeting houses within their respective jurisdictions—that every minister should before a certain day, produce a certificate of his having qualified himself by taking the oaths to his majesty appointed by law—that all ministers should, as often as they officiated, pray, at some time during the exercise of divine service, for his majesty by name, and for all the royal family in the same form of words as were directed by lawful authority to be used in the prayers of the Church of England—that wherever these regulations were not attended to, the meeting-house should be shut up—that any pastor officiating without being qualified or without praying for the royal family as above directed, should be subject, for the first offence, to imprisonment for six months, for the second, to transportation to some of his majesty's plantations in America for life, and to imprisonment for life if he should return to Great Britain,—and all persons resorting to meeting houses not registered, or where the clergyman was not qualified or the service performed according to the Act, were made liable to a penalty of five pounds for the first offence and to two years' imprisonment for the second—all peers of Scotland so offending were disqualified from being either elected as representative peers, or from voting for such—all other persons were disqualified from either voting at elections of members of parliament or being themselves returned as members—and persons holding any office, civil or military, in Scotland, were to forfeit their appointments, and to be incapable of holding any other for the space of a year. It was also enacted by this statute that, in future, no letters of orders of any pastor or minister of any Episcopal meeting or congregation in Scotland should be deemed sufficient, or be admitted to be registered, so as to make it legal for the minister to officiate, except such as should have been granted by some bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, and, by a clause in another act, passed two years later (the 21st Geo II, c 34), it was declared that this rule should apply even to such letters of orders as should have been presented for registration before the day originally appointed for the rule to take effect—regulations which seemed to strike at the very existence

of the Scottish Episcopal church as an independent religious body. Notwithstanding these stringent enactments, however, we believe the great majority of the Episcopalian of Scotland, laity as well as clergy, continued nonjurors for about forty years longer, owing their escape from the penalties of the law partly to their own unobtrusiveness and scanty numbers, partly to the milder temper of the times and the greater strength of the government, or the more confirmed tenure of the reigning family, which soon began to feel itself sufficiently well established to make it a matter of very little consequence whether it was prayed for or no every Sunday by a few dozens of small congregations of sectarians scattered up and down in North Britain. But the death of the Pretender in 1788 afforded a fair opportunity to the Scottish Episcopalian, of which they readily took advantage, to relinquish at last their antiquated politics, with some decent show of preserving their consistency, for they argued, ingenuously, that, although the Cardinal York, calling himself Henry IX, still survive, his clerical character took from him his right to the crown, and then, as nobody but themselves took that view of the matter, and there was consequently no other person at the moment claiming to be the true heir, they came to the conclusion that it was no business of theirs to inquire farther, and that thus left as it were without any other depository for their allegiance, they might as well transfer it to the same quarter with the rest of their fellow countrymen. Thus at last, after holding out exactly a century, they consented to submit to the Revolution, and began, all but a very few, to pray for his majesty George III. It was in these circumstances that the bill of relief we have mentioned was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Earl of Elgin. The only debate it occasioned took place on the 2nd of May (1792), on the motion for the second reading. The object of the bill was to annul the penalties to which the neglect of certain formalities subjected the Scottish Episcopalian under the existing law, and the principal point discussed was the expediency of repealing the enactment, mentioned above, which required a Scottish Episcopal clergyman to have orders from some bishop of the English or Irish church. Thurlow, the chancellor, contended that this was necessary as a test that these clergymen taught doctrines consonant to the principles of Christianity. This argument was very well answered both by Viscount Stormont and Bishop Horsley. Stormont observed that, for one thing, what the law demanded was in many cases utterly impossible. "If Episcopalian pastors were men of conscience, they could not submit to a second ordination, and, if they did, how would they stand in the eyes of their congregation? The latter would have to say, 'You have passed upon us for twenty or thirty years for what you are not. You have preached to us, and we have listened to you, but we now at last find that before this time you never were duly qualified.' And, even if the Episcopalian

Episcopalians were to apply to a bishop of England or Ireland, where would they get a title? If an Episcopalian were to say his friends in England would procure him a meeting, would any of the learned prelates opposite to him deem that a competent title? Most certainly not." Horsley exposed the impertinence and unfairness of the state's interference with the ordination of the Episcopalian of Scotland, a body of dissenters from the established church of that country, by pointing attention to the fact that no such interference was attempted or had ever been thought of in regard to any other description of dissenters. And he added "The credit of Episcopacy will never be advanced by the scheme of supplying the Episcopalian congregations in Scotland with pastors of our ordination, and for this reason, that it would be an imperfect, crippled Episcopacy that would be thus upheld in Scotland. When a clergyman ordained by one of us settles as a pastor of a congregation in Scotland, he is out of the reach of our authority. We have no authority there, we can have no authority there, the legislature can give us no authority there. The attempt to introduce any thing of an authorised political Episcopacy in Scotland would be a direct infringement of the Union. My lords, as to the notion that clergymen should be originally ordained by us to the ministry in Scotland, I agree with the noble viscount that the thing would be contrary to all rule and order. No bishop who knows what he does ordains without a title, and a title must be a nomination to something certain in the diocese of the bishop that ordains. My lords, an appointment to an Episcopal congregation in Scotland is no more a title to me, to any bishop of the English bench, or any bishop of the Irish bench, than an appointment to a church in Mesopotamia." The measure, which passed both Houses without any further discussion, speedily produced a considerable addition to the numbers of the Scottish Episcopalian, and since this date, from consisting principally of the lower classes, that communion has come to include the larger proportion of the aristocracy and higher gentry of the country.

In the Commons this same session an important debate took place on a motion made pursuant to notice by Mr Fox, on the 11th of May, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal and alter sundry provisions of certain penal statutes respecting religious opinions, namely, that of the 1st of Edward VI c 1 entitled "An Act against such as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Altar, and of the receiving thereof under both kinds," the 1st of Mary, st 2, c 2, entitled "An Act against Offenders of Preachers and other Ministers in the Church," certain statutes of Elizabeth against the Roman Catholics not included in the late repeal,* and the 9th and 10th of William, c 32, entitled "An Act for the more effectual Suppressing of Blas-

phemy and Profaneness." In the first instance the motion appears to have been confined to the repeal of the last-mentioned act only. It had been preceded by the presentation of a petition from the Unitarians, against whose denial of the Trinity that statute was principally levelled, or rather, indeed, particularly directed. For the present, Fox intimated, though he lamented the necessity of so doing, he had abandoned the idea of a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. "The persons for whom he now interceded were Unitarians, some following the doctrines of Arius, others of Socinus. They entreated of the House, not to establish them, but to relieve them from statutes of pain and punishment. If these statutes were to be put in practice, they ought not to be suffered to exist." Previously to the year 1641, four persons professing Unitarian doctrines had been burnt. Subsequent to that period lived Mr Peeble,* who was considered as the founder of Unitarianism, he suffered persecution for his religious opinions from Cromwell and Charles II, and, though his character was unquestionable, the persecution against him did not in the smallest degree relax. But, though the Unitarians were not now persecuted by the legislature, they were in a manner under the lash of divines of the established church. Dr South, in speaking of them, had traced their pedigree, from wretch to wretch, back to the devil himself. The descendants of the devil were his clients. This was the language of former days. More modern times had produced greater moderation, still, however, invective had not ceased. Dr Halifax† speaking of Dr Priestley, had said that, now he had stated his opinions, he had completed his crimes. Thus a declaration of an opinion had been gravely stated to be criminal. Posterior to Dr Halifax, Dr Horsley had contended that even the moral good of the Unitarians was sin, and, however they served God, loved their kindred, and relieved the distressed, they were sinful because they were heretics." Fox maintained that it was the grossest of all insults to tell people thus treated that they were not persecuted—although he does not appear to have had any scheme for absolutely prohibiting and putting down the expression of such theological views as those of Halifax and Horsley, however objectionable he might think them. Nor, indeed, did it show a very clear understanding of what he was talking of to call the utterance of such sentiments persecution in any sense. In conclusion, he described the laws which he wished to have repealed. Among others he would do away with the restrictions and disabilities that still affected the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding the late bill that had been passed for their relief. By that bill, he observed, "it should be remembered that a certain oath was required to be taken, to this oath he believed there was no objection amongst any of the Catholics, but were

* They are described in the report of the debate as statutes of the 14th and 15th of Elizabeth. &c. &c. But there were no such statutes made in those years.

* A mistake, we suppose, for Biddle. John Biddle died in 1669.
† The Bishop of St. Asaph.

gentlemen aware that, among the poorer sort, many, from negligence and from economy (for some of them must travel a considerable distance before they came to a magistrate), would omit the taking of this oath? The consequence was that themselves and posterity were liable to all the penalties and disabilities of the ancient statutes. He believed that, if the House were to speak out fairly, there would be less objection, on constitutional sentiments, to the admission of Catholics into it than dissenters. For himself, he objected to neither, but he believed that those who did object feared more the principles of dissenters, who had, than those of Catholics, who had not, the right of sitting in that House: the one class were supposed to be republicans, the other were distinguished for an attachment to monarchy." He then stepped aside to advert to the Marriage Act, "an act," he said, "to which he was radically so much an enemy, that he should, whenever he had the least encouragement, make a third attempt to obtain its repeal: he had made two, and had succeeded in that House, but had always been thwarted in the House of Lords." In the meanwhile he proposed to do away with at least a portion of those laws which prevented a man from speaking, not in the way of ribaldry or ridicule, but advisedly and solemnly, what he thought on subjects of religion. We have omitted any notice of the bulk of the speech, which was made up of an elaborate exposition of the common arguments in favour of toleration, which Fox declared he wished to be universal, although, if he had been cross questioned, he probably would have found himself forced to admit certain limitations of his principle, which would have taken the wind out of much of his reasoning. He was, for instance, a professed friend to an established church—which, in a disclaimer for universal toleration was much the same thing as an admission of the necessity of laws and government would be in a preacher of universal licence. There are very few principles of universal application in human affairs: statesmanship consists in saying to every principle that can be proposed or propounded, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."

Fox was answered by Burke, now no longer his friend and associate either politically or personally, in a speech, a note of part of the materials for which was found among his papers, and is published in his works. Burke scouted the notion of deciding the question by general principles. "No rational man," he said, "ever did govern himself by abstractions and universals. I do not put abstract ideas wholly out of any question, because I well know that under that name I should dismiss principles, and that, without the guide and light of sound, well-understood principles, all reasoning in politics, as in everything else, would be only a confused jumble of particular facts and details, without the means of drawing out any sort of theoretical or practical conclusion. A statesman differs from a professor in a university: the latter

has only the general view of society, the former, the statesman, has a pumber of circumstances to combine with those general ideas, and to take into his consideration. Circumstances are infinite, are infinitely combined, are variable and transient: he who does not take them into consideration is, not erroneous, but stark mad—"dat operam ut cum ratione insanat"—he is metaphysically mad. A statesman, never losing sight of principles, is to be guided by circumstances, and, judging contrary to the exigencies of the moment, he may ruin his country for ever." He then stated various considerations with the view of showing that a check upon the publication of opinions might possibly sometimes be expedient. And, as for the case before the House, he contended that the name assumed by the chief petitioners for relief, the Unitarians, being altogether new to the records of parliament and the history of the country, the House was entitled, and it was its duty, to see by what people, of what character, and under what temporary circumstances, the business was brought before it—to ascertain whether there were any, and what mixture of political dogmas and political practices with their religious tenets—of what nature these political ingredients were, and how far they were at present practically separable from the religious opinions known by the name of Unitarianism. He contended that they were in reality a political faction—that the main purpose of their association, and of their eager proselytising, was to collect a multitude sufficient by force and violence to overturn the established church—that their designs against the church were concurrent with a design to subvert the state—that the model on which they desired to reconstruct the political edifice in this country was, by their own avowal, the new revolutionary French model, and then he proceeded at great length to examine what had already been the deplorable effects of that scheme in the country where it had been actually set up, in regard to toleration itself—to religious belief and practice—to civil happiness—to virtue, order, and real liberty—to commercial opulence—and to national defence—endeavouring to show that in all these respects its operation had been, in the highest degree, destructive and disastrous. From all this he drew the conclusion that, at any rate, the present moment was not the time for parliament stepping forward to confer favours and encouragements upon the Unitarians, and to give them a measure of liberty and power they had not hitherto possessed. He recommended rather deliberation, and even an excess of caution, as safer than such precipitate liberality. Whatever may be thought of this counsel and of the line of argument by which it was supported, there can be no doubt that the question before the House was discussed with a much more direct reference to its true character in this speech than it had been in that with which it was introduced: the case of the Unitarians was eagerly taken up by Fox, as the admirer of the French Revolution, with which they also generally

sympathised, of which Priestley and some of their other leaders had been the most enthusiastic and wholesale applauders in this country, and with the avowed principles of which both the abolition of all restrictions on religious profession, and Unitarianism itself as a system of religious doctrine, were naturally allied the claims put forward were distasteful to Burke, and to those who thought and felt with him, for exactly the same reasons. The motion was of course supported by Mr W Smith, himself a Unitarian, and also by Mr Adam and by Lord North, who still counted himself of the same political party with Fox, although he stated that, if his right honourable friend had proposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, he should not have been able to go along with him, any more than he had been on former occasions: it was opposed by Mr Mitford and Pitt, and then Fox rose to reply. He addressed himself almost exclusively to what had been said by Burke. The two former friends still, it may be noticed, sat on the same bench, that next the table on the opposition side of the House. His motion, Fox said, certainly had nothing to do with France, which it was the fashion with some gentlemen to cram into every debate. "His opinions of the French Revolution were precisely the same now as they had ever been. He considered that event as highly advantageous to this country, and to the world in general, and the right honourable gentleman knew his disposition too well to suppose that any temporary or accidental defeat that the French might suffer in their struggle for liberty would stagger his mind with regard to their success in the result." Paine's 'Rights of Man, to which, among a multitude of other publications of the day, Burke had referred, Fox admitted was a libel upon the constitution of Great Britain, but Burke's own book—his 'Reflections on the French Revolution'—was, he said, a libel on every free constitution in the world. And then he attacked Burke as an apostate to his former principles: only in the last session he had, he believed, in the discussions on the Catholic Relief Bill, expressed a wish that all the sanguinary laws inflicting death in matters of religion were repealed, but "the right honourable gentleman, indeed, might have altered his opinion, as he had lately done, very suddenly, on various topics." The idea that repealing the statutes in question might give umbrage to the people, Fox treated as a consideration not worth attending to. He did not think that popular prejudice should deter the House from acting upon its own opinion "the House," he said, "of late seemed inclined to become the slave of popularity." This philippic, however, did not prevent the motion from being negatived by a majority of more than two to one—the numbers being, *ays* 63, *noes* 142.

The next session of the same parliament, nevertheless, was distinguished by the extension to the Roman Catholics of Scotland of the same measure of relief which had already been granted to those

of Ireland and of England. The bill by which this was accomplished was moved for in the House of Commons on the 23rd of April, 1793, by the lord-advocate (Mr Robert Dundas), who, in his speech, stated that, by one of the statutes affecting the Scotch Roman Catholics, "an oath, called a formula or solemn declaration, was imposed upon them, which they could not take without renouncing the religion they professed, and, if they refused to take it, their nearest Protestant relation might deprive them of their estates." Although this law was too odious to be often carried into execution (a reason of itself why it should not be allowed to exist), yet there was then a suit founded on it actually depending in the courts of law in Scotland. "A Roman Catholic gentleman," said his lordship, "as respectable and amiable in character as any man in this or any other kingdom, was possessed of an estate of 1000*l* a-year, which had been in his family for at least a century and a half. This gentleman, loved and respected by all who knew him, was now on the point of being stripped of his property by a relation, who could have no other shadow of claim to it than that which he might derive from this penal law, which he was endeavouring rigidly to enforce. In the courts as much delay as possible was thrown in his way, but it was to be feared that he must succeed at last, and reduce to beggary a gentleman in every respect a most meritorious subject." Whether the relieving measure came in time to operate in this particular case does not appear, but the motion for leave to bring in a bill, substituting a new form of abjuration and declaration for his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Scotland, was unanimously agreed to, and the bill passed through all its stages in both Houses without opposition.

The attempt to break down still more of the existing statutory defences (or supposed defences) against the ancient religion was renewed in the next session by Mr Sheridan, who, on the 26th of May, 1794, moved in the Commons for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent certain qualifications, at present established by law, from being required, for the future, from persons who shall bear military offices." This matter had been incidentally brought into discussion some weeks before in the course of a debate on the second reading of a bill introduced by ministers, "to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the continent of Europe, and in certain other places, and to enable his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of France to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, or as engineers, under certain restrictions." On that occasion Sheridan, in opposing the government bill, had said,—"To many it might seem of no trifling consequence to have such a body of French Roman Catholics, without test or regular allegiance, at the disposal of the executive government to him their opinions in respect to religion were of no very great importance. Let it be recollected, how-

ever, that if, in this age of liberality and religious tolerance, it was not deemed unsafe to entertain in the kingdom an army of, possibly, 30,000 Roman Catholic foreigners, what an insult did we offer to the Roman Catholics of England in continuing those oppressive and degrading restrictions" to which they were still subject? He then intimated that if the present bill should pass he should think it his duty to bring under the review of parliament, without loss of time, the situation of the English Roman Catholics, as well as all the other dissenters, and the object of his motion would be, that all tests on account of religious opinions should be abolished. The Emigrant Corps Bill, as it was called, though perseveringly opposed, was carried through all its stages by great majorities, and Sheridan, accordingly, now came forward to redeem his pledge. He observed that, by an act passed the preceding year in the Irish parliament,* Roman Catholics were permitted to serve in the army in Ireland as officers under the rank of the staff. "Now," he continued, "supposing that any of these officers should be ordered upon duty to England, can anything be more absurd and preposterous than that those men should be subject to heavy penalties for bearing the king's commission which they do in strict conformity to the laws of their own country?" He then called attention to some remarkable declarations that had been made in the course of the discussions on the Irish act. One member of the House of Commons, Mr Hobart who might be presumed to be well acquainted with the intentions of the government, had expressly announced that a similar measure was in contemplation in England, and in the Upper House the lord chancellor had said that "it was not to be supposed that his majesty would appoint men on such posts before the laws of the empire should qualify them to act in every part of it, and that it was more than probable that a similar law would be passed in England before the expiration of two months." Sheridan went on to remind the House that Roman Catholics did not stand in the same situation with Protestants in regard to the disabilities which he now proposed to remove. A Protestant dissenter, besides the protection which he derived from the Annual Indemnity Act, might accept of a commission in the army, if he chose to run the risk of incurring the penalties, a Roman Catholic, if he offered himself to the service, would be at once rejected. "A Mr Weston, a Roman Catholic," said the right honourable gentleman, "who had been appointed a lieutenant colonel in one of the new-raised corps, which he himself contributed largely to raise, has been superseded in his command by ministers, or at least his commission has been refused to be signed. This gentleman is, as far as I can learn, one of the most respectable men in the county where he resides, and, what is more extraordinary, strongly attached to the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) and his measures—in which, to

be sure, he differs something from me." Opposed as he was to test acts and disqualifying laws *in toto*, Sheridan said that he should not at present attempt more than he thought was likely to be granted, and therefore he would leave the question of civil employments untouched. But this limitation of the proposition as originally announced was of no avail. Ministers resisted it, not directly, indeed, or on the principle, but by the previous question, which was moved by the home secretary (Mr Dundas), on the ground, as he said, that Sheridan's arguments evidently applied to the case of dissenters of all descriptions, and he did not conceive the present to be a proper time for the advancing of claims upon which the House had already repeatedly pronounced its decision. Fox said a few words in support of Sheridan's motion. Mr William Smith stated that it had not been brought forward in concurrence with the wishes of his friends the Protestant dissenters; and, in the end, the previous question was put and carried. This, we believe, was the last attempt that was made in parliament to abrogate any part of what remained of the disabilities affecting the Roman Catholics during the present period.

Two or three minor matters, however, still remain to be noticed to complete the religious history of the period. Among these may be first mentioned the successive attempts that were made to give additional strictness or efficiency to the law for the observance of the Sabbath. The first bill with this object was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr Manwaring, in March, 1794 in the short speech with which he introduced the subject he dwelt principally on the expediency of raising the amount of the penalties inflicted by the existing statutes, and the measure appears to have been defeated, or dropped, without much farther debate. A similar bill which was introduced in the next session reached a second reading, the motion to that effect being carried on the 26th of March, 1795, by a majority of 25 to 21, but the motion for committing it was negatived on the 13th of April following, by 44 to 43. From the report of a short debate which took place on the motion for the second reading, it appears that one of the provisions of the bill went to substitute fine and imprisonment for the pecuniary penalties of the old law, and another to constitute the offence of violating the Sabbath a misdemeanor, subjecting the party to an indictment. Mr Michael Angelo Taylor, who led the opposition to the measure, further objected, that, whereas by the Act of the 29th of Charles II, which the present bill proposed to amend, no penalty could be incurred unless information were given in ten days, it was now to be enacted that there should be no limitation of time to the preferring of an indictment, "so that, if any person were to have his hair dressed, or took a boat, or rode out the next Sunday after the passing of the bill, he might be punished at any period of his life." On the other

hand it was argued that the existing law had been ineffectual. Mr Eliot observed, that the observance of the Sabbath was notoriously declining "in the present year the building of great edifices was carried on openly, and in defiance of decency, on a Sunday. Another circumstance which was very offensive in the eye of decorum was, the great number of public waggons which travelled the road on a Sunday. Some few years ago no such thing as a public waggon was seen on the road on the Sabbath-day, whereas nothing was now more common." These statements afford materials for comparison with the state of things at the present day, and may be taken as proving that the decorum of the Sunday is at least as well observed now as it was half a century ago. Mr Courtenay urged another objection to the bill "under pretence," he observed, "of enforcing a stricter observance of the Lord's Day by the middling and lower class of people, it gave licence to another numerous set of men to break in upon that observance in a manner which they were restricted from by the act of Charles II. In pursuance of that act, and by the common law, no bailiff or sheriff's officer could execute any writ, process, or execution on a Sunday. By this act they were empowered to execute all such processes for offences committed on that day." Even limited as it appears to have been, this was certainly a most dangerous proviso, and would probably have violated and impaired the sacredness of the Sabbath, considered as the one day in seven of universal rest, and freedom, and security, more seriously than all the other abuses the bill was intended to put down. Among the members who supported the general principle of the bill, however, some, such as Pitt and the Master of the Rolls, expressed themselves as opposed to several of its enactments. After this failure no further attempt of the same kind appears to have been made for some years. But a part of the subject was again brought before the House of Commons in 1799 by Lord Belgrave, who, on the 27th of May in that year, moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill "for the suppression of the sale and circulation of newspapers on the Lord's Day." In the speech with which he introduced his motion Lord Belgrave stated that Sunday newspapers first appeared about the year 1780, "but they had not met with much success till within the last year or two, when a paper called the 'Observer' had got into a considerable circulation." Much expectation had also lately been excited by the announcement of an additional Sunday newspaper, to be entitled the 'Volunteer.' The sale of a newspaper, as of any other article on a Sunday, was indeed already contrary to law, it was punishable by a penalty of five shillings and the forfeiture of the article, "but the forfeiture, in fact, amounted to nothing, on account of the manner in which it was to be sued for, and the penalty was evidently too small. He should propose to increase the penalty from 5s. to 40s. If it applied to the whole sale, he would propose 20l.

on the sale of the article altogether, and, in respect to the circulation of these newspapers, he would propose to make it a breach of the peace, and the person found circulating them liable to instant commitment by any magistrate, or peace-officer, or churchwarden." The motion that this bill should be read a second time on the Wednesday following was carried on the 30th of May, after a short debate, by a majority of 25 to 22, but, when it was moved on the 11th of June that it should be read a second time then (the order of the day to that effect having apparently been postponed from the said Wednesday), the motion was supported only by 26 votes against 40, and the bill was accordingly lost. At this time, it may be gathered from the debates on this measure, the Sunday newspapers found it expedient to recommend themselves to their readers by making their leading articles a sort of religious discourses. Lord Belgrave, in one of his speeches in support of the bill, said, "It had been pleaded, in extenuation, that the Sunday papers contained sermons, &c., but, so far from this being a recommendation, he considered it as an evil, inasmuch as it induced people to neglect going to church." And Mr Windham, speaking on the same side, observed, "Addison, in the Spectator, selected in his Saturday papers subjects of morality and religion, so did the editors in their Sunday papers, but he could not give the latter credit for their motives this he considered as a mere selfish plan of theirs, at first introduced till such time as they found their papers were tolerated and better established." It must certainly be admitted, at any rate, that they have long ago discontinued the practice.

One of the strangest subjects ever submitted to a legislature was brought before the House of Commons in March, 1795, by Mr Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, one of the members for Lymington, and the author of the 'Code of Gentoo Laws,' and other learned works on Oriental subjects, who, on the 30th of that month, started the House by giving notice that he would, the next day, "bring forward a motion respecting the prophecies of Richard Brothers." Brothers, who had been a lieutenant in the navy, took up the profession of a



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prophet in 1792, at least it was on the 12th of May in that year that he first made himself known in that capacity to the public by addressing letters to the king, the ministers, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, announcing that by the command of God he should come to the parliament-house five days after, to intimate to the members that the time was come for the fulfilment of the 7th chapter of Daniel, and to warn them to look after their own safety. Accordingly, on the 17th he presented himself at the door of the House of Commons, but the door-keepers treated him and his divine mission with very little ceremony—he was dismissed, according to his own account, with unfeeling contempt and incivility. After this he prophesied away for some time at a great rate, predicting, in published letters to the king, the queen, and other eminent personages, that Louis XVI of France would be put to death (six months before the event actually happened, indeed, but not till long after it had become in the highest degree probable that it would happen), that the Empress Catherine of Russia would also die by the hands of the executioner, and a variety of other remarkable events, some few of which, or something like them, could hardly fail to come to pass in that busy time of political convulsions and changes. At last he announced that King George of England would ere long be obliged to resign his crown to him (Richard Brothers), and upon this the government (which surely must at the moment have been as mad as the prophet) had him committed to Newgate on a charge of high treason! Instead of bringing him to trial, however, upon that charge, the more rational course was eventually taken of impannelling a jury under a commission *de lunatico inquirendo*, to ascertain if he was in his senses. He was consigned to safe custody as a lunatic, in conformity with the verdict of this jury, but this was not till after Mr Halhed, who had for some time been one of his avowed disciples and followers, made his first motion. After a brief exordium he proceeded to express to the House the very great surprise he had felt on learning that Richard Brothers had, on the 10th of that month, been taken up by a warrant from the secretary of state, and was then in custody on suspicion of treasonable practices. “I say,” he continued, “I may well be surprised, because I, who am conscious that not a thought, word, or action of my life ever had the remotest tendency towards such crimes, have been for near two months back in the habit of seeing him very frequently, without perceiving in him the slightest symptom that could indicate any bad designs, and because I had latterly observed that his house, in the forenoon, was constantly filled by persons of quality and fortune, of both sexes, and the street crowded with their carriages.” “As a private man,” he went on to observe, “Mr Brothers is certainly a most unexceptionable character, and I have heard he was always much respected and esteemed in the navy. To his affability, moderation, and good sense in

society it is impossible but all those who have visited him must bear concordant testimony.” And all this was probably true enough. Even his books and pamphlets, with all their pervading insanity, show Brothers to have been a man of considerable natural talent, and shrewd and sensible enough on all subjects but one. Halhed himself, who must be regarded as equally mad in the same point of the compass, showed tact and discretion, as well as ingenuity, in much of his present speech. He argued the question of Brothers's imprisonment for a long time without committing himself by any expression which implied an acquiescence in his client's prophetic pretensions. He had heard, he said, that Mr Brothers's arrest proceeded upon a passage in one of his books relating to the king. This was the prophecy about the transference of the English crown from the head of King George to that of the prophet, which was contained in the last edition of his work entitled ‘A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times,’ published on the 20th of February in the present year. It ran as follows—“The Lord God commands me to say to you, George the Third, King of England, that, immediately on my being revealed in London to the Hebrews as their prince, and to all nations as their governor, your crown must be delivered up to me, that all your power and authority may cease.” “Now,” argued Halhed, “it is fair to say, that, if I were to premise a palpable impossibility to such a proposition, I might make a similar demand on the king. I do not mean that it might not be deemed indecent or insulting, but we see greater and more scandalous liberties taken every day with his majesty in pamphlets, newspapers, print shops, &c. If, for instance, I were to assert that, on some future day, I should ascend to the top of St Paul's, and from thence fly over London, and, in sight of all its inhabitants, to Westminster Abbey, after which the king must seat me on his throne, and kiss my great toe, most people, I allow, would think me mad, but I certainly should not dream of being apprehended for treason. What has Mr Brothers said? He has said that he shall be revealed to the people of London by a sign similar to that of Moses, namely, turning a common hazel-stick into a serpent, and reconverting it into a rod—a fact full as impossible to all human comprehension as my flying from St Paul's to Westminster Abbey, and that he shall then be visibly accompanied by an angel, in the form of fire, after which the king must do so and so. The whole, therefore, depends on the previous performance of a fact which, certainly, no one member of administration deems within the verge of possibility.” He added that Mr Brothers had actually renounced seeing all indiscriminate visitors two days before he was arrested, “and I presume,” he continued, “it will hardly be said that four or five unambitious men, of whom I was one, having occasional admittance to pass an hour with him in a morning, could have any serious designs to overturn the state and to dethrone the

king." The madness, however, came out by degrees. Halhed next proceeded to remark that, as far as his knowledge extended, all the prophecies that Brothers had yet recorded in print had either actually been fulfilled, or remained in a state in which it could not with any propriety be asserted that their accomplishment was impossible. "This I roundly maintain, and defy any man to prove the contrary," exclaimed the zealous disciple, waxing more vehement, and grasping his oracle's mystic volumes, "that out of his prophecies, as here published, not one has hitherto turned out to be false, and all the miserable attempts, in miserable pamphlets, to fritter them away, or demonstrate their failure, have ended in the disgrace of their authors." As for himself, indeed, he was but a recent convert he had seen the prophet's books for the first time on the 5th of January last, and their author himself on the 10th of the same month. He had read his works, and compared them with the Scriptures, as advised indeed, having a good deal of leisure, he had taken considerable pains on the subject, and by frequent perusal had discovered a variety of connexions and coincidences between one part and another of the said works, and between the whole and the Scriptures, which, at first sight, had totally escaped his attention. One thing, Halhed confessed, troubled him greatly—the reception which the prophet had met with when he presented himself at the door of the House, and the yet unfulfilled denunciations which he had emitted against the present parliament. Had he not now been in custody, he should certainly have moved that he should be admitted to the bar of the House, and there be suffered to declare to them anything he might have it in command from God to say. In the circumstances he had determined upon another course. "I have," he concluded, "taken the liberty to bring with me a complete copy of Mr Brothers's works, which I have had bound for my own use, and in which I have inserted with my own hand a very great number of notes, elucidations, and similar passages from the Scriptures. I venture, with all humility, to offer my opinion, that much labour of reference and comparison (which is not always a pleasant task) would be saved to those honourable gentlemen who should deem the whole worthy of their attention, by the pains I have taken in adjusting and arranging the various correspondent passages, and, with this view, I beg leave to observe that, if my motion for laying the book on your table be granted, I shall then move that it be printed for the use of the members." It was more than could have been looked for that this mad speech should have been heard to the end without interruption. Of course there was no other member crazy enough to second Halhed, and his motion consequently fell to the ground. A few weeks later, however, he returned to the charge, and on the 21st of April, having given the usual notice on the previous day, he introduced a new motion on the same subject by another long lunatic oration. When he reflected, he said, on his mo-

tion of the 31st of March, he owned he was both surprised and concerned that it should have experienced so little attention. When he considered the exceeding variety of tempers, dispositions, characters, and pursuits necessarily existing among so many different persons, that he should not have found one gentleman to second him was, he confessed, a subject of some astonishment. However, though his motion of that day so surprisingly fell to the ground, he trusted it did not wholly fail of its intended effect. Many gentlemen, he was convinced, did read Mr Brothers's books during the interval of the recess, and some he knew to have applied for and received them from the author himself previously to that period. He now came forward to demand substantial redress for the incarceration and other sufferings and indignities to which the prophet had been subjected. The only passage in his works which he had any reason to suspect as in the remotest degree liable to the imputation of a treasonable tendency, he (Halhed) had clearly explained in his former speech. "And the more pointedly to evince my perfect conviction of the innocence of these books, as far as treason is concerned," cried the ardent orator, "I here, in the face of the House, adopt the whole of them as my own. I subscribe to every assertion in them from the first to the last, I make myself a conscious, a willing accomplice in all the guilt contained in them—*habitu confitentem rerum*, and I desire nothing more than to be proceeded against legally, and up to final judgment and sentence, upon those grounds." "If now," he added, taking breath after this explosion, "there be treason lurking in these publications, I am committed beyond all evasion, and gentlemen know what to think of me." But there was really no treason in Mr Brothers's writings. As little was there any in his life. He was neither the institutor of any club that could be called treasonable nor even (Halhed professed here to speak authoritatively) member of any club at all. Neither was Mr Brothers a preacher of any kind (although he was a prophet). "He never assembled," said his advocate, "nor thought of assembling, any congregation whatever, and he had neither more intention nor more appearance of collecting an assembly for seditious purposes, or for any purpose whatever beyond that of general conversation, than you, Sir, have at your levee, or the president of the Royal Society at his breakfasts. Mr Brothers was generally at home a few hours in the morning. Inclination, curiosity, example, occasionally belief in his predictions, induced various persons to call upon him, and he was never denied to them. Members of parliament and ladies of quality have met there without blushing and without offence. Sometimes he was civilly treated, very often cavilled at, and not seldom abused, but he was uniformly calm, obliging, and consistent with all. It follows," added Halhed, with naïveté enough, "that, if there be no treason, there must be much insanity about him." This was, of course, on the supposition

that he had been properly placed in custody. But Halhed contended that, if the prophet's books had, in conformity with his former motion, been laid upon the table of the House, no more or better evidence than what they contained could have been desired to evince to the satisfaction of every reasonable man that the writer had not the slightest tincture of insanity about him. The pervading purpose of these books was, to bring about the restoration of peace, and the infinite importance of that object was urged and explained in a thousand passages with all the force of the most versatile genius. Halhed would refer only to one passage—it was in the forty first page of his Second Book, "and a more striking example" said he, "of sound abilities and correct imagination, I am well persuaded, could nowhere be selected from Demosthenes or Cicero, or any other of the best of human au hors, ancient or modern." Descending from these altitudes however, the learned member argued forcibly, and to appearance fairly enough, on the question of Brothers's arrest and detention, as affecting the rights and liberties of the subject, but everybody seems to have considered him too clearly wrong in the head to be safely followed even on any particular point as to which he might chance to be in the right. So, when he gave in his motion, which was, "That a copy of the warrant of the Secretary of State, for the apprehending of Richard Brothers, be laid before this House, together with a copy of the information on which that warrant was grounded," and the Speaker asked, with solemn formality, "Who seconds this motion?" there was no response, upon which the Speaker said, "As this motion is not seconded, it cannot be put from the chair." But neither Brothers nor his friend Halhed, we believe, was ever cured, though both lived for many years after this date. Brothers being found to be harmless, was liberated after a short confinement—and, among other things, he afterwards published, in 1798, "A Letter to Miss Cott the recorded daughter of King David, and future Queen of the Hebrews," and, in 1802, "A Description of Jerusalem, with the Garden of Eden in the Centre," but, although a determined few continued to believe in him to the end, the spread of the madness appears to have stopped at an early stage. The non fulfilment of his prophecy of the restoration of the Jews, which he declared was to take place, under himself as their leader and prince, in the year 1798, and in the prospect of which many persons, thinking they might be better off there than in England, sold all they possessed with the view of going to settle in the Holy Land, must have given a considerable blow to his reputation, but what probably did most to lose him any hold he had on the popular mind was the entire failure of his famous earthquake, which was to swallow up London. This said London earthquake has, however, been the favourite catastrophe of all the English prophets of modern times, and nothing seems to answer better in producing the sort of excitement favourable to the pretensions of such impostors and enthusiasts, until the time for its happening arrives.

Halhed also, putting aside and abandoning all the studies of his preceding life—his Persian and Bengalee, his investigations of Indian laws and history and his imitations of the epigrams of Martial—seems to have employed himself for the rest of his days in trying to penetrate still farther into the profundities of his gifted friend, and pamphleteering away as his champion. He retired from the uncongenial atmosphere of the House of Commons at the expiration of the present parliament, in May, 1796. This remarkable affair may suffice as a sample of the religious delusion and fanaticism of the period before us, always an important part of the history of religion.

The proceedings on a measure for the relief of the Quakers, which was first brought forward in Parliament by Mr Sergeant Adair, in April, 1796, afford some curious illustration of the state of opinion at the time. Having, on the 21st of April, presented a petition, described as from the people called Quakers, in which it was set forth that seven of their brethren were then prisoners in the goal of York for non-payment of tithes, and the House was requested to bestow a serious consideration on their case, and grant such relief as might appear proper, Adair, on the 26th, moved for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose. The measure, he explained, in so far as this part of its object was concerned, would consist simply in extending the provisions of an act of the 7 and 8 of William III. from the case of tithes of the amount of 10*l*. to that of tithes of any amount. By the act of William tithes to the amount of 10*l*. might be recovered from a Quaker by distraint upon his goods under the order of a justice of peace, and thus had been ever since the plan generally followed in enforcing payment of such tithes. When the amount, however, was higher than 10*l*., the tithes could only be recovered by process in the ecclesiastical courts, or in the court of exchequer, and, if he refused to make payment, by arrest and incarceration of the party. This distinction the bill proposed to do away with, bringing the recovery of tithes generally under the principle of the act of William, and it was also provided by another clause that the solemn affirmation of a Quaker should be evidence in criminal cases, in the same way as it already was in civil cases. The Quakers, it appears, at this date did not object to being compelled to pay tithes by the seizure and sale of their goods, they would not voluntarily be parties to the payment, but all they complained of was, that the law allowed payment to be enforced, in certain cases, by the seizure of their persons as well as of their goods. Mr Wilberforce was the first to rise, after Adair had sat down, and to express his hearty approbation of the principle of the bill, and he was followed to the same effect by Pitt, Sir William Dolben, and other members. The only member who made any objection to the measure was the ultra-Whig Francis, who doubted whether in some cases the

scruples founded on religious considerations against the payment of tithes might not be professed where they were not seriously felt by persons hoping to pass for victims or martyrs, "and then, generally, whether it might not deserve consideration, how far it might be safe for the legislature to encourage the plea of religious scruples against obedience to the laws, how far that indulgent principle ought to be carried, and by what general limit it ought to be confined in its application." Even Francis, however, thought that undoubtedly the public ought to have the benefit of the evidence of Quakers in criminal trials, as proposed by the bill. In the end the motion was unanimously agreed to, and the bill, having been brought in the next day, appears to have proceeded without encountering any opposition till the 10th of May, when on the order of the day being read for going into committee upon it, Francis again rose and called the attention of the House to what he described as the fact, that the scruples of conscience on which the measure professed to be founded "did not proceed from the individuals themselves, but from the operation of a higher power, which, at the yearly meeting, prescribed rules and orders in the manner of a government and excommunicated the persons who did not obey them." Other objections were also started by one or two members, both now and on the second reading, but no serious opposition was attempted, and the bill was passed by the Commons on the 14th, and the day following read a first time in the Lords. On the 16th, however, when the order of the day for the second reading was read, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Moore) rose and observed that the bill involved a question of right of very great importance, and had been introduced at so late a period of the session, that he should move that it be read a second time that day three months, and, after a few words from the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Lord Chancellor, this motion was agreed to. The measure was consequently lost for the present session and the present parliament. But it was the first subject brought forward in the House of Commons, after the address of thanks, in the new parliament, which assembled in the beginning of October. On the 17th of that month leave to bring in another bill containing the same provisions with the former, was moved for by Mr Sergeant Adair, in a short speech, in which he again explained to his new hearers the grounds and objects of the measure. "The Quakers" he said, "did not object to the payment of tithes, provided they were not made active in their obedience to the law by which tithes were claimed of them, but their scruples of conscience led them to think it a breach of the divine law for them to be active in their obedience to a civil institution which they considered as repugnant to divine authority, and, as our law now stood, the process might be such as to compel them to be thus active against their conscience; they, therefore, were subject to perpetual imprisonment

when an attachment was issued against their persons for the non-payment of tithes." The motion, which was seconded by Mr Abbot (afterwards Speaker, then newly become a member of the House), was agreed to, and the bill, being brought in, was read a first and second time without encountering any opposition. But when the order of the day for going into committee upon it was read, on the 24th of February, 1797, a brisk fire was opened upon it. Adair had laid himself somewhat open by at least some of the grounds on which he had advocated the measure, and advantage was taken of his unguarded expressions with eminent dialectic skill by Sir William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell), in a speech in opposition to the motion, "That the Speaker do now leave the chair." The present bill professed to be brought in for the relief of the Quakers, and to be the same in principle with the act of the 7 and 8 of William III, but Scott, having desired that statute to be read, contended that so far from its intention being to relieve the Quakers from the persecution of other men, it was manifestly meant to relieve other men from the persecution of the Quakers—it was an additional means or power given to the tithe-owner to recover his property in certain cases from those who detained it from him under the pretence of religious scruples. But the present bill had also been recommended on the ground that it would facilitate the recovery of tithes. "If the Quakers really held it unlawful to pay tithes, how came they to apply for a bill, the object of which was to facilitate the recovery of them?" The argument stood thus—The Quakers considered themselves as unjustifiable in paying tithes, except they were compelled, the House was therefore, desired to accommodate the mode of compulsion to their wishes. He then put the case either way—that they did pay tithes at present without compulsion, or that they did not. If they did not, their refusal was a persecution of the holder of tithes, and the remedy ought to be a prompt and efficacious one, otherwise the tithe-owner would be an owner, not of tithes, but of suits. The fact, however, he believed to be notoriously otherwise, and that the Quaker at present paid tithes, not from actual compulsion, but under the apprehension of compulsion. Since this was the case, why should the remedy be placed at a greater distance, and thus rendered less prompt and less efficacious? Then as for the actual sufferings of the Quakers from the existing law, Scott maintained that they were of the most insignificant amount. From inquiries which he had instituted, he had ascertained that for the last twenty years there had not been one prosecution for tithes carried on against a Quaker in the diocese of Canterbury, that in the diocese of Bristol one had been commenced, in consequence of which the tithes were immediately paid that there had been one in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry against six Quakers, but that no imprisonment had taken place, and that in the diocese of Worcester there had been only one, in consequence

of which the Quaker was imprisoned, but he was liberated owing to an error in the writ. There had, besides, been some, but very few, in the Court of Exchequer during the same period.* In answer to this speech Adair found it necessary to explain that the Quakers had not petitioned for the particular relief provided by his bill. "The Quakers had petitioned for relief as to the imprisonment of their persons. In his situation as a member of parliament, he was to consider what was wise and proper to be done, not what was agreeable to the wishes of the petitioners. The Quakers were not answerable for what the bill contained, he alone was responsible for its contents." It may be doubted, however, if the case was much advanced in the favour of the House by the obtrusion of this delicate distinction between the active and the passive in the grammar of morality, which seemed to be so great a favourite with the Quakers, but which would sound to ordinary ears very like a distinction merely between principle and prudence, between manliness and sneaking, between honesty and roguery. One or two honourable members expressed their want of sympathy with Quakerism with great *gusto* in the course of the debate. A Mr. Fraser said, "The Quakers were a body who evinced the utmost obstinacy and inveteracy in opposition to the laws. *They never went to law, but had a mode of deciding their own disputes without any application to courts of justice.* And, after all, it is not so unnatural a notion, and may be one that is oftener entertained than expressed (especially among barristers and attorneys), that going to law is one way of showing respect for the law, and giving evidence that one is a good subject. When the question was put it was found that the numbers were equal, 33 on each side, but the Speaker, though against his own opinion, gave his casting vote in favour of the motion, and the House went into committee. The bill, however, rapidly lost favour, and at length, on the 6th of March, it was thrown out by a vote in which the noes numbered 28 and the yeas no more than 12. On this occasion the attorney-general (Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Chancellor Eldon, the brother of Sir William Scott) stated that he had at first entertained sentiments in favour of the measure, but had changed his opinion upon more mature consideration †.

The only other matter connected with the history of religion that remains to be noticed under the present period, is a measure styled the Monastic Institutions Bill, which was brought forward in 1800. On the 22nd of May in that year,

* Later in the debate, the following statement was made by another speaker Mr. Burton. — "In the last twenty-two years only thirteen suits against Quakers and upon the time of Queen Anne only seven suits had gone so far as a hearing and then generally there was the plea of a *modus* which would still be brought into the ecclesiastical court even if the bill should pass. The persons imprisoned at York were there for costs and even these might have been released upon the usual act if they had not chosen perhaps for the purposes of this bill and probably with sufficient recompense from their brethren, to remain there under the character of martyrs."

† We do not know how far this bill of Mr. Sergeant Adair's may have resembled in its provisions that brought forward seven years before by Lord Stanhope, in the Upper House, for a similar object. See ante p. 572.

the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the late act passed for the relief of the Roman Catholics in 1791,* Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, one of the members for Westbury, rose to move certain resolutions, which he stated had been suggested to him by his local residence in a populous city (Winchester), in which many of the priests and other emigrants from France had taken up their abode. He professed to be highly gratified with the humane and hospitable reception that had been given in England during the last ten years to these unfortunate exiles, who had preferred expulsion from their native country, and the sacrifice of all their temporal interests, to the abandonment of their religious principles, and he also admitted that they, on their part, had generally justified the protection they had met with by their peaceful demeanour and their unassuming and unobtrusive gratitude. Nor would he interfere with the free practice of their religion by the Roman Catholic emigrants, so long as it was so conducted as not to be inconsistent with the safety of the church and state. "The various asylums," he continued, "with which this country abounds for the reception of these unfortunate fugitives are highly to the honour of this country, but however to our honour it may be to have afforded protection to such individuals, and to have tolerated them in the private exercise of their religious duties, I cannot conceive that it ever was the intention of government to encourage the permanent re-establishment of monastic institutions in this Protestant country. However to our honour it may be to have suffered those individuals who had previously bound themselves to the duties of a monastic life to discharge in this country those vows whence, in their mind, no human power could release them, I think such indulgence ought to expire with the life of the present incumbents, that we ought not to suffer the vacancies which may happen to rise in such communities to be filled up by subjects of this country actually professed since their residence here, and that we should on all grounds carefully guard against the admission of any new members into these societies, whose first obligation on entering into them is subversive of those laws and liberties which the wisdom and policy of our ancestors long since introduced amongst us. It falls within my own observation to know that, in each of the two monastic societies established at Winchester, several different persons have been suffered actually to profess themselves, and to take both veils, since their residence there; and a great variety of similar instances might be produced, from different parts of the country, where these monastic societies have been established." He did not mean to assert that such proceedings had as yet gone to any alarming extent, but he thought they ought to be checked in the bud, else the time might come when it would be lamented that parliament, by voting money for

* See ante pp. 575—582.

the substance of the emigrants, had in some degree made itself a party to the revival of what seemed to Protestants "the most unnatural part of the Romish faith." Another subject to which he wished to call attention was the recent foundation throughout England of a great number of Roman Catholic schools, many of them engrafted on and under the immediate superintendence of the monastic establishments. To each of the two monasteries established at Winchester was annexed a school for the education of female children, which was not in existence previous to the institution of these convents. "I am a friend," said Sir Henry, "to toleration in matters of conscience, but I think that, having admitted 5000 priests into this country, of a persuasion inimical to the religion established by law, and continuing to subsist here at the public expense, it is our duty to be particularly careful to give no offence to the regular church, and to see that the interests of the Protestant communion do not suffer by our humanity and indulgence. I do not say that, in either of the two instances to which I have adverted, the children of Protestant parents have been admitted into these seminaries, though I could prove that they have been admitted elsewhere; but I do say that such attempts have been made, and, if they have not succeeded, it has been entirely owing to the strict and steady principles of those on whom the experiment has been tried." The existing laws did, in some degree, provide against this last danger, but not, he thought, sufficiently. To meet the whole evil, he therefore moved the two following resolutions: 1. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the temporary residence in this kingdom of certain monastic societies should be permitted, subject to the provisions of an act passed in the 31st of his present majesty, entitled, &c. (the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1791), and that the admission of any new members into such societies should be prohibited, and that the names and numbers of the persons belonging thereto should be annually returned to the court of quarter-sessions of the county in which they reside. 2. That all persons undertaking the public education of youth in the Romish faith should also return annually to the court a list containing the names and number of their pupils, together with the names and places of abode of their respective parents, and that a power be given to magistrates appointed by the quarter-sessions to inspect such institutions at pleasure." These resolutions, the first of which was borrowed from a regulation in the act passed for the government of Canada in 1763, were of course submitted for the purpose of being embodied in a bill. They were agreed to after a very short debate, in which, one member, Mr. Hobhouse, having expressed his opinion that the Alien Act possessed all the power that was necessary to prevent the abuses complained of, Pitt replied that "he could not agree that an act which enabled government to turn out of the kingdom any person whom it might suspect of designs against the tranquillity of the kingdom,

could with propriety be enforced in the case under consideration." As for the resolutions, he professed to admire the liberal principles on which they were framed: "they did not infringe on the principles of toleration sanctioned by the laws and constitution of this country: it was no part of those principles to allow the establishment of monastic institutions." The next day, when the resolutions were reported, Mr. Windham objected to the proposed measure as being altogether unnecessary, and as having no other recommendation than that it would do no harm, but the report was agreed to by the House, and a bill in pursuance of the resolutions ordered to be brought in, which it accordingly was by Sir Henry Mildmay on the 5th of June. It was read a second time on the 11th, without any debate that has been recorded, but on the 23rd, when the order of the day was read for going into committee upon it, the motion was opposed by Windham in a speech of some length. The strain of his first objection preserves a curious reminiscence of the state of the public mind in England at the moment in reference to much more momentous matters than modern monachism. "Could it be believed," he exclaimed, "that, at the present moment especially, when the powers of Europe were trembling in the scale, awaiting the decision of a day, perhaps an hour, when the next dispatch, perhaps, will bring accounts of some battle, on the issue of which may depend the fate of revolutionary France,—at a moment when those priests, from whom some gentlemen appear to dread so much, are looking eagerly forward to the near approach of their delivery, and of their return to their native soil, to take possession of all their honours,—was it at such a moment that the House of Commons of Great Britain thought fit to apprehend serious danger to the religious faith of the people of England from the progress of Catholic opinion?" Alas for this sanguine speculation! Nine days before the words were uttered the battle of Marengo had been already fought (although the disastrous news had not yet reached this country), and Piedmont and Austrian Italy were now at the feet of the victorious French republic. Windham proceeded to combat what he treated as the exaggerated prejudices commonly entertained against the Roman Catholic religion, and monasteries in particular. "He could not see why monks were to be considered worse than the gentlemen of that House, who lived on their estates without labour. Might not a society of ancient ladies be as usefully employed in a convent as if they were distributed in parties at different card-tables?" As for the taking of vows that had been spoken of, he believed the fact to be that the only persons who took their vows in this country were such as had served their noviciate, or the greater part of it, on the continent. "Thus, then, no acquisition was made from the natives of Great Britain, and, as to the alarm about converts, he could only say that the church must increase its diligence, if it had relaxed it. The divines of the established church should feed their flocks with

spiritual food, and thus enable them to withstand the poison of delusion. Instead of this, they are too fond of raising the cry that the church is in danger. If proselytism exists, it is a disgrace only to the clergyman in whose parish it takes place. What, if they do their duty, can members of the church of England fear? They meet their antagonists on more than equal terms. Should any one, indeed, attempt to preach up the Rights of Man, or teach insubordination to lawful authority, to silence him would be a work of necessity, but popery has nothing in it of this dangerous tendency, and may be met fairly in the field of argument. "Penal laws," he afterwards said, "can never defend the country against popery. I cannot help making the remark here, that opinion may be too much under the protection of law. A little opposition is no bad thing,—it makes persons attentive to their duty, and may be as useful in the church as in the senate." Windham, rather an ingenious than a profound thinker, usually spoke more from temper, or the humour of the moment, than from any systematic views or convictions; but his nature was noble and generous, so that his passions and prejudices were at least as good as most men's principles, and the universal feeling that there was no selfishness or call about him, made him be borne with in the utterance of many blunt truths, or half-truths, which hit hard enough sometimes upon his own party, and which would have left rankling sores coming from any other tongue. In reply to this speech Mildmay defended his bill in the best way he could. It introduced no new principle, he contended into the criminal law of the country. The establishment of monastic communities was distinctly prohibited in the Relief Bill of 1791, the motion for bringing in which Windham himself had seconded. He spoke replete with the most satisfactory arguments. He spoke of an opposition to the measure which had been industriously fomented out of doors, but this he said was, in his mind, an additional reason why the House should adopt it. "Can it be expected," he asked, "that we are to sit still, and tamely see the constitution of this country undermined by a set of men whom we have received here from motives of compassion, and to take no steps to prevent it, merely from the apprehension of inflaming the public mind against the Catholics?" The professors of the superiors of the Roman Catholic schools themselves, he observed, and their own advertisements, showed that they undertook indiscriminately the education both of children of their own communion and of those of Protestant parents, and in some instances they professed to educate the children of the indigent gratuitously. "This," said Mildmay, "appears to me to be offering bribes and temptations to obtain the instruction of Protestant children, and, so long as we profess the Reformed religion, such practices ought not to be suffered. I am in possession of an official letter from the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon to the Bishop of Winchester, in consequence of very heavy complaints

that were made by his lordship to the French bishop on the subject to which I have called the attention of the House. In his answer, the Bishop of Leon does not apologise for the conduct of the emigrants, but tells us distinctly that he considers them perfectly justified under the letter of our existing laws." The Hon. Dudley Ryder (afterwards Earl of Harrowby) also spoke in favour of the measure, which he maintained was "an enabling bill, and not a bill to coerce, to restrain, and to punish." The existence of monasteries in this country was already directly contrary to several statutes. The present bill—his only objection to which was that it carried toleration too far—"would operate as a protection to the Catholics, and would reconcile the populace to their residence in Great Britain." On the other side, Mr. (afterwards Sir Benjamin) Hobhouse, then sitting for Bletchingley, delivered a speech of some length, from which we may glean a few facts. He commenced by asserting that it had been the policy of our law to inflict penalties and disabilities upon persons professing the Roman Catholic faith, not on account of their religious tenets but on account of their political opinions only. The Roman Catholics among our own subjects had now, with very few exceptions, entitled themselves to the benefits of the act of 1791, by making the declaration therein prescribed. In regard to the foreign monastic establishments that had been transferred to this country and the schools or seminaries connected with them, Mr. Hobhouse made the following statement:—"The societies of English ladies who were bound by religious vows abroad, and who have resided in this country since 1794, consisted of seventeen in number, and contained, in the whole, rather more than 200 persons, including a few French or Flemish servants. Those ladies were for the most part sprung from some of the most respectable families in the kingdom. The societies of foreign ladies were four in number, and consisted of about 50 individuals. Of male societies there were only four, three of which were entirely composed of English from Douay and Bornhem. With respect to the French emigrant clergy, probably not 500, out of the 5000 now in England, belonged to any religious order." Nor was it probable that any increase was taking place in the numbers of the persons of either sex, resident in England, who were thus bound by monastic vows of the women, at least it had been ascertained that 60 had died since 1794, and only 20 had been added in their room. As for property, they had none or next to none. "They lost their houses and moveables by the violence of our enemies. Their funds, which were lodged in the Bank of Vienna, our magnanimous ally the emperor had seized, and transferred the poor wanderers over to our charity and compassion. To the bounty of individuals, and the money they received for the education of children, they were indebted for their subsistence. It was certainly true that many of them took pupils, but

they confined themselves to the children of Roman Catholics, conformably to the injunctions of the law. He had the authority of the most respectable abbesses and directors for saying, that they never knowingly admitted the child of any Protestant. Only two instances had occurred in which this rule was violated, but both were the result of deception, and, the moment the children were discovered to belong to Protestant parents, they were dismissed. The fact was, he afterwards stated, that "the Roman Catholic families, who used to send their children abroad for education, now placed them for the purposes of instruction in these religious houses." After the delivery of this speech, which was well calculated to make an impression on the House, or on the country, Sir William Scott spoke from the ministerial side against the bill, although he desired, he said, to prevent the extension of the schools and monastic institutions, and was favourable to the adoption of some temporary regulations for that purpose, and he was followed by Mr (afterwards Lord) Erskine, from the ranks of the Whig opposition, in support of the measure. Scott admitted that the accounts that had been given of the numbers of the monastic persons, although they rested on general assertion, and could not be received as absolutely correct till confirmed by official returns, were probably very near the truth, but "with respect to the males," he observed, "there was one fallacy, which he wished to detect. These institutions were looked on as consisting of monks, whereas they were composed either of secular priests exclusively, or of secular priests and religious, a distinct description of persons from those in the contemplation of the bill." Erskine argued that, looking to the nature of the title by which the reigning family sat upon the throne, it was impossible to brush away at once all the legal disabilities to which the Roman Catholics remained subject, "but, as to the bill itself, although it took caution against the growth of Catholic influence, it would, if passed into law, be an enabling statute, as without it these foreign Catholics would be subject to severities from which they would now be exempted. Monasteries, since the Reformation, were not English institutions; they could not be retired from view, like Protestant establishments. The worship of their votaries was not only open to the magistrates, but to all who chose to be present, and, if they barred their doors, they were subject to all the penalties of the ancient laws. . . . Without the bill these foreigners could not have remained a single hour in England, independently of the Alien Act, without a licence from the crown, and he could not therefore but insist that, if it passed into a law, it would be an enabling statute, because, though the licence was still necessary, yet, when thus sanctioned and encouraged by parliament, its permanent operation was certain." In fact, however, if the royal licence Erskine talked of was really required, it was in the circumstances sure to be granted, without hesitation

and as a matter of course, whether the present bill should be passed or no. Sheridan, who spoke next, without meddling with his friend Erskine's law, deprecated the measure in strong terms, as "fraught with everything that must insult the pride and alarm the feelings of the Roman Catholics of this country." "As to the objects of the bill," he observed, "or rather those who were supposed to be the objects of it, there was no power to remove them, for they were natural-born subjects of this realm, and could not be put under the operation of the Alien Act. The friends of the bill confounded vows with legal obligations, whereas there was, in this country, no legal power of attaching any civil punishment to those who broke their vows. Any number of ladies might meet together, and make a vow that they would die old maids, but they could not be bound by law to observe that vow." Afterwards he "proceeded," continues the report, "to read a number of documents, by which it appeared that the mistresses of the Roman Catholic boarding-schools had been asked the question, whether they had any Protestant young ladies under their care, or whether they were in the habit of admitting them as pupils? The uniform answer was, None, none, never. They were also asked, if they offered to educate, or did really educate, Protestant young women for nothing? They never were guilty of such a thing, except in one or two instances, and then the young women were Catholics, not Protestants. A foolish alarm had also been sent abroad respecting the number of emigrant clergy now in this country, they were said to amount to 5000, and persons had even been absurd enough to say, that in one county alone they had converted 2000 housemaids. How this wonderful conversion was brought about he could not well conceive. The emigrant priests spoke but little English, and our housemaids spoke as little French." He then stated that of the seventeen convents established in the country only nine took in pupils. All the documents from which he made these statements he was ready to lay before the House, and his wish was that a committee might be appointed to inspect them, and to report whether they saw any necessity for the present measure. In conclusion Sheridan said, "Nothing, in his mind, could be more inauspicious than such a bill at this time, when we were on the point of a union with a country three fourths of whose inhabitants were Catholics. This bill was not worthy of being, as it were, the legacy of the last English parliament to its successors. It was hurtful to the feelings of the Catholics, incompatible with our professions of liberality, not countenanced by the spirit of our constitution, and possibly introductory of great public mischief, as well as private vexation." The motion for going into committee, however, after a few words in its support from Mr. Perceval, was carried by a majority of 52 to 24; and the bill was accordingly committed the next day, and on the 4th of July it was read a third time and passed. It was now ordered to be entitled

"An Act to prevent any addition to the number of persons belonging to certain foreign religious Orders, or Communities, lately settled in this Kingdom, and to regulate the Education of Youth by such persons."

Being now sent up to the Lords, the bill was read there a first and second time without opposition, but, on the motion for committing it, Horsley, now transferred to the see of Rochester, opened the attack upon it in a speech of great ability, force, and clearness. His objection to the measure he declared to be, that in one respect it was unnecessary, and in another unconstitutional. "It is unnecessary," he said, "as a means of security against the dangers it foresees, not because the apprehension is altogether groundless, but because the security is already provided by the existing laws, and, in regard to the new power which it would give to the crown, it is perfectly unconstitutional. On the subject of the existing laws relating to Roman Catholics, he observed, in the first place, that they all applied equally, without any difference or discrimination, to the natural born subjects of his majesty and to aliens. So also did the statutes that had been recently passed for the relief of the Roman Catholics from some penalties, upon certain conditions. Further, by these late statutes not one of the old penal statutes was repealed (except, indeed, certain clauses in an act of the 11 and 12 of William III., subjecting any popish ecclesiastic who should say mass, or any papist who should keep a school, to perpetual imprisonment, granting a reward of 100*l* for the conviction of a popish ecclesiastic, and creating certain disabilities of taking lands by descent, devise or limitation, which were repealed by the act of 1778). The act of 1791 only declared that any Roman Catholic who should have subscribed a certain oath and declaration should no longer be liable to prosecution for certain overt acts of popery therein named if he refused or neglected to take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, the unrepealed statutes still remained in full force against him. What then were the restraints imposed by these statutes? By the 3 Jac I, cap 4 §§ 22 and 23, and also by the 23 Eliz cap 1, it was high treason for any person within the king's dominions either to reconcile or to be reconciled to the Pope or see of Rome. No person, indeed, who had complied with the conditions of the act of 1791 could now be prosecuted for being reconciled to Rome but Horsley maintained that there was nothing in that act, or in any other upon the statute-book, which affected the offence of converting or attempting to convert any other person to the popish faith that was still high treason. But, after all, this was not one of the dangers against which the bill pretended to provide. It was principally directed against the danger apprehended from the impunity given by the act of 1791 to Roman Catholic tutors and schoolmasters, and of which it was supposed that the fugitives from France might avail themselves. Horsley admitted

it to be the fact that among these fugitives were many regulars of both sexes. "The monks, however," he said, "are very few, and the far greater proportion both of monks and nuns are the natural-born subjects of his majesty—English monks and English nuns, who were settled in convents of their own in France and Flanders, because they could make no such settlement in their own country. With these some French monastics of both sexes have made their escape, and they are now all settled in different parts of the country, in houses in which the remaining members of each convent live in common." The communities of monks were, one of English Benedictines, settled at Acton Barnell, near Shrewsbury, another of the same order, at Vernon Hall, near Liverpool, one of English Franciscans, near Northallerton, and one of English Dominicans, at Carshalton, in Surrey. The individuals collected in these four establishments were no more than 26 in number, and these, with the addition of five Cistercians of the order of La Trappe, settled near Wareham, and five Carthusians near Wardour Castle, made the sum total of monks, English and French, settled in England. The nuns were more numerous, consisting of the surviving members of twenty-two convents in all, of which eighteen were English and only four French. The English houses the right reverend prelate did not enumerate the French he stated to be, the Bernardine Dames, from the Abbey Desprez at Douay, settled at Pentonville, near Islington, the ladies of the order of St Francis de Sales, settled near Little Chelsea, the Benedictine Dames of Montargis, at Bodney Hall, in Norfolk and the Hospitaleres of Cambray, at or near Ilford, in Essex. Altogether, the number of nuns, both French and English, certainly did not exceed 360 persons. "My lords," continued Horsley, "all these persons (with the exception of the ten French monks*) have qualified themselves to be teachers of youth according to the statute of the 31st of the king, and they have opened schools at their respective habitations—the monks for boys, and the nuns for young ladies. My lords, I, for my part, am well pleased that the Roman Catholics of this country are at last furnished with the means of education for their sons and daughters within the kingdom. It was a cruel and a weak policy to compel the Roman Catholics to send their children abroad for that liberal education which they could not receive at home, and I believe your lordships will agree with me that a Roman Catholic education at home is a much better thing than a Roman Catholic education in a foreign country. For this reason I rejoice at the institution of respectable Roman Catholic schools in different parts of the kingdom." He then showed that by the act of 1791 no person professing the Roman Catholic religion who should receive into his school the child of any Protestant father could have any benefit from that act, it was especially so provided by the 13th, 14th, 15th,

* Meaning apparently the Trappists and Carthusians.

and 16th clauses; consequently a person so offending was subject to the penalties of all the substatuting statutes against popish schoolmasters, to the forfeiture of 10l a month and one year's imprisonment, besides being disabled from ever again acting as a teacher, by the 23 Eliz c 1, § 6, and to a fine of forty shillings for every day he might have kept school, by the 1 Jac. c 4, which latter statute further encouraged informations by providing that half the penalty should go to the king and half to the person suing. Then, as for the other danger apprehended by the framers of the bill, namely, that, in consequence of the settlements of these monks and nuns from France, monastic institutions might gain a permanent establishment in this country, "My lords," said Horsley, addressing himself to the case of the nuns, of whom alone the numbers could inspire any alarm, "if any ten, or twenty, or a larger number of these ladies should choose to take a great house, where they may live together as they have been used to do all their lives, and lead their lives according to their old habits,—getting up in the morning and retiring at night at stated hours, dining upon fish on some days of the week, upon eggs on others,—I protest I can discover no crime, no harm, no danger in all this, and I cannot imagine why we should be anxious to prevent it." But it was feared they might inveigle English women to join them, and so monastic institutions might be permanently re-established in the country. To show the groundlessness of this apprehension Horsley quoted the 17th section of the act of 1791, which provided that nothing contained in that act should make it lawful to found, endow, or establish any monastic society in this country, and that all uses, trusts, and dispositions, whether of real or personal property, which might have been deemed superstitious or unlawful previously to the passing of the act should continue to be so deemed and taken. Now, by the 1 Geo. I, sess 2, c 50, property of any kind, or granted in any way, devised, bequeathed, or settled upon trust, so that the profits might be applied to any abbey, priory, convent, nunnery, college of Jesuits, or seminary, or school of popish education was forfeited to the king for the use of the public. "I think, my lords," observed Horsley, "there is little danger that any monastic society without funds of any sort for its subsistence will be of long duration." In point of fact, he went on to explain, only two cases had occurred among the English nuns of professions having been made in this country, and in both instances the parties were young ladies who had been upon their probation abroad before the storm fell upon the convents there. But nothing even of this kind was likely to occur again, or, at any rate, if it should, it was already punishable by law. While Horsley was relating the circumstances of the two cases, he was stopped by the Chancellor (Lord Loughborough), who observed that it would be better not to go into the details, "since, whatever might be said in extenuation, the

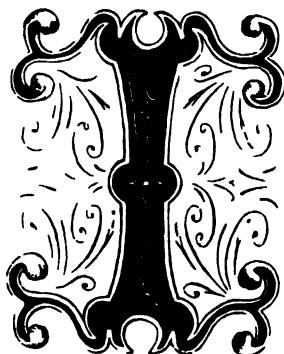
thing was certainly a high offence against the laws, and the discovery of particular instances might subject the persons concerned to severe prosecutions." Horsley stated that he had the greatest reason to believe, and could almost venture to assure the House, that the vicars apostolic, well aware of the illegality of the practice, had cautioned their people against it, and would use their utmost influence to prevent it in future. Nor did he suppose that any worse cases had occurred among the French sisterhoods, or that there was any greater probability that the thing would be repeated among them than among the English nuns. He then proceeded to consider the means of security proposed to be provided by the bill, which he denounced as most unconstitutional. It was true enough, as the preamble declared, that it was expedient to permit, under certain restrictions, the residence here of these foreign religious persons, "for," said his lordship, "with respect to the far greater part of them, their residence, upon the condition of their taking the oaths required by law, cannot but be permitted. The nuns in the proportion of nine to two, and the monks in the proportion of twenty-six to ten, are natural born subjects, and, having taken the oaths, have a right to reside here, in their own country, without any restrictions." The fact being, then, that here they were, and could not be sent away, the bill proceeded to enact that the king might grant them his royal licence and authority to continue to reside (which with respect to the great body of them was wholly unnecessary), and "to perform and observe, within their respective houses, the rites and ordinances of their respective institutions, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding." This Horsley maintained to be perfectly unconstitutional. Under this provision the superiors of these religious houses would be empowered by his majesty's royal licence under pretence of administering penance, to imprison and otherwise maltreat the persons of his majesty's subjects. Further, a Roman Catholic monastery could not be founded without the interposition of the bishop or other superior authority of the Roman Catholic church, so by the proposed licence the king was to give, not barely a religious, but a civil or political effect to such acts of the popish hierarchy. Nay, more, the Roman Catholic bishop, or vicar apostolic, could not act in such a matter of himself, he must be specially empowered by a bull of the pope. "Your lordships know," continued Horsley, "that the importation, or putting in use, of any faculty, dispensation, bull, or instrument whatever, of the see of Rome, is prohibited by a multitude of statutes, under the highest penalties, but, with all these prohibitions of the law, the king by this bill will be empowered, in the instance of settling a monastery or convent here, to dispense." This he likened to the dispensing power claimed and attempted to be exercised by James II. In conclusion, the right reverend prelate stated that the only part of the bill of which he did not wholly dis-

approve was the clause requiring Roman Catholic schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of a certain description to make an annual return of their schools to the clerk of the peace. But even this he would rather have made part of a general bill for the regulation of all schools—a matter which, he declared, loudly called for the attention of the legislature. "Time was, my lords," he exclaimed, "when schools were under some control, but, since the statute of the 19th of the king, for the further relief of Protestant dissenting ministers, they have been under none. A schoolmaster has only to declare that he is a Christian, and a Protestant dissenting from the established church of England, and to profess his general belief in the Holy Scriptures in the terms required of dissenting ministers,—and no one has a right to ask him, 'Why have you opened school here? Whom do you teach?' or, 'What do you teach them?'" My lords, the consequence is, that schools of much worse things than popery abound in all parts of the kingdom,—schools of Jacobinical religion, and of Jacobinical politics, that is to say, schools of atheism and disloyalty,—schools in the shape and disguise of charity schools and Sunday schools, in which the minds of the children of the very lowest orders are enlightened, that is, taught to despise religion and the laws and all subordination. Books

have been composed for the use of such schools, of the most dangerous tendency. I know that this is going on in various parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the metropolis." The system of Sunday schools, generally regarded as having been founded by Mr. Robert Raikes, the editor and proprietor of the Gloucester Journal, had been in operation for nearly twenty years by this time, and had no doubt been productive of much good, the instances, if any, in which it had been abused to the purposes stated in this burst of fervent high church and state zeal must have been very rare. Having thus cleared his breast, the right reverend prelate sat down, after formally moving that the bill should be committed for that day three months. His speech probably determined the fate of the measure. The Bishop of Winchester (Brownlow North, a younger brother of Lord North) ventured a few feeble words in its support, and Lord Loughborough, the Chancellor, also expressed his opinion that it contained some good provisions, and might be amended so as to be highly useful, but another minister, Lord Grenville, the foreign secretary, agreed with Horsley in denouncing it as both unnecessary and mischievous, and the motion for committing it that day three months—in other words, for throwing it out—was agreed to, apparently without a division.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.



It will be convenient to consider the History of the Legislation during this period under the following heads —

I CONSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATION

II LEGISLATION RELATING TO PROPERTY, REAL AND PERSONAL

III CRIMINAL OR PENAL LEGISLATION

IV MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION

Some such classification as the above is rendered necessary by the great extent of the legislation of the period, the legislation of the first forty years of the reign of George III being about equal in bulk to all the legislation from the foundation of the monarchy down to the commencement of George III's reign

I CONSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATION.

Under this head we shall include such legislation as concerns the sovereign power itself, and the extent and distribution of the various powers lodged in the respective limbs or branches of that sovereign power. It is extremely difficult in jurisprudence (almost as difficult as to make definitions which shall be perfect) to make classifications which shall not trench upon or run into each other. Thus, under the head of Criminal Legislation, we shall find ranged, for convenience, several offences which, under the aspect of offences against the state or constitution, might be classed under the head of Constitutional Legislation.

In the case of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, it was determined that an impeachment did not abate by a dissolution of parliament. In his 'History of British India,' Mr Mill says that almost all the lawyers in the House, Mr Erskine among them, contended vehemently that the dissolution of parliament abated the impeachment.*

* *Hist. of British India*, vol. v. pp 171, 172, &c

But this is not quite a fair statement of the fact. Although in the Commons the majority of the eminent names among the lawyers does certainly appear on the side he mentions, in the Lords the majority was the other way, for Lords Loughborough, Camden, and Mansfield voted against the abatement of the impeachment. Whatever argu-



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ment, therefore, there might be raised against the lawyers as a class, from the fact of their maintaining, on this occasion, that the dissolution of parliament did or did not abate the impeachment, is inconclusive. And the attempt to draw such an inference here only shows how much even sharp-sighted men will be misled in their logic by their dislikes. In order to comprehend the grounds of the decision which was come to on this point, it will be necessary to go back to the earlier stages of the history of the English parliament.

It is to be remembered, then, that originally—that is, soon after the Conquest—the *Commune Concilium*, or *Aula Regis*, contained within itself all the powers which are now distributed among the various courts of law and equity, the two houses of parliament, the privy council, and the cabinet council. In other words, this great court or council exercised at once the legislative, the judicial,* and the administrative or executive functions. In process of time, as the laws became complicated and voluminous, a portion of the judicial functions was transferred to the common law judges; leav-

ing, however, a *residuum* in the sovereign power, *et* in the king and his council—in other words, the *Commune Concilium*, or *Aula Regis*, above-mentioned. In cases where the common law did not provide a remedy, the resort was to the king in council. Then, after a time, another portion of the judicial functions was separated from the great council, and lodged in the chancellor,* leaving still a further *residuum* in the great council, part of which *residuum* is now exercised by the Privy Council and part by the House of Lords†. For, though the House of Commons is also a limb, and a very important one, of the sovereignty, it does not appear ever to have exercised, by itself alone, strictly judicial functions, except in cases where its own members were specially concerned which may be partly accounted for by the fact that the Commons were not constituent members of the great national council till that council had lost somewhat of its primary character of a court of justice.

Lord Chief Justice Hale‡ has indeed shown from ancient records that (according to the distinction between the *plenum parlamentum*—consisting of the king and both houses of parliament, and sometimes applied to both houses only—and the *curia parliamenti*, *curia in parlamento coram nobis*, &c., meaning the Upper House of parliament,) errors of inferior courts were examined in two ways, or kinds of courts, *viz* in *pleno parlamento*, and in the Lords' House. The examination of errors in *pleno parlamento*, and the decision thereof by consent of both houses, he calls an extraordinary way, because "of latter ages much disused." The other he calls ordinary, because the method then and for some ages past "most if not altogether in use." He then cites many ancient instances from the rolls of parliament, where, upon petition of parties unduly attaint, or their heirs, the records of the attainers were brought in *plenum parlamentum*, and errors assigned and judgments thereupon reversed. He then adds that, touching reversal and affirmance by writ of error in *pleno parlamento*, which was not so usual as petitions, the only precedent that he had found was that in Rastall's Entries, title *Error en Parlement*, which appears, he says, "to be a writ of error brought in the par-

* It appears to have been the opinion of Lord Chief Justice Hale and of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke that the judicial power of the chancellor was the *residuum* of the judicial power left in the *Aula Regis* or *Commune Concilium* after the separation of the common law courts from that great court. See Mr Justice Story's Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence as administered in England and America, vol. i. p. 42.

† See Blackstone's Commentaries as vol. i. p. 229 et seq. also vol. iii. p. 37. Lord Erskine in his celebrated speech on the motion for a new trial in the case of the proceedings against the Dean of St Asaph said: "In the reign of King Edward I. when it was the office (that of Chief Justiciary) was abolished and the present court at Westminster established by a distribution of its powers the barons preserved that supreme superintending jurisdiction which never belonged to the justiciar but to themselves only as the jurors in the king's courts a jurisdiction which when nobility from being territorial and feudal became personal and honorary was assumed and exercised by the peers of England who without any delegation of judicial authority from the crown formed to this day the supreme and final court of England law judging in the last resort for the whole kingdom and sitting upon the lives of the peerage in the ancient and genuine characters, as the peers of one another." 21 A. 77. 975.

‡ Jurisdiction of the Lords House of Parliament ch. 22.

liament of 1 Hen VII., upon a judgment given in the King's Bench in the time of Edward IV. The writ was to remove the record *coram nobis in parlamento, ut, inspectis recordo et processu predictis, nos, de consilio et advisamento damanorum spiritualium et temporalium et COMMUNITATIS in parlamento nostro predicto existentium, ulterius pro errore illo corrigendo fieri faciamus, quod de jure et secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Angliæ fuerit faciendum*" He then makes the following observations on this particular case—"This writ seems to be in that very case of 1 Hen VII. 19, Howerdine's case, and the time of its issue and the first letters of some of the names seem to accord with the parties in that record upon which case, notwithstanding, the judges there agree that the Commons ought not to have a voice, but only the Lords, with the advice of the judges, and possibly there might be a new writ brought accordingly. But surely such a writ as this, though not in the usual form that obtained in latter ages, might issue, and upon such a writ the Commons would have been interested in the judgment, as well as in the cases of the proceeding upon petition of error above mentioned, where the Commons had also a concurrent voice, though this hath been long disused." His lordship comes to the following conclusion on the subject—"Although in ancient times there were petitions, and possibly some writs of error, which did interest the Commons in point of judicature, or at least consent or dissent to the judgment, yet these two things are to be noted—1. That, even in the ancientest times whereof we have any memorials of record, as the times of Edw I., Edw II., and Edw III., the petitions and writs of error in the House of Lords were more frequent, and more frequently there determined, than in *pleno parlamento*. 2. That from the beginning of Richard II.'s time downward to this day there are very few if any petitions or writs of error brought before both houses or determined by them, but only in the House of Lords, except that one instance in Rastall's Entries above mentioned, which, nevertheless, is encountered by the opinion of the judges in 1 Hen VII. 19. And this especially after the beginning of the reign of Hen IV., where the judicature of the House of Lords was so liberally asserted by the Commons, Rot Parl 1 Hen IV. n. 79.* And Mr Hargrave, in his Introductory Preface to Lord Chief Justice Hale's work on the Jurisdiction of the Lords' House of Parliament, mentions a very valuable though unfinished manuscript of Lord Hale's, entirely in his own handwriting, entitled 'Preparatory Notes touching the Rights of the Crown.' "So far," observes Mr Hargrave, "as these 'Preparatory Notes' touch upon the House of Lords separately, the judicative power of the Lords is described much in the same manner as in the former collections,† equally conjoining them and the king's *consilium ordinis*."

* Jurisdiction of the Lords House of Parliament ch. 22.

† Alluding to other MSS. of Hale.

rum into one great judicative council, and equally describing the judges and other members of the *consilium ordinarium* as co judges. But when he comes to treat of the House of Commons, he writes doubtfully as to the necessity of their concurrence in judicature. On the one hand he cites the ancient form of the writ of error from Rastall's Entries, 302, where the Commons are mentioned equally with the Lords, and the records of the reversal of the judgments against Mortimer and Lancaster in 1 Edw. III., and of the judgment against Maltraver, as precedents of the concurrence of the Commons. On the other hand he cites the memorable roll of parliament of 1 H n IV., to which we have already so much adverted, as a 'shrewd record to the contrary.' But he professes to avoid determining the point, and to spare the dispute of it, noticing, however, that, according to that record, the king has at least a negative voice in matters judicative.*

There appears to be little weight in the explanation of Blackstone, that the representatives of the people or House of Commons, cannot properly judge of crimes committed by powerful men against the state or nation, because their constituents are the parties injured, and can therefore only impeach. This proceeds on the supposition that the peers are not equally injured by the acts of a state criminal, which is quite fallacious. If Strafford had succeeded in making Charles I. what Richelieu made Louis XIV., the injury to the peers would have been as great (or greater, for they had more to lose) as to the people. However, the Peers may be supposed to possess more of the qualities of the judicial character than the Commons, from their position, as being less likely to be influenced by popular passions, and having, besides, among them several men who have been accustomed by their profession to the performance of judicial duties.

In the debate on the question as to whether the impeachment had abated by the dissolution, the lord chancellor (Thurlow) argued that it had abated, be-



Lord Thurlow

cause one of the parties to the prosecution, namely, the Commons, had become extinct. "If it were

alleged that the whole people of England were the real prosecutors, as the acts of the Lower House of Parliament were the acts of the people, he had two things to reply. The first was, that the acts of the House of Commons could not be regarded as the acts of the people of England, because the House of Commons did not *actually* represent the people of England, it represented them no more than virtually. The next thing was, that their lordships' House of Parliament knew nothing about the people as an acting body in the state, they knew only the House of Commons, the acts of which, he had shown, were not the acts of the people. The people, therefore, were not parties to an impeachment."

It was decided, however, that the impeachment did not abate, principally on the following grounds. The high Court of Parliament was affirmed to exist at all times, "and, although, from a dissolution, or other causes, it might not always be sitting to do justice, it was always open for the reception of appeals and writs of error. The peers, who were the judges, it was said, had their authority inherent in their order, and independent of the actual sitting of parliament, and the prosecutors were not merely the members of the House of Commons, but all the commons of England, who, though they might be deprived of their organ by a dissolution, did not thereby lose their right of acting, and might resume the exercise of that right as soon as they were furnished with a new organ by the assembling of a new parliament."

On this decision, Mr Justice Coleridge, in his edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, makes the following observations. "It cannot be denied, on the one hand, that there are some difficulties in coming to this conclusion. But, on the other, it is certain that the right of impeachment would have lost half its value if a contrary determination had been come to, and it seems also certain that, in former times, when the duration of a parliament seldom exceeded a month impeachments must have been absolutely nugatory, if a dissolution had abated them."

In the preceding Book an account has been given of the changes that took place in the constitution of Ireland during the period preceding the present. As we have there seen, the statute of 6 Geo. I. having been first repealed by the statute 22 Geo. III. c. 53, it was, by stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 28, declared that the parliament and courts of Ireland had an exclusive right as to all matters of legislation and judicature in that country. This was followed, within twenty years, by the important statute which incorporated Ireland with Great Britain, as an integral part thereof, under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The following correct and comprehensive abstract is given by a recent writer of the

* Ann. Reg. for 1791, vol. xxxiii. See also Coyns's Digest, Parliament (F. 5) where the same doctrine is laid down as to the effect of a dissolution upon an impeachment.

† 4 Blackst. Comm. 361, note (f).

most important of the articles of the Act of Union with Ireland, 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 67 —

"1 That the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on the 1st day of January, 1801, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

"2. That the succession to the imperial crown shall continue in the same manner as that to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland stood before limited

"3 That there shall be one parliament, styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

"4 That the lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords, and one hundred commoners (to whom five more have now been added by a recent Act of Parliament*), shall be the number to sit in the House of Commons on the part of Ireland, that a peer of Ireland not elected one of the twenty-eight may sit in the House of Commons, but, while so sitting, shall not be entitled to privilege of peerage, or to be elected one of the twenty-eight, or to vote at such election, and that all the lords spiritual and temporal of Ireland (except those temporal peers who may be members of the House of Commons) shall have all privilege of peerage as fully as those of Great Britain, the right of sitting in the House of Lords (with its attendant privileges) only excepted

"5 That the churches of England and Ireland shall be united into one Protestant episcopal church, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland, that the doctrine, worship, and discipline shall be the same, and that the continuance and preservation of the united church as the established church of England and Ireland shall be deemed an essential and fundamental part of the Union, and that in like manner the church of Scotland shall remain the same as established by the acts of Union of England and Scotland

"6 That the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall be entitled to the same privileges, with regard to trade and navigation, and also in respect of all treaties with foreign powers

"7 That the future expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed in such proportion as Parliament shall, from time to time, deem reasonable, according to certain rules prescribed for that purpose in the Act

"8 That all the laws and courts of each kingdom shall remain the same as already established, subject to such alterations by the United Parliament as circumstances may require, but that all writs of error and appeal which might then have been decided in the House of Lords of either kingdom shall be decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom

"Since the Union all acts of parliament ex-

tend to Ireland, whether expressly mentioned or not, unless that portion of the United Kingdom be expressly excepted, or the intention to except it be otherwise plainly shown"

By stat 30 Geo. III. c. 10 (An Act for the better support of the Dignity and Independence of the Speaker of the House of Commons), a sum was directed to be issued at the Exchequer, which, together with the fees and allowances of *5l* per day, then payable on account of the office of Speaker, might amount to the clear yearly sum of 6000*l*. And it was also enacted that the Speaker should not hold, in his own name, or in the name of any person or persons in trust for him, or for his benefit, any office or place of profit under the Crown during pleasure

II LEGISLATION RELATING TO PROPERTY, REAL AND PERSONAL

We now proceed to give an account of some of the principal enactments made during the present period regarding property, whether real or personal

One of the most important of the enactments affecting real property was the statute 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 9^o, commonly called the *Thellusson Act*, by which certain limits were prescribed to the accumulation of property. This statute arose out of the abuse which was thought to have been made of the rule respecting trusts for accumulation of the rents and profits of land, in the case of Mr. *Thellusson's* extraordinary will. To understand this act, it will be necessary to advert shortly to the learning concerning executory devises, future uses, and future trusts, and the rules established for the purpose of prescribing the boundaries within which those executory devises, &c. must be confined

The essential character of executory devises, which prevents them, unlike contingent remainders, from being barred or destroyed by any alteration whatsoever in the estate out of which, or after which, they are limited, gave rise to an invariable rule with respect to the contingency upon which an estate of this sort is permitted to take effect. This rule is, that such contingency must happen within a short, or at least a limited, space of time, otherwise it would be in the power of a testator to render an estate unalienable for several generations. A power which the English law denies to every man, as the exercise of it would tend to render property in a great measure useless to the general purposes of a commercial country. For every executory devise, so far as it goes, creates a perpetuity, that is, an estate unalienable till the contingency be determined one way or another†. The period within which the contingency must happen and the executory devise take effect is confined to a life or lives in being, including among those lives children then in *utero sa mere*, and twenty-one years be-

* *Stephen's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. i. pp. 64, 95.

† The Act to amend the Representation of the People of Ireland, 1832, 5 Geo. IV. c. 92, s. 11.

† See *Fearn's Contingent Remainders* pp. 429, 440, 8th edition by Butler.

yond the death of such life or lives and the time of gestation, so as to allow for the birth of a child in *ventre sa mere**. Availing himself of this rule, by which it was in the power of the owner of the estate to suspend not only the ownership of the inheritance for the limited time, but also to suspend the right to the intermediate enjoyment, so as to accumulate the income and add it to the principal, and thus aggrandize the remote issue of the family at the expense of the present, and perhaps the two or three succeeding generations, Mr Thellusson fixed on the lives of all his sons, and all his grandsons born in his lifetime, or who should be living at his death, or then in *ventre sa mere* (for such seems to be the construction of his will), as the period during which the income of his property should accumulate for the benefit of those persons who, at the end of that period, should answer the description of the heirs male of the respective bodies of his three sons. The property consisted of a limited estate of about 4000*l* a-year, and personally considered to be above half a million sterling, the probable amount of the accumulated fund was calculated at 19,000,000*l*, without taking into account the possible minority at the end of the term which might involve the accumulation of a much greater sum†.

The will gave rise to two suits in Chancery, one, on a bill brought by the widow of Mr Thellusson, and his sons and daughters, and the husbands of the daughters, to invalidate the trusts, created by the will, of the testator's general real estate and the residue of his personal estate, and to substitute a resulting trust for his heir and next of kin, the other, on a cross bill by the acting trustees and executors, to substantiate the trusts of the will, and to direct the manner of carrying them into execution.

The causes were heard in Lincoln's Inn Hall, in December, 1798, before the lord chancellor Loughborough assisted by Sir Richard Pepper Arden, Mr Justice Buller, and Mr Justice Lawrence. The lord chancellor decreed the devices and limitations to be valid, and gave directions accordingly. The widow and children appealed to the House of Lords. The appeal was heard in the House of Lords on the 25th of June, 1805, and several other days, and, after the argument had been heard, certain questions, embracing the leading points of the case, were, on the motion of Lord Eldon, who had succeeded Lord Loughborough as chancellor, proposed to the judges. The unanimous opinion of the judges, pronounced by Lord Chief Baron Macdonald, was favourable to the trusts of the will, and, upon the motion of the lord chancellor, the decree was affirmed‡.

The above will being, however, considered, though within the letter, as an abuse of the rule of law, and a contrivance to avoid its principle,

the act in question, the statute 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 98, was passed, which enacts, "That no person or persons shall, after the passing of this act, by any deed or deeds, surrender or surrenders, will, codicil, or otherwise howsoever, settle or dispose of any real or personal property, so and in such manner that the rents, issues, profits, or produce thereof, shall be wholly or partially accumulated, for any longer term than the life or lives of any such grantor or grantors, settler or settlers, or the term of twenty-one years from the death of any such grantor, settler, devisee, or testator, or during the minority or respective minorities of any person or persons who shall be living, or in *ventre sa mere*, at the time of the death of such grantor, devisee, or testator, or during the minority or respective minorities only of any person or persons who, under the uses or trusts of the deed, surrender, will, or other assurances, directing such accumulations, would, for the time being, if of full age, be entitled unto the rents, issues, and profits, or the interest, dividends, or annual produce so directed to be accumulated and, in every case where any accumulation shall be directed otherwise than as aforesaid, such direction shall be null and void, and the rents, issues, profits, and produce of such property so directed to be accumulated, shall, so long as the same shall be directed to be accumulated contrary to the provisions of this act, go to and be received by such person or persons as would have been entitled thereto if such accumulation had not been directed." But, by sect. 2, it is provided that the act shall not extend "to any provision for payment of debts of any grantor, settler, or devisee, or other person or persons, or to any provision for raising portions for any child or children of any grantor, settler, or devisee, or any child or children of any person taking any interest under any such conveyance, settlement, or devise, or to any direction touching the produce of timber or wood upon any lands or tenements, but that all such provisions and directions shall and may be made and given as if this act had not passed."

Upon the construction of this act it has been settled that limitations on trusts for accumulation, which do not violate the common-law rule against perpetuities, but exceed the period prescribed by the statute, are void only for the excess beyond that period*. But, on the other hand, if the trust for accumulation exceed the limit fixed by the law before the statute, it is altogether void, and incapable of taking effect even for the period allowed by the statute†. It is also to be observed that the act does not at all affect the rule respecting the property itself, but merely limits the extent to which the income of that property may be accumulated.

Some of the principal questions connected with the subject have arisen on the construction of the clause as to the destination of the income directed

* Butler's Note to Fearn v. C. R. p. 536

† Thellusson v. Woodford 4 Ves. 227, and see Butler's Note to Fearn v. C. R. 436 437 and 536 539

‡ But Fearn v. C. R. 441 443 Thellusson v. Woodford 11 Ves. 112

* Griffiths v. Vere, 9 Ves. 127

† Lord Southampton v. Marj. of Hertford, 2 Ves. and B. 54—Marshall v. Holloway, 2 Swanst. 459

to be accumulated, after the expiration of the period for which the accumulation can take place conformably to the statute. The result of the cases seems to be that the income, which the statute forbids to be accumulated, must go as in case of intestacy.* The above act, which was framed by Lord Loughborough, has been characterised by Lord Brougham as "an act which, though it has not often received the aid of judicial interpretation, has hardly ever been discussed in courts either of law or equity without the judge having occasion to observe upon the inartificial, and, in several respects, ill-defined language, in which its provisions are expressed"†

By the statute 25 Geo III c 35, entitled 'An Act for the more easy and effectual sale of lands, tenements, and hereditaments of crown debtors, or of their sureties,' the court of exchequer, on application of his majesty's attorney-general in a summary way, was authorised to order the estate of any debtor to his majesty, his heirs and successors and the right and interest of such debtor in any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which should be extended under any writ of extent, or so much thereof as should be sufficient to satisfy the debt for which the same should have been so extended, to be sold in such manner as the said court should direct, and the act directed the conveyance of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments so decreed to be sold, to be made to the purchaser by his majesty's remembrancer in the said court of exchequer or his deputy, under the direction of the said court, by a deed of bargain and sale, to be enrolled in the same court. The surplus, if any, of such purchase-money, after payment of the debt and all costs incurred by the crown in enforcing the payment of such debt, was to be paid to the person or persons entitled thereto.

By the statute 39 and 40 Geo III c 56, entitled 'An Act for relief of persons entitled to entailed estates to be purchased with trust moneys,' it is enacted that, where money under the control of a court of equity, or of or to which any individuals as trustees are possessed or entitled, shall be subject to be invested in the purchase of freehold or copyhold premises, to be settled in such manner that it should be competent to the first tenant in tail to bar estates tail and remainders, it shall not be necessary to have such money actually so invested, but the court, on petition of the first tenant in tail, and the person or persons having any antecedent particular estate or estates (being adults, or, if females covert, being separately examined in court or upon commission), may order such money to be paid to them, or applied as they shall appoint.

We have before mentioned‡ that the law of insurance might almost be said to have grown up under Lord Mansfield's administration of the

chief justiceship of the King's Bench. By the statute of the 43rd of Elizabeth* a particular court (a court now entirely disused) for the trial of causes relative to policies of insurance in a summary way was erected, and to that end the statute ordained that a commission should issue yearly, directed to the judge of the Admiralty, the recorder of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight merchants, empowering any five of them to hear and determine all such causes arising in London, and it also gave an appeal from their decision, by way of bill, to the court of chancery. Since the above-mentioned statute various enactments have from time to time been made respecting the subject of insurance. Of these the principal were, the 13 and 14 Charles II c 23, entitled "An additional Act concerning matter of assurance used amongst merchants," the 6 Geo I c 18, whereby his majesty is empowered to grant charters to two distinct companies for assurance of ships, and for lending money on bottomry, the 19 Geo II c 37, which prohibits all contracts of insurance on ships, and on merchandises or effects laden thereon, by way of gaming or wagering. Mr Millar, in his 'Treatise on Insurance,'* observes, that the object of insurance, strictly speaking, is not to make a positive gain, but to avoid actual damage and harm from the event provided against, and that by the ordinances of almost all the commercial states in Europe wagers upon mercantile adventure are totally prohibited. He also notices the distinction between an insurance against positive loss and upon expected profit, a distinction overlooked in this country, though the French regulation prohibits merchants purchasing insurance on the expected profits of their goods, and by the ordinance of Comingsberg all insurances on expected gain of future freight moneys, securing wagers, are forbidden. By the 14 Geo III c 48, the above rule is extended to insurances upon lives all such insurances being thereby prohibited, except in cases where the persons insuring shall have an interest in the life or death of the persons insured. By the statute 25 Geo III c 44, no policy of insurance on ships or goods is to be made without inserting the names of the persons really interested therein, or the names of the persons who shall effect the same as the agents of the persons severally interested therein. The above act was repealed by the 28 Geo III c 56, which enacts that "it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to make or effect, or cause to be made or effected, any policy or policies of assurance upon any ship or ships, vessel or vessels, or upon any goods, merchandises, effects, or other property whatsoever, without first inserting or causing to be inserted in such policy or policies of assurance the name or names, or the usual style and firm of dealing, of one or more of the persons interested in such insurance, or without instead thereof first inserting or causing to be inserted in

* Eyre v Marden 2 Ke 264. See also Griffiths v Vere 9 Ves 129 and see an able article on Trusts for Accumulation in the Jurist for 1841 p 738.

† Cited in the Jurist *ibid*

‡ Vol 1 p 537

* 43 Eliz c 12

† Cited 2 Evans's Statutes, 240, n. (4)

such policy or policies of assurance the name or names, of the usual style and firm of dealing, of the consignor or consignors, consignee or consignees, of the goods, merchandises, effects or property so to be insured, or the name or names, or the usual style and firm of dealing, of the person or persons residing in *Great Britain*, who shall receive the order for and effect such policy or policies of assurance, or of the person or persons who shall give the order or direction to the agent or agents immediately employed to negotiate or effect such policy or policies of assurance." In the case of *Bell v Gibson** it was held sufficient that the broker for the plaintiff, who effected the policy, was therein called *agent*, without stating for whom.

The statute 36 Geo III c 90, entitled "An Act for the relief of persons equitably and beneficially entitled to, or interested in, the several stocks and annuities transferable at the Bank of England (14th May, 1796),"† enacts that, when trustees, in whose names stocks shall be standing at the Bank, shall be absent, out of the jurisdiction or not amenable to the process of the courts of Chancery and Exchequer, or shall be bankrupts, or lunatics, or shall refuse to transfer the stock, &c, or it shall be uncertain whether such trustees are living, the said courts, in any cause depending therein, may order the stock to be transferred, and the dividends paid, and, when all the trustees can not be found, may order the forthcoming ones to transfer stock, &c. The second section orders that, if bankrupts refuse to transfer stock standing in their own right, the 1st lord chancellor may order it to be transferred to the assignees. By the third section, stock standing in the names of lunatics, or their committees, may, in certain cases, be ordered by the lord chancellor to be transferred into the names of any new committees or otherwise. By the fourth section the act is declared to be an indemnity to the Bank of England for all things done pursuant thereto. Three or four years after, the statute 39 and 40 Geo III c 36, was passed, to enable courts of equity to compel a transfer of stock in suits without making the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, or the United Company of Merchants trading to the East India, or the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas or other parts of America, party thereto.

By the 38 Geo III c 87, entitled "An Act for the administration of assets, in cases where the executor to whom probate has been granted is out of the realm (28th June, 1798),"‡ if at the expiration of twelve months from a testator's decease the executor to whom probate is granted shall not reside within the jurisdiction of his majesty's courts, any creditor, next of kin, or legatee, may, on making the affidavit thereinafter mentioned, obtain special administration on a five-shilling stamp

The act also contains provisions for the collecting of outstanding debts, for the transfer of stock belonging to the estate of the deceased, and for the case where an infant is sole executor, in which case administration with the will annexed is to be granted to the guardian of such infant, till the infant is twenty-one.

By the 27 Geo III c 38, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of the arts of designing and printing linsens, cottons, calicoes, and muslins, by vesting the properties thereof in the designers, printers, and proprietors, for a limited time," from June 1, 1787, the proprietor of any original pattern for printing linen is to have the sole right of printing it for the time of *two months*, to commence from the day of the first publishing thereof, the name of the printer or proprietor to be printed at each end of every piece of linen, cotton, &c. By the 34 Geo III c 23, the term was extended to *three months*, and the former act (except so far as varied by the latter act) was made perpetual. The time here granted will appear very short when compared with that in the case of the copyright of books, yet, when the difference in the natures of the respective species of property is considered, there may be found to be some proportion between the respective cases. The period of duration of the designs treated of in the two statutes above mentioned may be estimated as bearing, to the period of duration of a literary composition, somewhat the proportion of two or three months to fourteen or twenty eight years.

By the 38 Geo III c 71, entitled "An Act for encouraging the art of making new models and casts of busts and other things therein mentioned (21st June, 1798)," the sole right and property of making models or casts of any bust, or any part of the human figure, or any statue of the human figure, or the head, or any part, or the statue of any animal, is vested in the original proprietor for fourteen years. Persons making copies of any model or cast without the written consent of the proprietor may be prosecuted for damages by a special action on the case, except such persons as shall purchase the same of the original proprietor.

We may here notice several statutes of considerable importance passed during the present period, which are at least closely connected with the transfer of property.

By the statutes 20 Geo III c 28, 23 Geo III c 58, and 29 Geo III c 51, a stamp duty was imposed on the receipt or other discharge for any legacy left by any will, or other testamentary instrument, or for any share or part of a personal estate divided by force of the statute of distributions, or the custom of any province or place. The 36 Geo III c 52, was then passed, which repeals the duties imposed on the receipt by the previous acts, and imposes new duties on the legacy itself. Section 2 enacts "that upon every legacy, specific or pecuniary, or of any other description, of the amount or value of 20*l* or more, given by any will or testamentary instrument of any person

* 1 B. & P. 349.

† See, post p. 661, the observations on the statute 36 Geo III c 12, as to the commencement of the operation of acts of parliament.

who shall die after the passing of this act, out of the personal estate of the person so dying, and also upon the clear residue and upon every part of the clear residue of the personal estate of every person who shall so die, whether testate or intestate, and leave personal estate of the clear value of 100*l* or upwards, which shall remain after deducting debts, funeral expenses, and other charges, and specific and pecuniary legacies (if any), whether the title to such residue, or to any part thereof, shall accrue by virtue of any testamentary disposition, or upon intestacy, there shall be raised levied, collected, and paid unto and for the use of his majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties after the rates and in manner following, (that is to say), where any such legacy, or any residue or part of residue of any such personal estate, shall be given or shall pass to or for the benefit of a brother or sister of the deceased, or any descendant of a brother or sister of the deceased, there shall be charged a duty of 2*l* for every 100*l* of the value of any such legacy, or residue or part of residue, and so after the same rate for any greater or less sum, and where any such legacy, or any residue or part of residue of any such personal estate, shall be given or shall pass to or for the benefit of a brother or sister, of a father or mother of the deceased, or any descendant of a brother or sister, of a father or mother of the deceased, there shall be charged 3*l* for every 100*l* of the value of such legacy, or residue or part of residue, and so after the same rate for any greater or less sum, and where any such legacy, or any residue or part of residue of any such personal estate, shall be given or shall pass to or for the benefit of a grandfather or grandmother of the deceased, or any descendant of a brother or sister of a grandfather or grandmother of the deceased, there shall be charged a duty of 4*l* for every 100*l* of the value of such legacy, or residue or part of residue, and so after the same rate for any greater or less sum, and where any such legacy, or any residue or part of residue of any such personal estate, shall be given or shall pass to or for the benefit of any person in any other degree of collateral consanguinity to the deceased than is hereinbefore described, or any stranger in blood to the deceased, there shall be charged a duty of 6*l* for every 100*l* of the value of such legacy, or residue or part of residue, and so after the same rate for any greater or less sum. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to charge with any duty any legacy, or any residue or part of residue of any personal estate, which shall be given or shall pass to or for the benefit of the husband or wife of the deceased, or to or for the benefit of any of the royal family." By section 6 the duties were to be paid by the executors or administrators on retaining or paying the legacies. By section 8 the value of any legacy given by way of annuity was to be calculated, and the duty chargeable thereon was to be charged, according to the tables in the schedule thereunto

annexed, and the duty was to be paid by instalments. Section 28 imposed a penalty of 10*l* per cent for paying or receiving legacies without stamp receipts. And by section 27 no written receipt for any legacy or part of any legacy, or for the residue of any personal estate or any part of such residue, in respect whereof any duty was thereby imposed, shall be received in evidence, or be available in any manner whatever, unless the same shall be stamped as required by the act.*

Before the statute 37 Geo III c 136, if an instrument was unstamped or improperly stamped, the defect could only have been rectified by the payment of the accumulated penalties which were inflicted by the several acts imposing stamp-duties, and a stamp exceeding was in many cases equally fatal with one falling below the required standard.† To remedy this evil the statute 37 Geo III c 136, was passed, to enable the commissioners of stamp-duties to stamp deeds and other instruments, bills of exchange, promissory and other notes, in the cases therein mentioned. By section 1 it is enacted that instruments (except bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, drafts, or orders) on stamps of a different denomination, but of an equal or greater value than the proper stamp, on production at the stamp office, and payment of the legal duty and 5*l* penalty, may be stamped with the proper stamp. Section 5, after reciting the statute 31 Geo III c 25, whereby it was enacted "that all vellum, parchment, and paper, before any bill of exchange, promissory note, or other note liable to any stamp-duty by the said act imposed, should be engrossed, printed, or written thereon, should be brought to the head office for stamping such vellum, parchment, and paper, and that it should not be lawful for the commissioners for managing the duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, or their officers, to stamp any vellum, parchment, or paper, at any time after any bill of exchange, promissory note, or other note, draft, or order, should be written thereon, under any pretence whatsoever," enacts that bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, drafts, or orders, made after the passing of that act, and liable to any stamp-duty under the above-recited act, if on stamps of equal or superior value to the stamp required, though of a different denomination from the legal, may be properly stamped, on payment of the duty and a penalty. It may be useful to add here, though somewhat by anticipation, that the 5th section of the statute 43 Geo III c 127, An Act for consolidating the duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great Britain, after reciting that by statute 37 Geo III c 136 it is enacted that "it shall be lawful for the said commissioners or their officers, upon payment of the duty and a penalty of 5*l* in the said act mentioned, to stamp any vellum, parchment, or paper, whereupon any instrument, matter, or thing (ex-

* The last General Stamp Act 55 Geo III c 184 does not fall within the present period.

† Collins on the Stamp Laws, 299.

cept bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, drafts, or orders) shall have been or shall be engrossed, printed, or written, liable in respect thereof to be stamped with a stamp or stamps of a particular denomination or value, and whereon there is or shall be impressed any stamp or stamps of a different denomination, but of an equal or greater value, in certain cases therein mentioned, and that it was expedient to permit the same to be done without the payment of the said penalty," enacts "that it shall be lawful for the said commissioners or their officers, from and after the passing of this act, to stamp any such vellum, parchment, or paper (except as aforesaid) in any of the cases herebefore mentioned, without payment of the said penalty of 5^l required by the said recited act, and every instrument, matter, or thing so stamped shall have and be deemed of the like force and validity as if the said penalty of 5^l had been paid pursuant to the direction of the said act." The statute 48 Geo III c 149, § 4, enacts "that no stamp appropriated to denote the duty charged on any particular instrument, and bearing the name of such instrument on the face thereof, shall be used for denoting any other duty of the same amount, or, if so used, the same shall be of no avail."

The more recent statutes 50 Geo III c 35, § 16, and 55 Geo III c 184, § 10, have, observes Mr Collins,* "relieved the subject from a good deal of difficulty." The latter statute declares, "that from and after the passing of this act all instruments for or upon which any stamp or stamps shall have been used of an improper denomination or rate of duty, but of equal or greater value in the whole with or than the stamp or stamps which ought regularly to have been used thereon, shall nevertheless be deemed valid and effectual in the law, except in cases where the stamp or stamps used on such instruments shall have been specially appropriated to any other instrument, by having its name on the face thereof."

III CRIMINAL LEGISLATION

The effect of the French revolution in England is very discernible in the number and character of the acts relating to political offences passed during the present period. The alarm and consequent activity of the government are manifested by the rapid succession of such enactments as the following — "An Act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts [18th December, 1795]"†, "An Act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies [18th December, 1795]"‡, "An Act for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces by sea or land from their duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience [6th June, 1797]" §, "An Act

for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths [19th July, 1797]"¶, "An Act for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for better preventing treasonable and seditious practices [12th July, 1799]"†, "An Act to repeal so much of an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of Queen Anne, and also so much of an act passed in the seventeenth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, as puts an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the Pretender and his sons [12th July, 1799]"‡, "An Act for regulating trials for high treason and misprision of high treason in certain cases [28th July 1800]"§

By the statute 30 Geo III c 48, the punishment of burning women for high or petit treason is abolished, and hanging by the neck is substituted instead of it.

By the first section of the statute 36 Geo III c 7 (enacted only for the life of George III but made perpetual by the statute 57 Geo III c 6), in consideration of "the daring outrages offered to his majesty's most sacred person, in his passage to and from parliament at the opening of the session, and also the continued attempts of wicked and evil-disposed persons to disturb the tranquillity of his majesty's kingdom, particularly by the multitude of seditious pamphlets and speeches daily printed, published, and dispersed, with unremitted industry, and with a transcendent boldness, in contempt of his majesty's royal person and dignity, and tending to the overthrow of the laws, government, and happy constitution of these realms," it was enacted that, if any person or persons whatsoever, within the realm or without, shall compass or intend death, destruction, or any bodily harm tending thereto, maiming or wounding imprisonment or restraint of the king, or to depose him from the style, honour, or kingly name of the imperial crown of these realms, or to levy war against him within this realm, in order by force or constraint to compel him to change his measures or councils, or in order to put any constraint upon or intimidate both houses or either house of parliament, or to move or stir any foreigner with force to invade this realm or any of his majesty's dominions, and such compassing or intentions shall express by publishing any printing or writing, or by any other overt act, being legally convicted thereof, upon the oaths of two lawful and credible witnesses, upon trial, or otherwise by due course of law, then every such person shall be adjudged a traitor, and suffer death and forfeit as in cases of high treason. Mr Justice Coleridge remarks that perhaps all the offences enumerated in this statute were already chargeable as overt acts of compassing the death of the king, but this makes them substantive treasons ||

The statute 36 Geo III c 8, was only to con-

* Collins on the Stamp Laws 298
† 34 Geo III c 1
‡ 36 Geo III c 8 (exp. red.)
§ 37 Geo III c 70

¶ 77 Geo III c 123
† 39 Geo III c 79
‡ 39 Geo III c 98
§ 39 Geo III c 98.
|| 4 Coleridge's Bl. Com 82, note (4)

tinue in force for three years from the day of its passing, and until the end of the then next session of parliament, and therefore expired at the end of that time, but some of its provisions were continued and extended in the statute 39 Geo III c 79, particularly those against places for lecturing, debating, or reading books, pamphlets, newspapers, or other publications, where money should be paid for admission, unless previously licensed. The reason given for this clause in the first mentioned act, and repeated in part in the latter, illustrates the state of public feeling at the time, and is as follows: "Whereas certain houses, rooms, or places within the cities of London and Westminster, and in the neighbourhood thereof, and in other places, have of late been frequently used for the purpose of delivering lectures and discourses on and concerning supposed public grievances, and matters relating to the laws, constitution, and government and policy of these kingdoms, and treating and debating on and concerning the same, and under pretence thereof, lectures or discourses have been delivered, and debates held, tending to stir up hatred and contempt of his majesty's royal person and of the government and constitution of this realm as by law established."

The above statute, 36 Geo III c 8, contains a form of proclamation to be made for the dispersion of rioters, in the same words as that of 1 Geo I st 2, c 5 (Riot Act), and, as we omitted to give the last named act its due notice in its proper place, it may be useful to devote a few words to it here. The riotous assembling of twelve persons or more, and not dispersing by proclamation was first made high treason by statute 3 and 4 Edw VI c 5, which statute was repealed by statute 1 Mar c 1, with the other treasons created since the 25 Edw III, but was in substance re-enacted by statute 1 Mar st 2, c 12, which made the same offence a simple felony. These statutes specified the nature of the riots they were meant to suppress, and, if the persons were commanded by proclamation to disperse, and they did not, it was by the statute of Mary made felony, but within the benefit of clergy,* and the act indemnified the peace officers and their assistants, if they killed any of the mob in endeavouring to suppress such riot. This act was at first made only for a year, but was afterwards continued for the queen's life, and it was revived (1 Eliz c 16) and continued during the life of Elizabeth also, and then expired. "From the accession of James I" observes Blackstone, "to the death of Queen Anne, it was never once thought expedient to revive it."* And it might be a curious and not altogether unimportant speculation to inquire what effect this may have had on the momentous events that fill the history of the seventeenth century in England. Guizot has especially particularised, as one of the elements of political advancement before the other nations of the earth that were peculiar to the people of England, the right of assembling, and of being armed, one of

the most precious heir-looms that had come down to them from the free and warlike barbarians from whom they were descended. There is, to be sure, a vast difference between the orderly, though armed, assembling of a nation, and the riotous assembling of such portions of a nation as assembled in the No Popery riots of 1780 in London. Still, if the acts specified above had been in force in the reign of Charles I, we are inclined to think that they would have thrown difficulties in the way of the party opposed to the king, at least at the commencement of their career. After things got so far as they had done when Oliver Cromwell began to drill and preach to his Ironsides, such statutes, indeed, would have been little regarded, but they might have somewhat retarded the progress of things to that point.

In the first year of George I the provisions of the former statutes against riotous assembling were renewed and made perpetual, with large additions. For, whereas the former acts expressly defined and specified what should be accounted a riot, the statute 1 Geo I st 2, c 5 (commonly called the Riot Act), enacts, *generally*, that, if any persons, to the number of twelve or more, are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and be commanded by proclamation by one justice of the peace, sheriff, or under-sheriff of a county, or the mayor, bailiff, or other head officer of a town, to disperse, and, notwithstanding such proclamation shall continue together for one hour afterwards, such continuing together shall be felony without benefit of clergy. By the second section it is enacted that the justice of the peace, or other person authorised by the act to make the said proclamation, shall, among the said rioters, or as near to them as he can safely come, with a loud voice command silence, and then make proclamation in these words, or like in effect—

"Our Sovereign Lord the King chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year of King George for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies—God save the King."

"If the reading of the proclamation," says Blackstone, "be by force opposed, or the reader be in any manner wilfully hindered from the reading of it, such opposers and hinderers are felons without benefit of clergy, and all persons to whom such proclamation ought to have been made and knowing of such hinderance, and not dispersing, are felons without benefit of clergy. There is the like indemnifying clause, in case any of the mob be unfortunately killed in the endeavour to disperse them, being copied from the act of Queen Mary. And, by a subsequent clause of the new act, if any persons, so riotously assembled, begin, even before proclamation, to pull down any church, chapel, meeting-house, dwelling house, or outhouses, they shall be felons without benefit of clergy."*

* 4 Bl Comm 148

* 4 Bl Comm 144

Thus the punishment of persons unlawfully assembling, if to the number of *twelve*, may be capital, according to the circumstances; but the punishment of persons so assembling, from the number of *three to eleven*, is fine and imprisonment only. The same is by the common law the punishment in riots and routs, to which the pillory is in aggravated cases being sometimes superadded *. The distinction between a *riot* a *rout*, and an *unlawful assembly* seems at common law to be this—A *riot* is where three or more actually do an unlawful act with violence, or even do a lawful act, as abating a nuisance in a violent and tumultuous manner † A *rout* is where three or more assemble for an unlawful design and move in it, but do not execute it ‡ An *unlawful assembly* is when three or more assemble to do an unlawful act, but do no more §

At common law every sheriff, under sheriff, and every other peace officer, as constables, &c. may and ought to do all that in them lies towards the suppressing of a riot, in any common to all other persons who are ever to assist them in it. And by the statute 13 Hen IV c 7, any two justices, together with the sheriff or under sheriff of the county, may come with the *posse comitatus* if need be, and suppress any such riot assembly or rout, arrest the rioters, and record upon the spot the nature and circumstances of the whole transaction, which record alone shall be a sufficient conviction of the offenders. In the interpretation of which statute it hath been held, that all persons, noble men, and others except women, clerical men, persons decrepit, and infants under fifteen, are bound to attend the justices in suppressing a riot, under pain of fine and imprisonment, and that any battery wounding, or killing the rioters, that may happen in suppressing the riot, is justifiable ¶

But, though, as we have seen above, it is not difficult to distinguish between the legal meanings of the respective words *riot*, *rout*, and *unlawful assembly*, to say absolutely, and without more reference to this technical distinction, what shall constitute an assembly of persons *unlawful* is by no means so easy a matter. This becomes not merely a legal, but a constitutional question of much nicety. At common law, an unlawful assembly is, according to the general opinion of lawyers, an assembling together of persons having an intention to do a thing, which, if it were executed, would make them rioters, but neither actually executing it, nor making a motion towards its execution ¶ Mr Serjeant Hawkins, however, considers this much too narrow a definition, and thinks that any meeting of great numbers of people, with

such circumstances of terror as cannot but endanger the public peace, and raise fears and jealousies among the king's subjects, seems properly to be called an unlawful assembly, as where great numbers, complaining of a common grievance, meet together armed in a warlike manner, in order to consult together concerning the most proper means for the redress of such grievance *. According to his discretion or opinion it is tolerably plain that the English constitution would be deprived of one of according to M Guizot, its most peculiar and characteristic elements—an element which that profound inquirer into the philosophy of history considers is having materially aided in placing England so far in advance of the other European nations as regards free institutions—the right of assembling armed. If the above definition of an unlawful assembly had been attempted to be carried into effect about the time that Mr Attorney-general N's writ of *habeas corpus* was produced we are inclined to think that it would have shared the same fate as that attempted revival of an obsolete prerogative.

By the statute 39 Geo III c 79 (which was amended by the statute 57 Geo III c 19), all societies are to be deemed unlawful the members whereof shall be required to take any oath unlawful under the statute 37 Geo III c 123, or any oath, test, &c. not authorised by law, or which shall have any members, committees, &c. not known to the society at large, or the names of all the members whereof shall not be entered in regular books or which shall act in separate or distinct branches and the members thereof, and persons corresponding with or supporting them, shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful combination or conspiracy † The act was not to extend to freemen's lodges ‡ nor to Quakers meetings, &c. § Officers under the act may be proceeded against either summarily before the justice of the peace, or by indictment persons convicted before a justice, to forfeit 20/ or suffer three months imprisonment, and persons convicted on indictment, to be transported for seven years ¶ Printers are to give a notice to the clerk of the peace, who shall grant a certificate and file the notice, and transmit an attested copy to the secretary of state, under a penalty of 20/ for keeping presses or types with out notice, or using them in any place not expressed therein ¶ A similar provision follows regarding persons carrying on the business of a letter founder, or maker or seller of types for printing or of printing presses ** And the following reason is assigned for these clauses of the act—"Whereas many societies, established of late years for treasonable and seditious purposes, and especially the said societies of United Englishmen, United Scotsmen, United Irishmen, and United Britons, and the said society called the London Corresponding Society, and other corre-

* 4 Bl. Comm. 147. † Hawk P. C. c. 65 § 12.

‡ Comyn's Digest, Forcible Entry (D 8) — 3 Inst. 174. § Riotum, says Lord Coke with his usual felicity in etymology "competh of the French word *rioter* to *riars*" (Qu ?)

¶ Com. Dig. Forcible Entry (D 9). The word *riot* is derived by Comyns, citing Dalt. c. 139 from the German word *rot*. According to Coke, again, 3 Inst. 174, *riots* is derived from the French word *rouer*.

¶ Com. Dig. Forcible Entry (D 10), 3 Inst. 176.

¶ 4 Bl. Comm. 147.

¶ Com. Dig. Forcible Entry (D 10) note (g).

† Sect. 3.

‡ By 57 Geo III c. 19, s. 27.

§ Sect. 28.

* 1 Hawk P. C. c. 65 § 9.

† Sect. 8.

‡ 39 Geo III c. 79, s. 10.

§ Sect. 26.

sponding societies, have at various times caused to be published, in great quantities, divers printed papers of an irreligious, treasonable, and seditious nature, tending to revile our holy religion, and to bring the profession and worship thereof into contempt among the ignorant, and also to excite hatred and contempt of his majesty's royal person, government, and laws, and of the happy constitution of these realms as by law established, and utterly to eradicate all principles of religion and morality, and such societies have dispersed such printed papers among the lower classes of the community, either gratis or at very low prices, and with an activity and profusion beyond all former example, and whereas all persons printing or publishing any papers or writings are by law answerable for the contents thereof, but such responsibility hath of late been in a great degree eluded by the secret printing and publication of such seditious, immoral, and irreligious papers or writings as aforesaid and it is therefore highly important to the public peace that it should in future be known by whom any such papers shall be printed."

The name and abode of the printers are to be printed on every paper or book, and printers are to keep a copy of every paper they print, and write thereon the name and abode of their employer.* This clause was not to extend to impressions of engravings, or the printing by letter-press of names and addresses, &c., or to any papers for the sale of estates or goods by auction;† nor to alter any rules or provisions respecting newspapers.‡ It may be added here, as having close connection with the subject, though not strictly within the period, that the 23rd section of the statute 57 Geo III c 19, declares unlawful any meeting of more than fifty persons within the distance of one mile from the gate of Westminster Hall (except such part of the parish of St Paul's, Covent Garden, as are within the said distance), or pretension for any alteration of matters in church or state on any day on which the two Houses or either House of Parliament shall meet and sit or on which his majesty's Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, or any of them, or any judge of any of them, shall sit in Westminster Hall.

By the 37 Geo III c 70 (made perpetual by 57 Geo III c 7), any person who shall attempt to seduce any person or persons serving in his majesty's forces, by sea or land, from his duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to invite such person or persons to mutiny, shall, on being legally convicted of such offence, be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death, as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

By the 37 Geo III c 123 (rendered more effectual by 52 Geo III c 104), persons administering or taking unlawful oaths, that is, oaths or engagements purporting or intended to bind the person taking the same to engage in any mutinous

or seditious purpose, or to disturb the public peace, "or to be of any association, society, or confederacy formed for any such purpose, or to obey the orders or commands of any committee or body of men not lawfully constituted, or of any leader or commander or other person not having authority by law for that purpose, or not to inform or give evidence against any associate, confederate, or other person, or not to reveal or discover any unlawful combination or confederacy, or not to reveal or discover any illegal act done or to be done, or not to reveal or discover any illegal oath or engagement which may have been administered or tendered or taken by such person or persons, or to or by any other person or persons or the import of any such oath or engagement, shall, on conviction thereof by due course of law, be adjudged guilty of felony, and may be transported for any term of years not exceeding seven years; and every person who shall take any such oath or engagement, not being compelled thereto, shall, on conviction thereof by due course of law, be adjudged guilty of felony, and may be transported for any term of years not exceeding seven years."

The clause against administering of an oath to any person, purporting to bind him not to reveal or discover any unlawful combination or conspiracy, nor any illegal act done by them, has been held to extend to a combination for raising wages.* Against those combinations of workmen to raise wages were likewise made the statutes 39 and 40 Geo III c 106, and 5 Geo IV c 95, which, together with the other laws relating to the combination of workmen, were repealed by the statute 6 Geo IV c 129.

By the statute 39 Geo III c 93, so much of the statute 7 Ann c 21 (viz § 10), and also so much of the statute 17 Geo II c 39, as put an end to the forfeiture of inheritance upon attainer of treason, after the death of the Pretender and his sons, was repealed.

By the statute 39 and 40 Geo III c 93, in cases of high treason and misprision of treason, where the overt act alleged in the indictment shall be assassination of the king, or any direct attempt against his life, &c., the offender shall be tried in the same manner as if charged with murder, but punishable as in cases of high treason.

The number of statutes passed during this period against riots, and offences attended with riot and violence, is considerable. The titles of these acts will be sufficient to show their general character, which is all that can be attempted here:—"An Act for the better and more effectual protection of stocking-frames, and the machines or engines annexed thereto or used therewith; and for the punishment of persons destroying or injuring of such stocking-frames, machines, or engines, and the framework-knitted pieces, stockings, and other articles and goods used and made in the hosiery or framework-knitted manufactory, or breaking or destroying any machinery contained in any mill or

* Sect 39.

† Sect 31.

‡ Sect. 38.

* Rex v. Marks 3 East, 107.

mills used or may be employed in preparing or spinning of wool or cotton for the use of the stocking-frame. "An Act for better preventing of fences in obstructing, destroying, or damaging ships or other vessels, and in obstructing seamen, fishermen, casters, and ship carpenters from pursuing their lawful occupations [17th June, 1793]"† — "An Act to prevent obstructions in the free passage of grain within the kingdom [18th December, 1795]"‡ — "An Act for the security of collieries and mines, and for the better regulation of colliers and miners [9th July, 1800]"§

The present period is fertile in statutes relating to the subject of forgery. The earlier statutes on this subject are directed against the forger of false deeds,|| or against such as shall levy any fine, or suffer any recovery, or acknowledge any statute, recognizance, bail, or judgment in the name of any other person or persons not being privy and consenting thereto¶. But the later statutes since the commencement of the national debt and the invention of bills of exchange are chiefly directed against the forging of powers to transfer stock,** against the forging the acceptance of bills of exchange, or the numbers or principal sums of accountable receipts for notes, bills, or other securities for payment of money, or warrants or orders for payment of money or delivery of goods††. The establishment of the Bank of England and the system of banking generally has likewise produced statutes against the forging of the notes or bills of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England,‡‡ and against the forgery of the notes and bills of exchange of persons carrying on the business of bankers §§.

The definition given by Blackstone|| of forgery is, "the fraudulent making or alteration of a writing to the prejudice of another man's right," which definition, observes Mr Justice Coleridge, in his note to the passage in Blackstone, "seems too confined, if by the words 'to the prejudice,' &c. it is intended to convey a notion that some one's right must actually be prejudiced by the forged writing; because it is clear that the offence is complete before publication of the instrument, and that it is enough if the counterfeiting be such whereby another may be prejudiced (East's P.C. c. xix s. 7.)" In the short account which the author gives of this offence in the text, he principally confines himself to the cases in which forgery may be committed, and, formidable as his list may appear, yet it may give the reader some idea how it might have been increased, to mention that Mr Hammond, in the title 'Forgery,' of his 'Criminal Code,' has enumerated more than four hundred statutes which contain provisions against the offence."

* 28 Geo III c 50 † 33 Geo III c 67
 ‡ 36 Geo III c 9 § 39 and 40 Geo. III c 77
 § 5 Eliz c 14 ¶ 21 Jac I c 26
 || 5 Geo. I c 28 33 Geo III c 30, 36 Geo. III. c 46, 37 Geo. III c 46, 37 Geo III c 129
 ¶ 7 Geo II c 22, 18 Geo III c 18 43 Geo III c 120, which last relates to foreign bills of exchange; promissory notes, and copper money
 †† 13 Geo III c 79, 41 Geo. III c 34
 ‡‡ 41 Geo III c 77 § 4 Comm 347.

In a former Book* we carried down the subject of benefit of clergy to the statute 6 Geo I, c 25, whereby persons convicted of any larceny, grand or petty, who by the law they should be entitled to the benefit of clergy and liable only to the penalties of burning in the hand, or whipping, might, at the discretion of the court, instead of such burning in the hand, or whipping, be transported to America (or by statute 19 Geo. III c 74, to any other parts beyond the seas), for seven years; and if they returned within that time, it should be felony without benefit of clergy. By the statutes 16 Geo II c 15, and 6 Geo. III c 15,† other provisions were made for the more speedy and effectual execution of the laws relating to transportation. By the statute 19 Geo III. c 74, all offenders liable to transportation might, in lieu thereof, at the discretion of the judges, be employed, if males (except in the case of petty larceny), in hard labour for the benefit of some public navigation, or, whether males or females, might in all cases be confined to hard labour in certain penitentiary houses, to be erected by virtue of the said act, for the several terms therein specified, but in no case exceeding seven years, with a power of subsequent mitigation, and even of reward, in case of their good behaviour. In respect to the penitentiary houses this act was never carried into execution. But in 1792 a proposal made to Mr Pitt by Mr Jeremy Bentham, and framed on his panopticon plan of arrangement, was embraced with enthusiasm by Mr Pitt and his colleagues in office, and in 1794 an act‡ passed for the purpose of carrying the plan into effect. Notwithstanding this act, however, and notwithstanding all the influence of Mr Pitt and his colleagues, Mr Bentham's plan was never carried into effect, by reason of the opposition of some (to everybody out of the cabinet) secret influence. Of the opposition thus exerted it is difficult to conjecture a

* See Hist. vol. i. p. 679.

† The 6 Geo IV c 64 repeals the 16 Geo II c 15 and 6 Geo. III c 15 as well as several other later statutes so far as regards the present subject. It is to be observed that the act to regulate what is called the punishment of the ships in that transportation. The first of these was introduced by the 17 Geo III c 43 a temporary act when the disturbances in the American colonies had interrupted the transportation of convicts to that country. The 19 Geo III c 74 was also temporary as far as it related to the hulks and for many years continued in them. It was extended to a punishment which may be formally pronounced for an offence, but in its effect and sentence of death and perpetual imprisonment or under sentence of transportation have been and is the recent act still may be sent to them temporarily or until transportation, and it very commonly happens that those who are sentenced to transportation for seven years only pass the whole of the period in the hulks. In 1812 a report upon the state of the hulks was made to the House of Commons by the committee then sitting on the laws relating to penitentiaries and in consequence of their suggestions several useful measures of reform and regulation were adopted. These are carried on by the recent act, each hulk is placed under an overseer who is to reside in it with a sufficient number of officers and guards. He is invested with the same power as a gaoler over his prisoners, like him is answerable for their escape may inflict order to punishment for disorderly conduct, is to see them fed and clothed and to keep them to labour according to his instructions. Over the whole is placed a superintendent (with an assistant or deputy, if necessary) who is to inspect them all immediately four times in the year at least ascertain their conduct, examine into the behaviour both of the overseers and prisoners, the amount of the earnings, and the expenses of the establishment, upon all which he is to make two reports, at least in the year, to the secretary of state which are to be laid before parliament. — Notes by Mr Justice Coleridge, & Blackst. Comm 771
 ‡ 24 Geo III. c 64



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cause—unless it might be that his majesty George III had a mind to plan a penitentiary as well as Mr Jeremy Bentham, and, having more power than Mr Bentham, was enabled to have his plan adopted in the room of Mr Bentham's. The re-



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sult, however is, that a site for the penitentiary was purchased in a bad and unhealthy situation (Millbank), for double the sum for which a site in a good and healthy situation (Battersea Rise, as proposed by Mr Bentham) might have been purchased. In this instance an article dear and bad was substituted for one cheap and good. Mr Bentham's plan for 1000 prisoners would have cost the public between 20,000*l* and 30,000*l*, the present plan for 600, has already cost at least ten times that sum.

It will be convenient to finish this subject here, though it runs into the next period, and to mention that in 1812 an act was passed "for the erection of a penitentiary house for the confinement of offenders convicted within the city of London and county of Middlesex, and for making compensation to Jeremy Bentham, esquire, for the non performance of an agreement between the said Jeremy Bentham and the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, respecting the custody and maintenance of convicts (20th April, 1812)." * This act provided for the erection of a penitentiary house at Millbank, for the purpose of confining offenders convicted in London and Middlesex only, but by statute 56 Geo III c 63, the penitentiary house at Millbank was made applicable to the kingdom at large. In the early part of 1823 it contained nearly 900 prisoners, and about that time a very alarming sickness made its appearance amongst them. The acts which more particularly regulate the penitentiary are the 56 Geo III c 63, and 59 Geo III c 136. It is much to be regretted that Mr Bentham's plan did not receive, at least, a fair trial, and the more so, as it was so much more economical than the one adopted in lieu of it.

By the statute 19 Geo III c 74, it is also enacted that, instead of burning in the hand, the

court may in all clergetable offences, impose a pecuniary fine; or may (except in the case of manslaughter) order the offenders to be once or oftener, but not more than thrice, either publicly or privately whipped; such private whipping (to prevent collusion or abuse) to be inflicted in the presence of two witnesses, and, in case of female offenders, in the presence of females only. The fine, or whipping, is to have the same consequences as burning in the hand, and the offender so fined or whipped shall be equally liable to a subsequent detainer or imprisonment. It would leave the subject very incomplete not to add here that the punishment of publicly whipping females was abolished by 57 Geo III c 75, and that the 1 Geo IV c 57, repealed that act, and enacted that female offenders should not suffer the punishment either of public or private whipping.

By the statute 28 Hen VIII, c. 15, § 3, benefit of clergy is not allowed in any case of offences committed on the high seas; but by the statute 39 Geo III c 37, reciting part of the above act of Hen VIII, all offences whatsoever, committed on the high seas, are made liable to the same punishments as if committed on shore, and are to be tried in the same manner as felonies are directed to be tried in the act therein recited, and persons tried for murder or manslaughter, and found guilty of manslaughter only, shall be entitled to the benefit of clergy, and be subject to the same punishment as if they had committed such manslaughter on land.

In the preceding Book we entered somewhat fully into the consideration of the question as to the right of juries to include in their verdict the point of law as well as of fact, first, generally, and secondly, in the particular case of libel. * But, whatever the rule of the common law may have been upon the subject, the general practice for a number of years had been to consider the question of criminality, in cases of libel, as a question of pure law for the determination of the judge. In the case, which we mentioned on a former occasion, † of *The King v The Dean of St Asaph*, ‡ and in the subsequent case of *The King v Withers*, § the law was declared by the court to be that, on the trial of an indictment for a libel, the only questions for the consideration of the jury are the fact of publishing and the truth of the innuendoes; and that whether the subject-matter be or be not libellous is a question of law for the consideration of the court. But, since this important question, involving the state of the law and practice both before and since the passing of Mr Fox's bill of 1792, cannot, as Mr Justice Coleridge has remarked, || be fully understood without reference to all the proceedings in the trial of the Dean of St Asaph, it will be necessary to enter more fully than we have done into the details of that trial. And this is the less

* See ante, vol. I p 232

† Vol I p 232

‡ *The King v The Dean of St Asaph*, 3 T R 429 note (c)

§ 3 T R 428

|| Blackst Comm. 158, note (14).

to be regretted, not only as it appears necessary to the full comprehension of a very important subject, but also as the trial gave occasion to that speech of Lord Erskine's of which Fox repeatedly declared that he thought it the finest argument in the English language.* Whether it was so or not, any composition, whether written or spoken, which was so characterised by such a man as Charles James Fox, must undoubtedly possess merits sufficient to render it well worth perusal, and, at all events, it is held in high professional estimation, as displaying perhaps the most perfect example of argument and eloquence united ever exhibited in Westminster Hall.

As we have already stated,† on the trial of the case at the Shrewsbury summer assizes in 1784, the jury, after a good deal of rather sharp discussion between the judge Mr Justice Buller, and the counsel, Mr. Erskine (from which we con-



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fers the impression upon the whole left on our minds was that the judge endeavoured to make the verdict mean more than the jury intended it should), ultimately returned a verdict that the dean was guilty of publishing, but whether it was a libel or not they did not find. On the 8th of November, the second day of the ensuing term, Mr Erskine moved the Court of King's Bench to set aside the verdict, on the ground of a misdirection of the judge, who had told the jury that the matter for them to decide was, whether the defendant was guilty of the fact or not‡ Mr Erskine began by stating to the court the substance of the indictment against the Dean of St. Asaph, which charged the publication with an intention to incite the people to subvert the government by armed rebellion, the mere evidence of the publication of the Dialogue, which the prosecutor had relied on to establish that malicious intention, and the manner in which the defendant had, by evidence of his real motives for publishing it, as contained in the advertisement, rebutted the truth of the epithets charged by the indictment. He then stated the substance of his speech to the jury at Shrewsbury,

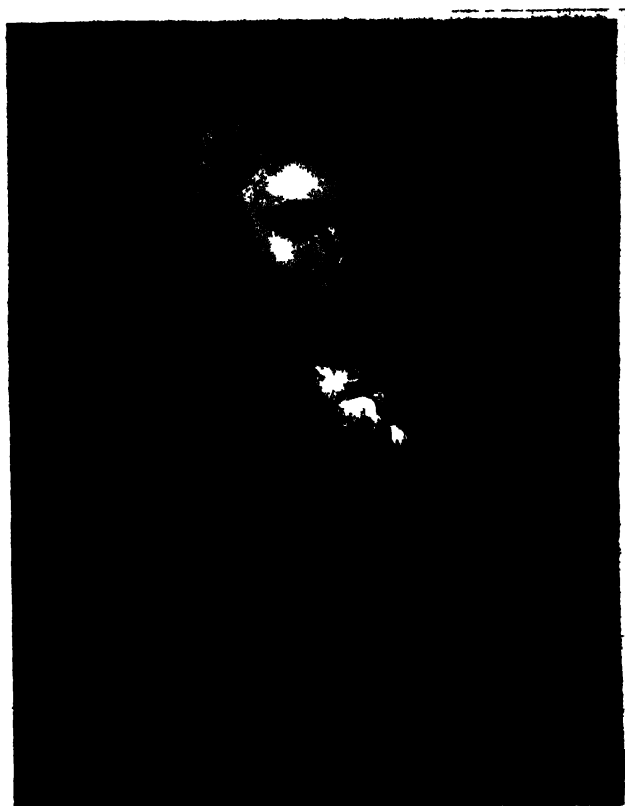
maintaining the legality of the Dialogue, the right of the jury to consider that legality, the injustice of a verdict affixing the epithet of "guilty" to a publication without first considering whether the thing published contained any "guilt," and, above all, the right which the jury unquestionably had (even upon the authority of those very cases urged against his client) to take the evidence into consideration by which the defendant sought to exculpate himself from the sedition intention charged by the indictment*

And we may remark upon this, that certainly the verdict "Guilty of publishing," but whether a libel or not the jury do not find, appears a contradiction in terms, leaving the point about which alone there was any question of guilt untouched, and affixing the epithet guilty to an act to which, with the other point undecided, it was wholly inapplicable. The act of publishing is legally as innocent an act as the act of breathing, or the act of walking, or the act of preaching. This last will afford an illustrative case. In the year 1670 Penn and Mead † two Quakers, being indicted for seditiously preaching to a multitude tumultuously assembled in Gracechurch-street, were tried before the recorder of London, who told the jury that they had nothing to do but to find whether the defendants had preached or not, for that whether the matter or the intention of their preaching were seditious were questions of law, and not of fact, which they were to keep to at their peril. The jury found Penn guilty of speaking to people in Gracechurch-street, and, on the recorder's telling them that they meant, no doubt, that he was speaking to a tumult of people there, he was informed by the foreman that they allowed of 10 such words in their finding, but adhered to their former verdict. The recorder refused to receive it, and desired them to withdraw, on which they again retired, and brought in a general verdict of acquittal, which the court considering as a contempt, set a fine of forty marks upon each of them, and wondemned them to be in prison till it was paid. Edward Bushel, one of the jurors, refused to pay his fine, and, being imprisoned in consequence of the refusal, sued out his writ of *habeas corpus*, which, with the cause of his commitment (viz his refusing to find according to the direction of the court in matter of law), was returned by the sheriffs of London to the Court of Common Pleas, when Lord Chief Justice Vaughan delivered his opinion as follows—"We must take off this veil and colour of words, which make a show of being something, but are in fact nothing. If the meaning of these words, finding against the direction of the court in matter of law, be, that if the judge, having heard the evidence given in court (for he knows no other), shall tell the jury, upon this evidence, that the law is for the crown, and they, under the pain of fine and imprisonment, are to find accord-

* State Trials, vol. xxi. p. 271. 272.
† See vol. i. pp. 282 283.
‡ 21 State Trials, 299.

* 21 State Trials, 345.

† Case of *Edw. Bushel*, Erskine in his speech at Shrewsbury on the trial of the Dean of St. Asaph, 21 St. Tr. 292. And see the case of Penn and Mead 4 St. Tr. 289.



ingly, every man sees that the jury is but a troublesome delay, great charge, and of no use in determining right and wrong, and therefore the trials by them may be better abolished than continued, which were a strange and new-found conclusion, after a trial so celebrated for many hundreds of years in this country." He then applied this doctrine with double force to criminal cases, and discharged the juror from his commitment.

This puts the question in its proper light. If the jury are not to determine questions of evidence, what are they to determine? The question whether Penn preached or did not preach is not more a question of evidence than the question whether he spoke or preached to a *tumult* of people. If it should be held that the jury may decide whether he spoke or did not speak, but not whether the people to whom he spoke were a tumult of people (or) a tumult of people, every man sees that by the language above cited of Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, that the jury is but a troublesome delay, at charge, and of no use in determining right or wrong. Whether a well-educated and powerful-minded judge is not likely to be far better qualified for weighing evidence than a jury, except under such circumstances as almost inevitably render the judge not wholly impartial and unprejudiced is in the case of prosecution for political offences is another question, which we are not called upon to discuss here. But the question we are here discussing is whether, if there is to be a trial by jury, that trial shall be a substantial reality or shall only "make a show of being such thing, while it is in fact nothing."

Now it is to be observed that this case is almost as the lawyers say, "on all fours" with the case of the *Dein of St Asaph*. In the latter case as in the former, we think it clear that the original intention of the jury was a general verdict of acquittal. Observe the terms in which they announce their verdict—

Associate—Gentlemen, do you find the defendant guilty or not guilty?

Foreman—Guilty of publishing *only*.

Mr Erskine—You find him guilty of publishing *only*?

A Juror—Guilty only of publishing.

Mr Justice Buller—I believe that is a verdict not quite correct. You, gentlemen of the Jury, must explain, one way or the other, whether you find the meaning of the innuendos. The indictment has stated that G means Gentleman, F, Farmer, the King, the King of Great Britain, and the Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain.*

One of the Jury—We have no doubt of that.

Mr Justice Buller—If you find him guilty of publishing, you must not say the word *only*.

Mr Erskine—By that they mean to find there was no sedition.

A Juror—We only find him guilty of publishing, we do not find anything else.

Mr Erskine—I beg your lordship's pardon, with great submission I am sure I mean nothing that is irregular. I understand they say, 'We only find him guilty of publishing.'

A Juror—Certainly, that is all we do find.

Mr Broderick—They have not found that it is a libel of and concerning the king and his government.

Mr Justice Buller—If you only attend to what is said, there is no question or doubt. If you are satisfied whether the letter G means gentleman, whether F means farmer, the King means King of Great Britain, the Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain—if they are all satisfied it is so—is there any other innuendo in the indictment?

Mr Lyndal—Yes, there is one more, upon the word *only*.

Mr Erskine—When the jury came into court, they gave, in the hearing of every man present, the very verdict that was given in the case of the King against Woodfall: they said, 'Guilty of publishing only.' Gentlemen, I desire to know whether you mean the word *only* to stand in your verdict.

One of the Jury—Certainly.

Another Juror—Certainly.

Mr Justice Buller—Gentlemen, if you add the word *only*, it will be negating the innuendos, it will be negating, that by the word King it means King of Great Britain, by the word Parliament, Parliament of Great Britain, by the letter F it means Farmer, and G, Gentleman—that I understand you do not mean.

A Juror—No.

Mr Erskine—My Lord, I say that will have the effect of a general verdict of guilty. I desire the verdict may be recorded. I desire your Lordship, sitting here as judge to record the verdict as given by the jury. If the jury depart from the word *only*, they alter their verdict.

Mr Justice Buller—I will take the verdict as they mean to give it: it shall not be altered. Gentlemen, if I understand you right, your verdict is this—you mean to say guilty of publishing this libel?

A Juror—No, the pamphlet we do not decide upon its being a libel.

Mr Justice Buller—You say he is guilty of publishing the pamphlet, and that the meaning of the innuendos is as stated in the indictment?

A Juror—Certainly.

Mr Erskine—Is the word *only* to stand part of your verdict?

A Juror—Certainly.

Mr Erskine—Then I insist it shall be recorded.

Mr Justice Buller—Then the verdict must be misunderstood. Let me understand the jury.

Mr Erskine—The jury do understand their verdict.

* 21 Gr Tr 950. In a note it is added that the Report published by Mr. Gurney differs considerably from that given in the Speeches of the Hon. Thomas Erskine. The latter is adopted here.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Sir, I will not be interrupted.

"*Mr. Erskine*—I stand here as an advocate for a brother citizen, and I desire that the word *only* may be recorded.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Sit down, Sir, remember your duty, or I shall be obliged to proceed in another manner.

"*Mr. Erskine*—Your lordship may proceed in what manner you think fit. I know my duty as well as your lordship knows yours. I shall not alter my conduct.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Gentlemen, if you say guilty of publishing only, you negative the meaning of the particular words I have mentioned.

"*A Juror*—Then we leg to go out.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—If you say guilty of publishing only, the consequence is this, that you negative the meaning of the different words I mentioned to you. That is the operation of the word *only*. They are endeavouring to make you give a verdict in words different from what you mean.

"*A Juror*—We should be very glad to be informed how it will operate.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—If you say nothing more, but find him guilty of publishing, and leave out the word *only*, the question of law is open upon the record, and they may apply to the Court of King's Bench, and move in arrest of judgment there. If they are not satisfied with the opinion of that court, either party has a right to go to the House of Lords, if you find nothing more than the simple fact. But if you add the word *only*, you do not find all the facts, you do not find, in fact, that the letter concerns Gentleman, that F means Farmer, the King, the King of Great Britain, and Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain.

"*A Juror*—We admit that.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Then you must leave out the word *only*.

"*Mr. Erskine*—I beg pardon. I beg to ask your lordship this question—Whether, if the jury find him guilty of publishing, leaving out the word *only*, and if the judgment is not arrested by the Court of King's Bench, whether the sedition does not stand recorded?

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—No, it does not, unless the pamphlet be a libel in point of law.

"*Mr. Erskine*—True, but can I say that the defendant did not publish it seditiously, if judgment is not arrested, but entered in the record?

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—I say it will not stand as proving the sedition. Gentlemen, I tell it you as law, and this is my particular satisfaction, as I told you when summing up the case. If in what I now say to you I am wrong in any instance, they have a right to move for a new trial. The law is this: if you find him guilty of publishing, without saying more, the question whether libel or not is open for the consideration of the court.

"*A Juror*—That is what we mean.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—If you say, guilty of

publishing *only*, it is an incomplete verdict, because of the word *only*.

"*A Juror*—We certainly mean to leave the matter of libel to the court.

"*Mr. Erskine*—Do you find sedition?

"*A Juror*—No, not so. We do not give any verdict upon it.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—I speak from adjudged cases. I will take the verdict when you understand it, and yourself in the words you give it. If you say, guilty of publishing only, there must be another trial.

"*A Juror*—We did not say so, only guilty of publishing.

"*Mr. Erskine*—Will your lordship allow it to be recorded thus, only guilty of publishing?

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—It is misundoubtedly.

"*Mr. Erskine*—The Jury say, only guilty of publishing. Once more, I desire that that verdict may be recorded.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—If you say, only guilty of publishing, then it is contrary to the immunities of Great Britain, the word King means the King of Great Britain, the word Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain, the G means Gentleman, and the F, Farmer, you may say this—Guilty of publishing, but whether a libel or not, the jury do not find.

"*A Juror*—Yes.

"*Mr. Erskine*—I asked this question of your lordship in the hearing of the jury—Whether upon the verdict you desire them to find the sedition which they have testified, will it be inferred by the court if judgment is not arrested?

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Will you attend? Do you give it in this way—Guilty of the publication, but whether a libel or not you do not find.

"*A Juror*—We do not find it a libel, my Lord, we do not decide upon it.

"*Mr. Erskine*—They find it no libel.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—You see what is attempted to be done?

"*Mr. Erskine*—I here is nothing wrong attempted upon my part. I ask this once again, in the hearing of the jury, and I desire an answer from your lordship as judge whether or no, when I come to move in arrest of judgment, and the court enter on judgment, and say it is a libel, whether I can afterwards say, in mitigation of punishment, the defendant was not guilty of publishing it with a seditious intent, when he is found guilty of publishing it in manner and form as stated, and whether the jury are not thus made to find him guilty of sedition, when, in the same moment, they say they did not mean to do so? Gentlemen, do you find him guilty of sedition?

"*A Juror*—We do not, neither one nor the other.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—Take the verdict.

"*Associate*—You say, Guilty of publishing, but whether a libel or not you do not find?

"*A Juror*—That is not the verdict.

"*Mr. Justice Buller*—You say, Guilty of pub-

lishing, but whether a libel or not you do not find—is that your meaning?

A Juror—That is our meaning

One of the Counsel—Do you leave the intention to the Court?

A Juror—Certainly

Mr Couper—The intention arises out of the record

Mr Justice Buller—And, unless it is clear upon the record, there can be no judgment upon it

Mr Berrisford—You mean to leave the law where it is?

A Juror—Certainly

Mr Justice Buller—The first verdict was as clear as could be—they only wanted it to be confounded”*



MR JUSTICE BULLER

It seems clear that all this amounted to a manifest intention on the part of the jury to return a general verdict of acquittal, out of which they were partly misled, partly beaten by the special pleading and authority of the learned judge. In fact, as we have seen, when the verdict “Guilty of publishing, but whether a libel or not you do not find,” was put into their mouths, one juror had the courage to say distinctly, “That is not the verdict.” More verily, as the court maintained, the question of libel or no libel was clearly a question for the determination of the judge, with which the jury had nothing to do, why add the words “but whether a libel or not, the jury do not find”? The manner and form in which these words are added to the substantive part of the verdict, imply that the jury had the power, if they chose to exercise it, of deciding the question of libel or no libel. The extract given above, though somewhat long, appears necessary to make this important question intelligible, for it throws considerable light upon the anomalous state into which the practice of the courts as regarded libel had fallen before the introduction of Mr Fox’s bill. It is certainly not very easy to perceive the repugnancy which Mr Justice Buller strives to establish between the words of the verdict, “Guilty of publishing only,” and the meaning of the different words mentioned, viz that the

letter G means Gentleman, that F means Farmer, the King, the King of Great Britain, and Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain. The learned judge tells the jury that if they say “Guilty of publishing only,” they thereby negative the meaning of the different words above mentioned. We cannot say that we see this consequence as flowing from these premises. The jury had read the Dialogue which was the subject matter of the prosecution, and they knew as well as the judge what was the meaning of the innuendos. Nevertheless, it did not appear to them that the publication was a libel. The assertion of the judge, that the verdict, “Guilty of publishing only,” negatives the meaning of the above-mentioned words, seems grounded on the assumption that the publication was libellous, in other words, on taking for granted the whole question at issue. Mr Justice Buller said that the effect of adding the word *only* to the verdict was, that, if the jury added that word, they did not find all the facts. Here the learned judge would seem to have entrapped himself by assuming too much even for his own argument. Whatever difference of opinion might have existed as to the legal competency of the jury to meddle with the question of law, there existed none as to the question of fact being their peculiar province. Now, for the sake of argument, giving to the adverb *only* the meaning here claimed for it by Mr Justice Buller, what is the meaning of the conclusion, that, if the jury added the word *only* to their verdict, it would amount to their not finding all the facts? Let it be granted that they did not find all the facts. What follows? They sit there as judges of the facts, at least. And what does that mean, but having the power to determine whether certain evidence is strong enough to establish certain facts, or is not? And what else does the not finding all the facts mean but the finding that there is evidence sufficient to establish some of the facts, but not evidence sufficient to establish others of the facts? If a jury are not to do this, they are a mere word, a mockery—and not merely a mockery and nothing more, for they are a very cumbersome, troublesome, and costly mockery. The repugnancy in the verdict alluded to above, as asserted by the judge, might be this: that the jury’s admission of the meaning of the innuendos (as above explained) implied their admission of all the facts contended for by the judge, while their addition of the word *only* to their verdict implied a non-admission of all the facts in the sense of the learned judge. But we apprehend that the jury might very well admit the meaning of the innuendos, without being held thereby to have admitted all the facts. If when we use the terms “question of law,” and “question of fact,” is to be understood in the one case a question of pure law, and in the other a question of pure fact, we see that, when the question has for its subject-matter the construing the meaning of certain words singly, or of certain combinations of words joined together so as to form sentences, it can only be a question of pure law where the law

* 21 Q. Tr. 95, 951, 958, 959. note

has affixed certain defined and unambiguous significations to certain words, or combinations of words, as, for example, to the language of pleading and conveyancing. Where the law has not done this, the question is no more a question of pure law than the question of the meaning of the words of an Egyptian inscription, a Greek chorus, or a German metaphysician, is a question of pure law. Applying these principles to the case before us, we find that the question of the meaning and intent of the 'Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer' is just as little a question of pure law, and just as much a question of fact, as the questions of publication, and of the meaning of the *innuendoes*, as they are called. Consequently, the logical net in which the learned judge seemed to think the jury were entangled would seem to have extended over more than the jury, and the logical process by which his lordship endeavoured to show that the jury had fallen into an absurd and inconsistent conclusion appears insufficient for that purpose.

It has been contended, in favour of the practice of considering the criminality of a paper charged to be a libel as a question of pure law for the determination of the judge, that this was the most favourable course for the defendant, because the question of criminality must then be either on the record, or in the direction of the judge, and of course always subject to reconsideration for the defendant by writ of error, or on motion for a new trial. "In fact, however," observes Mr Justice Coleridge, in one of the notes to his edition of Blackston's 'Commentaries,'* "it was attended with this heavy disadvantage to him, that, whenever the publication and the meaning of the paper as charged were found against him, he was almost uniformly convicted in the first instance, for the very reason that such conviction was so reviewable." The above argument, too, savours somewhat of the character of the argument used by Mr Justice Buller on the trial of the Dean of St Asaph at Shrewsbury, viz. "that, if he should declare it to be no libel, and the jury, adopting that opinion, should acquit the defendant, he should thereby deprive the prosecutor of his right of appeal upon the record, which was one of the dearest birthrights of the subject." Upon which Mr Erskine, in the speech on his motion for a new trial, made the following observations—"The learned judge then said, that as to whether the Dialogue, which was the subject of the prosecution, was criminal or innocent, he should not even hint an opinion, for that, if he should declare it to be no libel, and the jury, adopting that opinion, should acquit the defendant, he should thereby deprive the prosecutor of his right of appeal upon the record, which was one of the dearest birthrights of the subject. That the law was equal as between the prosecutor and defendant, and that there was no difference between criminal and civil cases. I am desirous not to interrupt the state of

the trial by observations, but cannot help remarking, that justice to the prosecutor, as standing exactly in equal scales with a prisoner, and in the light of an adverse party in a civil suit, was the first reason given by the learned judge why the jury should at all events find the defendant guilty, without investigating his guilt. This was telling the jury in the plainest terms, that they could not find a general verdict in favour of the defendant without an act of injustice to the prosecutor, who would be shut out by it from his writ of error, which he was entitled to by law, and which was the best birthright of the subject. It was, therefore, an absolute denial of the right of the jury, and of the judge also, as no right can exist which necessarily works a wrong in the exercise of it. If the prosecutor had by law a right to have the question on the record, the judge and jury were both tied up at the trial, the one from directing, and the other from finding, a verdict which disappointed that right. If the prosecutor had a right to have the question upon the record, for the purpose of appeal, by the jury confining themselves to the fact of publication, which would leave that question open, it is impossible to say that the jury had a right likewise to judge of the question of libel, and to acquit the defendant, which would deprive the prosecutor of that right. There cannot be contradictory rights, the exercise of one destroying and annihilating the other. I shall discuss this new claim of the prosecutor upon a future occasion, for the present, I will venture to say, that no man has a right—a property—or a beneficial interest in the punishment of another. A prosecution at the instance of the crown has public justice alone, and not private vengeance, for its object in prosecutions for murder and felonies, and most other misdemeanors, the prosecutor can have no such pretence, since the record does not comprehend the offence. Why he should have it in the case of a libel, I would gladly be informed.*"

And again, in his speech on the 15th of November, when cause was shown by the counsel for the crown why there should not be a new trial—"If the prosecutor in every case has a birthright by law to have the question of libel left open upon the record, which it can only be by a verdict of conviction on the single fact of publishing, no legal right can at the same time exist in the jury to shut out that question by a verdict of acquittal founded upon the merits of the publication, or the innocent mind of the publisher. Rights that are repugnant and contradictory cannot be co-existent. The jury can never have a constitutional right to do an act beneficial to the defendant, which when done deprives the prosecutor of a right which the same constitution has vested in him. No right can belong to one person, the exercise of which in every instance must necessarily work a wrong to another. If the prosecutor of a libel has in every instance the privilege to try the merits of his prosecution

* 4 Bl Comm 103 note (18).

* 21 St Tr 938 939

before the judges, the jury can have no right in any instance to preclude his appeal to them by a general verdict for the defendant

“The jury, therefore, from this part of the charge, must necessarily have felt themselves absolutely limited (I might say even in their powers) to the fact of publication because the highest restraint upon good men is to convince them that they cannot break loose from it without injustice, and the power of a good subject is never more effectually destroyed than when he is made to believe that the exercise of it will be a breach of his duty to the public, and a violation of the laws of his country.”

"But, since equal justice between the prosecutor and the defendant is the pretence for this abridgment of jurisdiction, let us examine a little how it is affected by it. Do the prosecutor and the defendant really stand upon an equal footing by this mode of proceeding? With what decency this can be alleged I leave those to answer who know that it is only by the indulgence of Mr. Beaulieu for the prosecution, that my reverend client is not at this moment in prison,* while we are discussing this noble equality. Besides, my lord, the judgment of this court, though not final in the constitution, and therefore not binding on the prosecutor, is absolutely conclusive on the defendant. If your lordships pronounce the record to contain no libel, and arrest the judgment on the verdict, the prosecutor may carry it to the House of Lords, and, pending his writ of error, remains untouched by your lordships' decision; but, if judgment be against the defendant, it is only at the discretion of the crown (as it is said), and not of right, that he can prosecute any writ of error at all, and, even if he finds no obstruction in that quarter, it is but at the best an appeal for the benefit of public liberty, from which he himself can have no personal benefit, for the writ of error being *no supersedeas*, the punishment is inflicted on him in the meantime. In the case of Mr. Horne, this court imprisoned him for publishing a libel upon its own judgment, pending his appeal from its decision, and he had suffered the utmost rigour which the law imposed upon him as a crime [criminal?], at the time that the House of Lords, with the assistance of the twelve judges of England, were gravely assembled to determine whether he had been guilty of any crime. I do not mention this case as hard or rigorous on Mr. Horne, as an individual—it is the general course of practice, but surely that practice ought to put an end to this argument of equality between prosecutor and prisoner. It is adding insult to injury to tell an innocent man who is in a dungeon, pending his writ of error, and of whose innocence both judge and jury were convinced at the trial, that he is in equal

scales with his prosecutor, who is at large, because he has an opportunity of deciding, after the expiration of his punishment, that the prosecution had been unfounded and his sufferings unjust. By parity of reasoning, a prisoner in a capital case might be hanged in the meantime for the benefit of equal justice, leaving his executors to fight the battle out with his prosecutor upon the record, through every court in the kingdom, by which at last his attainer might be reversed, and the blood of his posterity remain uncorrupted. What justice can be more impartial or equal? *

Mr Erskine grounded his motion for a new trial on the following four propositions —†

1 That, when a bill of indictment is found, or an information filed, charging any crime or misdemeanor known to the law of England, and the party accused puts himself upon the country by pleading the general issue, "Not Guilty," the jury are generally charged with his deliverance from that crime, and not specially from the fact or facts in the commission of which the indictment or information charges the crime to consist, much less from any single fact, to the exclusion of others charged upon the same record

2 That no act which the law in its general theory holds to be criminal constitutes in itself a crime, abstracted from the mischievous intention of the actor, and that the intention, even where it becomes a simple inference of reason from a fact or facts established, may and ought to be collected by the jury, with the judge's assistance because the act charged, though established as a fact in a trial on the general issue, does not necessarily and unavoidably establish the criminal intention by any abstract conclusion of law, the establishment of the fact being still no more than *evidence* of the crime, but not the CRIME ITSELF, unless the jury render it so themselves by referring it voluntarily to the court, by special verdict.

3 The two former propositions, on which his motion was founded, applying to all criminal cases, and a distinction having always been taken between libels and other crimes by those who support the doctrines he was combating, Mr Erskine maintained that an indictment for a libel, even where the slander of an individual is the object of it (which is capable of being measured by precedents of justice), forms no exception to the jurisdiction or duties of juries, or the practice of judges in other criminal cases, that the argument for the difference, viz because the whole crime always appears upon the record, is false in fact, and, even if true, would form no solid or substantial difference in law † Mr Erskine then cited the famous case put by Algernon Sidney, as the best illustration of this proposition The case put was this "Suppose a bookseller, having published the Bible, was indicted in these words 'That, intending to promote atheism and irreligion, he had blasphemously printed and published the following

* L r l Mandell or here l the lean t le committion tle mo
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be at l p t t t con n t f r l s a p p l i c a n c e i n o r t on co v i
tion l p n v l ch M i B k i t g a v l s con v e r t t t l l e n
s h o l d remain at l a r g e u p o n b u i l — N o t e t ' L o r d E r a h n s
b o n e t h e s

ing false and profane libel.—There is no God.* The learned judge said, that a person unjustly accused of publishing a libel might always demur* to the indictment, this is an instance to the contrary: on the face of such a record, by which the demurrer can alone be determined, it contains a complete criminal charge. The defendant, therefore, would plead Not guilty, and go down to trial, when the prosecutor of course could only produce the Bible to support the charge, by which it would appear to be only a verse in the proverbs of Solomon, viz. 'The fool has said in his heart, There is no God,' and that the context had been omitted to constitute the libel. The jury, shocked at the imposition, would only wait the judge's direction to acquit, but, consistently with the principles which have governed in the Dean of St Asaph's trial how could he be acquitted?—The judges must say, you have nothing to do but with the fact, that the defendant published the words *lai* in the *information*. But, says the adversary, the distinction is obvious, reading the sacred context to the jury would enable them to negative the innuendoes which are within their province to reject and which being rejected, would destroy the charge. The answer is obvious *such an indictment* would contain no innuendo on which a negative could be put, for, if the record charged that the defendant blasphemously published that there was no God it would require no innuendo to explain it. Driven from that argument, the adversary must say, that the jury by the context would be enabled to negative the epithets contained in the introduction, and could never pronounce it to be blasphemous. But the answer to that is equally conclusive, for it was said, in the case of the king against Woodfall, that these epithets were mere formal inferences of law, from the fact of publishing that which, on the record, was a libel. When the defendant was convicted, it could not appear to the court that the defendant only published the Bible. The court could not look off the record, which says, that the defendant blasphemously published that there was no God. The judge, maintaining these doctrines, would not, however, forget the respect due to the religion of his country, though the law of it had escaped him. He would tell the jury, that it should be remembered in mitigation of punishment, and the honest bookseller of Paternoster Row, when he came up in custody to receive judgment, would be let off for a small fine, upon the judges' report that he had only published a new copy of the Bible, but not till he had been a month in the King's Bench prison, while this knotty point of divinity was in discussion. This case has stood invulnerable for above a hundred years, and it remains still for Mr Bearcroft to answer." After some further observations on this

head, Mr Erskine thus continued "If the court shall grant me a rule, I mean to contend, 4thly, that a seditious libel contains no question of law, but, supposing the court should deny the legality of all these propositions, or, admitting their legality, resist the conclusion I have drawn from them, then the last proposition, in which I am supported even by all those authorities on which the learned judge relies for the doctrines contained in this charge, is this

"5 That in all cases where the mischievous intention (which is agreed to be the essence of the crime) cannot be collected by simple inference from the fact charged, because the defendant goes into evidence to rebut such inference, the intention becomes then a pure unmixed question of fact, for the consideration of the jury."

Lord Mansfield, in delivering the judgment of the court in this famous case, made some interesting observations, to the effect that, from the Revolution down to that time, nearly a hundred years, the direction of every judge, as far as it could be traced, had been consonant to the doctrine of Mr Justice Buller, viz. that the matter for the jury to decide was, whether the defendant was guilty of the fact or not, and that no counsel had complained of it by an application to the court. "Counsel for the Crown," observed his lordship, "to remove the prejudices of the jury and to satisfy the bystanders, have expatiated upon the enormity of the libel. Judges, with the same view, have sometimes done the same thing, both have done it wisely with another view, to obviate the captivating harangues of defendants' counsel to the jury, that they can and ought to find that, in law, the paper is no libel. But the formal direction of every judge under which every lawyer has so far acquiesced as not to complain of it to the court, seems to me, ever since the Revolution, to have been agreeable to the direction given in this case. It is difficult to cite cases, the trials are not printed, unless a question arise, notes are not taken, nobody takes a note of a direction of course not disputed. We must as in all cases of tradition, trace backwards, and presume, from the usage which is remembered, that the preceding usage was the same."[†] His lordship then alluded to the case of the 'Craftsman,' of which he gave the following interesting account, from personal observation. "The Craftsman" was a celebrated party paper, written in opposition to the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, by many men of high rank and great abilities, the whole party espoused it. It was thought proper to prosecute the famous Hague letter, I was at the trial, it happens to be printed in the 9th vol of 'State Trials,' 255 †. There was a great concourse great expectation, and many persons of high rank were present to countenance the defendant. Mr Fazakerley and Mr Bootle were the leading counsel for the defendant, they

* The technical meaning of the terms. *demur* both in common law and in its pleadings is an impleading by one party of the truth of the facts as stated by the opposite party. It is a denial of the inference of law drawn from those facts by the other party. See Stephens's Pleadings, 11 64 6 5 7 & Mitford's Pleadings in equity 1 66

* 21 State Trials in 966 967

† 17 in Regis 4 8 (in n)

‡ Or vol xvii 1 625 follow the collection of State Trials

started every objection and laboured every point, and, when the judge overruled them, he usually said, 'If I am wrong, you know where to apply'. The judge was Lord Chief Justice Raymond, who had been eminent at the bar in the reign of Queen Anne, solicitor and attorney-general in the reign of George I., and intimately connected with Sir Edward Northey, so that he must have known what the ancient practice had been. The cause was so blended with party passion that it required his utmost attention, yet, when he came to sum up, and direct, he did it as of course, just as Mr Justice Buller did on this occasion. Mr Fazakerly and Mr Boutle, very able lawyers, and connected in party with the writers of the 'Craftsman', never thought of complaining to the court. The other trials before Lord Raymond are not printed, nor to be found in any notes, but, to be sure, his direction in all was to the same effect. I recollect once, where the 'Craftsman' was acquitted, from a bill made by Mr Pulteney —

After the trial of Mr Almon, in 1771, for the republication of 'Junius, Mr Burke brought a bill into parliament to settle the point. It was thrown out, but in 1791 Mr Fox brought in a bill almost in terms the same, which was finally passed in 1792. By section 1 the jury, on the trial of an indictment or information for libel, may give a general verdict upon the whole matter put in issue, and shall not be required by the court to find the defendant guilty merely on the proof of the publication, and of the sense ascribed to the paper in the indictment or information. The 2nd section provides that the court shall give their opinion and directions to the jury on the matter in issue between the king and the defendant or defendants, as in other criminal cases, and the 3rd section provides that the jury may, as in other criminal cases, find a special verdict. The 4th section provides that the defendants may move on arrest of judgment, as before the passing of this act.

In the course of the debates upon this bill the following question (among others) was put by the Lords to the Judges "supposing the publication clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper as clearly manifest, is it competent for the judge to recommend a verdict of Not guilty?" The answer was in the affirmative, "but," it is added, "no case has occurred in which it would have been, in sound discretion, fit for a judge, sitting at *Nisi prius*, to have given such direction or recommendation."

ation to a jury." And the line of argument that follows is that, even in apparently the clearest cases, the judge may be wrong, and that therefore the safe course for him is that which leaves his direction open to review. "It is obvious," observes Mr Justice Coleridge, "that this was full of practical hardship to the defendant, and that it was a declining from that proper responsibility in the judge, which the public has a right to expect, and without which trials at *Nisi prius* in general would lose half their value." *

We conclude these observations on the law of libel with the following remark of Mr Justice Coleridge, in the note above referred to: "The advocates of the bill, both in and out of parliament (and no one more powerfully than its real author, the late Lord Erskine), uniformly contended that it was to prevent and not to produce an anomaly in the criminal law, and that their sole object was to give the jury the same power, and no other, in a trial for libel as in a trial for murder. This should be always borne in mind, and so long as it is, the bill will be productive of great benefit: but the object of the bill is very easily misrepresented, for the bill itself rests upon a somewhat subtle proposition, and it is not to be wondered at if juries have been sometimes persuaded that in cases of libel they were invested with new and extraordinary powers, while, in the words of John Luburn, the judge was reduced to a mere cypher. Whenever this happens, the bill is indirectly the source of much mischief."

IV—MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION.

Formerly, acts of parliament were considered to have passed, and their operation to have commenced, on the first day of the session in which they were passed but by the statute 33 Geo III c 13, all acts, private as well as public, commence their operation (except where another period of commencement is provided) from the day on which they receive the royal assent, which day is directed to be indorsed on every act immediately after the title, and to be considered as part of the act. The correct mode of describing a statute made previously to the above statute 33 Geo III c 13, is to describe it as of the year in which the session began, even although it was in fact passed in a subsequent year of the reign, the session having extended into that subsequent year. But statutes passed since the above act of Geo III, being referred to the date of the royal assent as the period of their commencement, will be correctly described as of the year when they received the royal assent, though the session in which they passed extended into that year from another. If the royal assent was given in the latter of the two years, it would be inaccurate to describe them as of the former year alone. The following two examples, the first of incorrect, the second of correct description of an act of parliament, are given in an able article

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on this subject in 'The Jurist' of April 2, 1842 "Thus, the Copyhold Commutation Act, 4 and 5 Vict c 85, appears to be improperly described in some of the forms that it provides, as an act passed in the *fourth* year of the reign, the royal assent having been given to it on the 21st of June, 1841, the second day of the fifth year. On the other hand, the act relating to the qualification of members of parliament (1 and 2 Vict c 48, royal assent July 27, 1838) is correctly mentioned, in the form of declaration therein prescribed, as an act passed in the second year of the reign."

"And in either case," continues the same writer, "whether the statute was passed before or since the act of Geo III, it is, in pleading, fatal, and in any kind of document inaccurate, to describe a statute as passed in two years of a reign, though the session of parliament in which it was passed extended from the one year into the other. But in all cases where the session extended from one year into another, whether the statute was passed before or after the act of Geo III, and whether it was passed in the first or the second of the two years, the most safe and accurate method, and that prescribed by the court in the cases both of *R v Biers*,* and *Gibbs v Pike*,† is to describe it as 'passed in the session of parliament held' in those years, for this, it is evident, will prevent the possibility of any exception being taken to the correctness of the statement, or of any confusion with the acts of another session. This mode of statement is followed in the act for the further amendment of the law, 3 & 4 Wm IV c 42 (in act whose authorship is attributed to one of the most distinguished ornaments of the bench), which, in § 16, refers to 'the statute passed in the session of parliament held in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of King William the Third intitled,' &c." In the same paper is mentioned a peculiar exception to these rules that came under consideration in the case of *Rynn v Green*‡. The declaration described a statute on which the action was brought to be a statute of the 4th of Philip and Mary, whereas the record, when produced in evidence, appeared to be of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary. It was contended that the former was the true description of the statute, it being made in the fourth year of their joint reign. Lord Mansfield said, "It is impossible to get over this objection. The only question is, whether this is a variance in the description of the material ground of action. In some reigns, as in Car II and Geo II, it happens that the parliament meets in one year of the reign, and continues during part of the next year. In that case the method is to entitle the acts passed of *both* years. But, in point of law, acts of parliament which do not, in words, confine the commencement to a particular day, or where the commencement does not appear from the subject-matter, refer to the first day of the session, and, therefore, supposing this to be

an act of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, according to such method, it would in truth be a statute of the 4th, and ought to be so set forth. But in this case it is different. Philip, by act of parliament, has the style of king, but his being so entitled does not annihilate the first year of the reign of Queen Mary. Therefore from that time the statutes are entitled the 1st and 2nd, the 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, and so on, that is, the 1st of Philip and 2nd of Mary, &c. Here the declaration describes the statute to be of the 4th of Philip and Mary. Upon the parliament roll being produced, it appears to be an act passed in the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary. The statute, therefore, described in the declaration is different from the statute produced, and, in fact, there is no act in the statute-book of the 4th of Philip and Mary." The following additional remarks and suggestions, which we copy from the same paper, will be found to be practically useful. "The decisions we have been considering have all taken place on matters of pleading, and, though there may not be the same motives for exacting the observance of this scrupulous correctness in other documents, for example, in those that occupy the attention of the conveyancing draftsman, as the same fatal consequences are not risked, yet, even there, the nicest accuracy and propriety of verbal details might be advantageously studied, by following the method of describing a statute recommended in *R v Biers* wherever it may be consistent with the desirable perspicuity and terseness of expression. In the conveyance by release, indeed, the inconvenience of lengthening the parenthetical mention of the statute 4 and 5 Vict c 21, interposed between the nominative and the verb in the operative part of the deed, would seem to present a sufficient reason for adhering to the usual form of referring to it as 'an act passed in the fourth year of the reign of her present majesty,' &c, since, as we have seen, that mode of stating it (the act having received the royal assent on the 16th of May, 1841) seems to be fully warranted even on the strict principles of pleading, by the authorities to which we have called our readers' attention. In the case, however, of statutes which received the royal assent in the latter of two years in which the session was holden, convenience requires that they should be described as of both years, in order to distinguish them from statutes in a subsequent session commencing or held in the same year, and, consequently, that the method should be adopted of stating them as statutes 'passed in the session of parliament held in the —th and —th years of the reign,' &c. The plan of describing the statutes passed in the first of the two years in which the session was held as statutes of that first year alone, and those passed in the second year as statutes of both years, has also this advantage, that it agrees with the mode adopted by the queen's printer in the copies printed by him, and this authority has been referred to, as at least presumptive evidence of the authentic text

* 1 All E. 777. 3 N. & Mann. 4.
† 6 W. 3rd Wels. 241. ‡ 10 W. 4.

of the title of a modern statute, in the case of *Rex v. Barnett* (3 Camp 345), where the title of a statute (one in the 5th year of Elizabeth), in the copy of the act lately printed by the king's printer, being different to [from] that in Ruffhead's edition of the statutes, Lord Ellenborough said that, in the case of a recent statute, he should have acted upon the copy printed by the king's printer, but, with regard to a statute of Queen Elizabeth, he should consider Ruffhead to be correct till the contrary was proved by an examination of the parliament roll."

The history of the National Finances during the present period is marked by some very important operations on the part of the legislature and the government, which collectively, and in conjunction with the events of the time, wrought great changes in our system of taxation and revenue.

The commencement of peace and of Mr Pitt's administration was signalled by both a revision and readjustment of some of the old taxes and the imposition of a good many new ones. As soon as he found himself in possession of real power, as well as of place, by his commanding majority in the new House of Commons, which assembled in May 1794, he set vigorously to work with his financial reforms. On the 21st of June, the House having on his motion resolved itself into a committee to consider of the laws for the prevention of smuggling, he rose to bring forward his famous scheme for what was called the Commutation Tax, being a tax to be levied on windows in lieu of the greater portion, which he proposed to abolish, of the existing tax on tea. The article of tea he described as the staple of smuggling, an illicit trade was also carried on in other commodities, but its extent was insignificant compared with the smuggling of tea. At this time all the tea sold by the East India Company was no more than 5 500 000 lbs., while the quantity consumed within the kingdom was calculated to amount to above 13 000 000 lbs. The duties to which the article was subject more than doubled its cost to the fur dealer: they amounted to 119 per cent upon its price at the Company's sales, producing a revenue to the government of nearly 800,000*l*. Of this sum Pitt proposed to sacrifice about 600,000*l*, and to raise for the future only about 170,000*l* on tea, by a tax of 12½ per cent, recovering the 600,000*l* by means of a tax on windows. The measure was warmly opposed, but it was carried, and, in so far as regarded the putting down of the illicit trade in tea, it had all the success that the minister anticipated. The immediate effect was that the legal imports of tea were almost trebled. We may here notice, however, that in a few years the exigencies of the war with France compelled a gradual return to the old system of a high duty upon this article, till, from 25 per cent, to which the tax was raised in 1795, it at last mounted to 96 per cent in 1806, and to 100 per cent on all except the cheapest descriptions of teas in 1819.

But Pitt's Commutation Act had nevertheless driven the trade into a legitimate channel, from which it never again deviated to anything like the same extent as before. This successful experiment in the case of tea was afterwards followed up by similar diminutions of the duties on wines, tobacco, and other articles on which the smuggler had in like manner laid his hands.

When he opened the budget, on the 30th of June following, Pitt announced a long catalogue of other new taxes which he proposed to add to that on windows. As finally arranged, they were laid on candles, bricks, tiles, hats, horses, British linens and cottons, and the bleaching and dyeing of those fabrics, ribands, gauzes, paper, hackney coaches, gold and silver plate, lead exported, raw and thrown silk imported, the postage of letters, licences for retailing beer, &c., and for making and dealing in various excisable commodities, and qualifications for shooting,—the whole being calculated to produce a revenue of 930 000*l* so as to give an excess of 650,000*l* over the interest of a loan at the same time contracted of 6,000,000*l*. The next session lengthened this list by taxes on male servants (in addition to that already existing), on female servants, on salt, on retail shops, on post horses, on gloves, on pawnbrokers' licences, on coachmakers, on dogs, on wheeled carriages, on bachelors, on attorneys, and on warrants of attorney. In his speech on opening the budget this year (9th May, 1785), Pitt expressed, in strong terms, the reluctance with which he found himself compelled to press on the country with these additional imposts. "The accumulated burthens," he said, "that had for a series of years been heaped upon the people made them, no doubt, hope and expect that the era of peace would be a time of retrenchment and a day of ease. Hard, therefore, was the task of a minister whose duty, from his situation, led him to the necessity of still adding, even under these circumstances, to those taxes and to those burthens. He had therefore to hope for the indulgence of the committee. After taxes the most palatable, after taxes the most popular, and when the resources of each had been drained to their utmost the means by which money was to be raised could not meet with that general agreeable reception which, otherwise, might be expected. Some, indeed, still existed, which possibly might be called productive, but the means, in his opinion, though in one degree palatable, yet, in another, were pernicious. They disguised the poison at the very time they administered the supposed remedy, and, by disguising, aggravated to a certainty the burthens of the people." His painful task he had set out by describing as forced upon him by the necessity of "providing for the exigencies of the late calamitous and unprofitable war, in order to bring back the country to its former vigour and importance, and give stability to its strength and prosperity." But "he must," he said, "remind the committee, that, however unwelcome the task of imposing them, yet from these

burthens one great, one long wished for event was to arise—a real fund towards paying off the national debt, and he remained most strongly confirmed in opinion of a probability that this event would finally happen.”

In a short speech delivered about a month before this (on the 11th of April), Pitt had laid before the House the general state of the national income and expenditure, and had endeavoured to show that, from the rate at which the productiveness of the taxes was increasing, there was reason to expect a future annual surplus of not less than 1,840,000*l* for a sinking fund. The original sinking fund, established in 1717, in the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and usually designated by his name, although the idea was that of his colleague, the first Lord Stanhope,* still remained in nominal existence but had not for some years past exerted even any apparent effect in the reduction of the debt. Its average annual amount in the beginning of the reign of George III was somewhat above 2,000,000*l*, by 1776 it had risen to 3,165,517*l*, and even under the check given to consumption and commercial activity during the colonial war, the produce of the fixed taxes which had been formally set apart for this object was 2,685,689*l* in 1777, 2,442,063*l* in 1778, 2,267,399*l* in 1779, and 2,403,017*l* in 1780. But these sums had all been absorbed by the urgent demands of the public service. It is calculated, by Dr Price, that from the date of the first alienation of this sinking fund, in 1733† to the year 1786, the whole amount of debt paid off by it was no more than about 5,500,000*l*—namely, 3,000,000*l* in 1736 and 1737, 3,000,000*l* during the peace between 1748 and 1756, and 2,500,000*l* in the peace between 1763 and 1775. “On the whole,” observes Dr Hamilton “this fund did little in time of peace, and nothing in time of war, to the discharge of the national debt. The purpose of its inviolable application was abandoned, and the hopes entertained of its powerful efficacy entirely disappointed. At this time the nation had no other free revenue except the land and malt taxes, granted annually, and, as the land tax during peace was then granted at a low rate, the produce was inadequate to the expense of a peace establishment on the most moderate scale. This gave occasion to the encroachments on the sinking fund. Had the land tax been always continued at four shillings in the pound, it would have gone far to keep the sinking fund, during peace, inviolate.”§

It was not, however, till the 7th of March, 1786, in the next session of parliament, that Pitt brought forward his plan for a new sinking fund|| The bill||, which was immediately introduced for carry-

ing it into effect, met with little opposition, except in the Upper House from Earl Stanhope, who had a project of his own which he wished to substitute, and it received the royal assent on the 26th of May, under the title of ‘An Act for vesting certain sums in Commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the Reduction of the National Debt.’* By this act, to quote the abstract of its provisions given by Dr Hamilton, “the various branches of revenue then existing were united under the name of the Consolidated Fund. One million, taken from that fund, was vested annually in the hands of commissioners for the redemption of the national debt, to be applied for purchasing capital in such stocks as they should judge expedient at the market prices. To this fund was to be added the interest of the debt redeemed, and annuities fallen in by the failure of lives, or the expiry of the terms for which they were granted, and life annuities unclaimed for three years were considered as expired, and added to the sinking fund. When this fund amounted to four millions, it was enacted that the interest of the redeemed debt, and annuities fallen in, were no longer to be applied to it, but remain at the disposal of parliament.”† The commissioners appointed by the act were the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, and the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England.

The consolidated fund established by this act is not to be confounded with another measure, the general consolidation of the customs and excise duties, which was effected in the following year by the 27 Geo III c 13 commonly called the Consolidation Act. The various duties in question, imposed at different times and upon all sorts of principles, had grown to such a mass of intricacy and confusion, that “merchants and other individuals,” has been stated, “finding it impossible to obtain the knowledge of the amount, or even the number, of the duties they had to pay were obliged to leave it entirely to those clerks of the custom-house or excise-office who, by constant practice, had acquired a dexterity in it, to determine the amount of the duties payable.”‡ By the Consolidation Act all the existing duties and drawbacks were at once repealed, and others imposed, each of which was stated in one distinct sum, and apportioned upon the value or quantity of the article. The act encountered some opposition in its passage through parliament, directed principally against a part of it which was occupied with regulations for carrying into effect the treaty of commerce shortly before concluded with France, but when his plan for the consolidation of the duties was first announced by Pitt, on the 26th of February, 1787, it was warmly welcomed from all sides. As soon as the minister had resumed his seat, Burke rose and said “that, upon the whole, the measure pro-

* See *Pict. Hist. of Eng.* iv. 686

† 11 p. 687

‡ *Rev. Ant.* vol. i. p. 685

§ It is concerning the National Debt § 1 edit 1818 p. 140
|| It was one of three different schemes which had been communicated to him by Dr Price. The scheme was printed in *A Review of the Writings of Dr Price*, with a preface by the President of his Kingdom, by William Morgan Esq. 1835. Price 9 only 1 w. 1870 1798 and 2nd edit 1795

* 26 Geo III c 81

† *Eng. ltr.* p. 14

‡ *Manchester Ann.* also of *Commons* etc. iv. 124

posed was, in itself, so obviously necessary beneficial, and desirable, and the right honourable gentleman had opened it with such extraordinary clearness and perspicuity, that he thought it did not become him, or those who, like him, unfortunately felt it to be their duty frequently to oppose the measures of government, to content themselves with a sullen acquiescence, but it behoved them to rise up manfully, and, doing justice to the right honourable gentleman's merit to return him thanks, on behalf of themselves and the country, for having in so masterly and intelligible a manner brought forth a plan of consolidation of duties which promoted ease and accommodation to the merchants, and all those concerned in the trade and commerce of the country, and advantage and increase to the revenue."

On the 17th of February, 1792, Pitt submitted to the House of Commons a plan of a second sinking fund which was also adopted by the legislature, and an act passed for carrying it into effect.* Its principle was to make every future loan carry with it the means of its own liquidation in about fifty five years, by one per cent of its amount being set apart for that purpose and the dividends on the capital thus redeemed being added to the fund the per centage on annuities for lives, or for a longer term than forty five years, being taken on their estimated value after that term. At the same time the former sinking fund (which was appointed to be applied exclusively to the redemption of the old debt) was assisted by a grant of 400,000*l.*, to which 200,000*l.* was afterwards annually added.

Such were the principal arrangements under which the financial system of the kingdom had been placed when the war with France broke out in the beginning of the year 1793. The declaration of war was made by the French government, on the 1st of February and we will now state what had been the results of the system thus established by Mr Pitt up to that epoch.

First, with regard to the produce of the taxes. In 1794 the last year of the old system, which had subsisted during the war with America, the revenue raised by taxation amounted only to 12,905,519*l.*, in 1795, after the first of Pitt's new taxes had come into operation, it rose to 14,971,520*l.*, in 1796 it was 15,096,112*l.*, and from that point it went on steadily increasing till, in 1792, it reached the sum of 17,362,435*l.*† All this time the land tax had been levied at the rate of 4*s.* in the pound, as it had been ever since 1776‡

Then, with regard to the debt. At the close of the American war in 1783, its entire amount, including 9,600,000*l.* of unfunded debt, bearing an interest of 2*s.* 8,000*l.*, was 249,951,626*l.*, and that of the interest or annual charge upon it 9,451,772*l.* Between this date and the commencement of the war with France in 1793, the purchases of the commissioners of the sinking fund had amounted

in all to 10,242,100*l.* (all in the 3 per cents), clearing away an annual charge for interest to the extent of 307,263*l.*, but, as the unfunded debt had in the meantime been increased to 16,129,487*l.*, bearing an interest of 483,884*l.*, and there were besides annuities for lives or terms of years, making an additional annual charge of 1,293,870*l.*, the entire amount of the debt at the beginning of the year 1793 may be stated to have been 244,118,635*l.*, and that of the interest upon it 9,302,328*l.** Thus the principal of the debt had been reduced during the nine years of peace by no more than between five and six millions, and its annual pressure scarcely at all—there being hardly a difference of 150,000*l.* between the interest paid upon it in 1783 and in 1792.

The new taxes, however, aided by the return to a state of peace, had the effect of substituting a full for a straitened exchequer. The entire annual income of the state for 1793 amounted only to about 12,231,200*l.*, while the expenditure was 13,300,294*l.*, leaving a deficit of above a million† But in 1795 this deficit was converted into a surplus of 919,290*l.*‡ and by 1792 the revenue had come to exceed the expenditure by 2,031,000*l.*§ The produce of the taxes appropriated to form the sinking fund amounted this year to 1,669,582*l.*|| During this period of peace the annual cost of the ordinary establishments of the country or, in other words, the entire public expenditure with the exception of the interest of the debt, appears to have been about 4,000,000*l.*

The new sinking fund for the liquidation of future loans, established in 1792 was suggested by the minister in anticipation of the coming war, for which alone in the then state of the finances the loans it was to provide for discharging, and out of which it was to grow, could have been contemplated as likely to become necessary. But this was only one of many new financial measures to which the government soon found itself driven by the altered state of affairs. Every successive budget now brought its load of additional taxes, that of 1794, taxes on brandy, rum, and British spirits, bricks and tiles, slate and stone carried coastwise, glass, paper, and attorneys, that of 1795, taxes on legacies, horses, tobacco, printed calicoes, salt, sugar, with a general additional 10 per cent on the previous assessed taxes, that of 1796, taxes on dogs, tea, sales by auction, bricks, spirits, sugar, houses, servants, postage of letters, stage coaches, booking of carriages, parcels, canal conveyance, besides another general augmentation of all the old excise and customs duties, that of 1797, taxes on stamps, copies of deeds, transfers of property, newspapers, plate, probates of wills, and the produce of turn pikes, that of 1798, a general tributing of the assessed taxes that of 1799, an income tax of ten per cent, that of 1800, more taxes on tea, and

* Hamilton p 60

† (1) Insert estimate or Historical Review of 1812 p 800

‡ (2) Id. p 211 of Author's Report of 1811 (C. manuscript of House

of Commons on the Public Income

§ Id. p 212

|| 11 p 28

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‡ S 1 1 45

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on British and foreign spirits, that of 1801, more taxes on tea, paper, calicoes, tin, timber, pepper, sugar, raisins, horses, stamps, conveyances of property, postage of letters, and exports and imports generally. These enumerations collected from the speeches of the chancellor of the exchequer, are possibly neither complete nor perfectly correct in all the items given but they will serve sufficiently to illustrate the system that was pursued.

The sums raised by taxes in each of the years of the first war with France were as follow:—in 1793, 17,656,418*l*; in 1794, 17,170,400*l*; in 1795, 17,308,811*l*; in 1796, 17,858,454*l*; in 1797, 15,737,760*l*; in 1798, 20,634,650*l*; in 1799, 30,202,915*l*; in 1800, 35,229,964*l*; in 1801, 33,96,464*l*; and in 1802, 35,415,096*l*. * Loans were also contracted every year:—in 1793 a loan of 4,500,000*l*, creating a capital of 6,250,000*l*, with an annual charge of 190,312*l*; in 1794, a loan of 11,000,000*l*, creating a capital of 13,750,000*l*, with an annual charge of 509,687*l*; in 1795, loans of 36,000,000*l*, creating a capital of 50,095,000*l*, with an annual charge of 1,731,037*l*; in 1796, loans of 25,500,000*l*, creating a capital of 30,918,668*l*, with an annual charge of 1,364,784*l*; in 1797, a loan of 14,500,000*l*, creating a capital of 28,275,000*l*, with an annual charge of 933,963*l*; in 1798, loans of 20,000,000*l*, creating a capital of 39,634,200*l*, with an annual charge of 1,248,184*l*; in 1799, a loan of 15,500,000*l*, creating a capital of 27,125,000*l*, with an annual charge of 823,955*l*; in 1800, a loan of 20,500,000*l*, creating a capital of 32,183,000*l*, with an annual charge of 980,038*l*; in 1801, a loan of 25,000,000*l*, creating a capital of 49,210,000*l*, with an annual charge of 1,498,444*l*. And the permanent debt was besides augmented by the fundings of exchequer and navy bills to the amount of 1,926,526*l* in 1794, 1,609,894*l* in 1795, and of 26,026,900*l* in 1796†. Altogether, it appears that, during the war with France from 1793 to the peace of Amiens in 1802, both the principal and interest of the debt were more than doubled: the former being increased from 244,118,633*l* to 520,207,101*l*; the latter from 9,302,325*l* to 18,643,725*l*. There were also raised for the Emperor of Germany, on the guarantee of the British government, a loan of 4,600,000*l* in 1795, and another of 1,620,000*l* in 1797 occasioning together an annual charge of 488,931*l*, the whole of which his Imperial majesty left to be borne by this country.

But Pitt's confidence seems actually to have grown almost as fast as the debt. Armed with his sinking fund, he talked as if he believed he had gotten possession of Aladdin's lamp, and could work miracles. In opening the budget in 1799 he admitted that there would be an interval of great stress upon the country from that time till the year 1808, when, he said, the debt would arrive at its maximum, but it would not be diffi-

cult, he added, to provide taxes for these eight years. And then he "entered," says the report of his speech, "upon a detail of calculations which went to show that the whole of the national debt might be extinguished in the space of thirty-three years of peace, that, supposing the war to continue even so long, it could be carried on without the creation of new debt, and that, in case the war should soon be terminated, and that an interval of ten years should happen between the conclusion of one and the commencement of another war, in that period of peace the sinking fund would discharge seventy millions of debt, and enable the country to enter into another war with superior means." And not only did the prevailing financier's own "undoubting mind believe the magic wonders that he sung," but the great majority of the nation along with him.

The arrangement in 1792, by which every loan provided its own sinking fund, was departed from in 1795, and from that date down to 1802 loans to the amount of 56,796,375*l* were raised without the one per cent being set apart for their liquidation. These loans were eventually charged upon the income tax imposed, as above mentioned, in 1799. In 1795, also, an act was passed making the land tax perpetual at four shillings in the pound upon the old valuation of 1692; but at the same time empowering the owners of estates to redeem their property from the tax by the purchase of as much capital in the three per cents as should yield an equivalent dividend. The purchases of land-taxes under this act amounted in the first year to 13,059,564*l*, and in the second year to 3,034,216*l*, but after that the transference of capital in this way did not amount to much. "This plan," observes Dr Hamilton, "is, in effect, no other than a transfer of part of the capital of the funded debt from the former stockholders to the landed proprietors. These last pay a value for the capital with which they redeem their land-tax, and their relief from that tax is equivalent to their receiving a dividend to the same extent. The landholders may still be considered as subjected to the land tax at its highest rate, though some of them pay it by drawing a dividend for capital in the funds, which they have purchased for value, and have thereby become stockholders to that extent. The public revenue may still be considered as drawing the whole of the land-tax, and paying the whole of the dividends. We cannot therefore consider the part of the national debt redeemed by the purchase of the land-tax as affording any relief to the public burthens."‡ In other words, while the state was relieved from the payment of the interest on a portion of the debt, it sustained an equivalent annual loss by the extinction of a corresponding portion of the land-tax.

This arrangement, however, led to a change in the mode of granting the supplies followed up to this date, according to which parliament, by way

* Hamilton, Inquiry, p. 21.
† Id. 111.

‡ Id. pp. 106—113.

• Id. 15, 16.

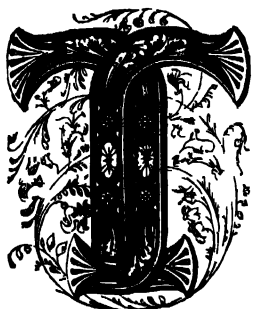
of holding the crown in some sort of dependence, had been accustomed to keep the land tax and the malt-tax, as it were, in its own hands, by voting them for only a year at a time. Now that the land-tax was made perpetual, part of the sugar and tobacco duties and some others were, in lieu of it, made annual taxes along with the land-tax. The land and malt taxes used to yield only about 2,700,000*l.* annually, which was much less than the substituted annual taxes soon came to produce.

But the boldest, or the most desperate, of all Pitt's financial measures had been adopted before this time in the order of council issued on Sunday, the 26th of February, 1797, for suspending payments in specie by the bank. This act of the government really amounted to the universal substitution of a fictitious for a real currency, or, in other words, to the novel experiment of resting the entire pecuniary system of the kingdom on the shadowy basis of credit. Yet, after all, it was only an extension of the same principle in which the public funds had stood ever since there had been a national debt—a principle which the rapid growth of that debt was, of itself, every day carrying further and farther. If the body of the nation's creditors, with claims already amounting to not much less than four hundred millions of pounds

sterling, were contented with nothing more to depend upon than the good faith and stability of the government, why might not the holders of the paper money of the bank, which was probably not a twentieth part of that amount, be satisfied and sufficiently safe with the same security? It was found in point of fact that the experiment was more alarming in appearance than really dangerous. It produced no doubt, a revolution in prices and in the value of money, but even this came gradually, and with so equable and general a diffusion as to allow speculations and transactions to be adjusted to it, and for the most part, to compensate for the loss it occasioned in one direction by a gain in another. On the other hand it may reasonably be doubted if any less decisive movement could have either saved the country at the moment, or enabled it to accomplish so triumphantly as it did the tremendous exertions that were demanded from it in succeeding years. And, to crown all, after the suspension had lasted for the last space of twenty-one years, our financial system was still found to be strong enough to bear, though not certainly without a strain and an effort, the return to cash payments which might then have well been deemed as impracticable as it seemed to many to be unnecessary.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



THE commercial history of the present period naturally divides itself into two distinct portions, corresponding to the nearly equal spaces of time, during the one of which we were in a state of peace, during the other in a state of war. The former may be considered as ranging

over the eight years from 1785 to 1792 inclusive.

There can be no doubt that this was a time of decided economical advancement, and of great and generally diffused prosperity, both in England and throughout Europe. The old effect of the temporary check given to speculation and industry by the pressure of war, as if that impediment operated like a dam thrown across a river, only accumulating a force of water which never could have otherwise been obtained,—or like the curb applied to a high-mettled steed,—or like the iron gripe of winter, constricting the earth, and renovating those powers of vegetation which it seems for the moment to destroy—was now everywhere felt. Enterprise awoke from its lethargy like a giant refreshed by sleep, capital, long kept stationary and inactive, not only returned with a new spirit to its old channels, but found for itself many new vents, which it might have been long enough in discovering if its customary flow had suffered no interruption, and some of which were probably created by the general break up of established relations wrought by the war. In short, it was the common natural phenomenon of the clearest sky and purest air after the stormiest weather, or the highest health after a fit of sickness, which, besides rinning the system, has given it rest to acquire a tone it never would have acquired if the wear and tear of its ordinary movements had not been so arrested.

The most comprehensive and authentic measure we possess of the progress of our foreign trade—which again may be taken as an index of the general state of our commercial and industrial activity—is the official register of exports and imports, which, however, must still be read with the recol-

lection of what was explained in the last Book, that down to the year 1798 it indicates quantities only, and not values*. And it is also to be remembered that throughout the present period Ireland is regarded in these accounts as a foreign country. It appears, then, that in 1782, the last year of the American war, the total amount of the imports into Great Britain was 10,341,628*l*, and of the exports thence to all parts of the world 13,009,458*l*, that in 1783 the imports were 13,122,235*l*, the exports 14,621,494*l*, that in 1784 the imports were 15,272,877*l*, the exports 15,101,491*l*, and that for the next eight years the amounts were as follows—in 1785, imports 16,279,419*l*, exports 16,117,168*l*, in 1786, imports 15,786,072*l*, exports 16,300,730*l*, in 1787, imports 17,804,024*l*, exports 16,869,789*l*, in 1788, imports 16,027,170*l*, exports 17,472,238*l*, in 1789, imports 17,821,102*l*, exports 19,340,549*l*, in 1790, imports 19,130,886*l*, exports 20,120,121*l*, in 1791, imports 19,669,782*l*, exports 22,731,995*l*, in 1792 imports 19,659,358*l*, exports 24,905,200*l*.† Thus we see that in the ten years of peace, from 1782 to 1792, the entire foreign trade of the country may be said to have very nearly doubled; indeed, it would probably be found to have increased in more than that proportion, if we had the means of ascertaining the value (which is the true essential measure) of our exports and imports, as well as their mere quantity.

The growth of our foreign trade thus indicated is borne out by the account of the tonnage of the ships entered inward and cleared outward during the same period, which is as follows.—In 1782, inward 777,253 tons, outward 851,512 tons, in 1783, inward 1,135,674, outward 1,039,045, in 1784, inward 1,215,702, outward 1,050,487, in 1785, inward 1,241,761, outward 1,182,479, in 1786, inward 1,264,356, outward 1,236,219, in 1787, inward 1,316,501, outward 1,349,419, in 1788, inward 1,558,172, outward 1,540,666, in 1789, inward 1,589,009, outward 1,591,838, in 1790, inward 1,705,975, outward 1,548,207, in

* See vol. i. p. 648.

† From the Official Abstracts as printed in full in Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, under the respective years. The accounts for some of the earlier years differ somewhat from those given in vol. i. pp. 567, 568 which were taken from the *Chronological Tables* in (1) *Macpherson's History of the Commerce of Great Britain* and (2) *Anderson's History of the Commerce of Great Britain*. In the continuation of *Anderson's* vol. iv. p. 69 the figures are different from these, given either by Macpherson or Chairner. We have followed Macpherson's account in the text as being the only complete one of the three; and for our present purposes, the variations between it and the others are of little consequence.

1791, inward 1,773,862, outward 1,695,023, in 1792, inward 1,891,711, outward 1,739,300 *—Here, again, we have the amounts more than doubled in the ten years.

To this may be added the number and tonnage of the vessels belonging in each of the years to all the ports of Great Britain, which were, in 1782, 7936 vessels, measuring 615,281 tons, in 1783, 8342 of 669,802. in 1784, 9111 of 793,147, in 1785, 9733 of 859,606, in 1786, 10,382, of 932,018, in 1787, 10,411 of 1,047,874, in 1788, 11,222 of 1,204,484, in 1789 11,496 of 1,229,644, in 1790, 12,060 of 1,267,025, in 1791, 12,526 of 1,329,968, in 1792, 12,776 of 1,345,884 †. Once more here are the figures doubled within the ten years, but it is probable that the real increase was even greater than this, for after 1787 the system of measurement was made much stricter, and the legal description of what constituted a British vessel more rigidly defined and limited, by the two shipping and registry acts, the 26 Geo. III c. 60, and 27 Geo. III c. 19, passed in that and the preceding year. As the account stands, however it exhibits not only an increase in the proportion of two to one between the last year of the war and the last year of the succeeding peace, but a steadily progressive advance throughout the ten years. The expansion of our foreign commerce appears to have, during that time, not once received a check. And that which makes the most exhilarating prospect, whether to nations or individuals, is not the actual wealth they may possess, but the fact that they are every day growing richer—that they are going forward and not falling back. communities at least can hardly ever remain stationary.

The Customs duties do not furnish quite so distinct an index of the progress of our foreign trade during this space of time for various reasons. In 1784 the duty called petty custom, and other additional duties levied upon the goods of aliens, and also a duty of one per cent. on all trade in the Mediterranean Sea beyond Malaga, were repealed by the 24 Geo. III sess. 2, c. 16, which set forth that such duties and restrictions were, "by the alteration of the trade now carried on between this kingdom and foreign states, in some cases become an unnecessary burden upon commerce, without producing any real advantage to the public revenue," and in 1787 the inextricable confusion of the old rates was wholly swept away, and a new and simplified system established by the Consolidation Act, the 27 Geo. III c. 13 †. In 1786, also, the wine duties were altered and placed under new regulations (by the 26 Geo. III c. 59), and in 1789 a similar extensive change was made in regard to the duties on tobacco and snuff, the greater part of which were transferred from the

Customs to the Excise (by the 29 Geo. III c. 68). The net amount of Customs paid into the Exchequer is stated to have been, in 1782, 2,861,563/; in 1783, 2,848,320/; in 1784, 3,326,639/; in 1785, 4,592,991/; in 1786, 4,076,911/. But the Customs revenue for the two last-mentioned years was somewhat increased beyond its due amount by certain payments having been then received from the East India Company which were properly due in 1782 and 1783. In 1787 the net amount of Customs was 3,673,807/; in 1788 3,780,770/; in 1789, 3,710,343/; in 1790, 3,782,822/; in 1791, 3,952,507/; in 1792, 4,027,230/. It is to be remembered that the system of drawbacks, or the remission of duties upon the re-exportation of many commodities, in great part destroys the utility of the Customs revenue as an index of the fluctuations of our foreign trade, which may expand or contract considerably in several of its departments without much affecting the revenue. To make the Customs a true measure of the trade, the gross receipts ought to be given, with the addition of the drawbacks, and also of the bounties.

The only important commercial arrangement with any foreign country that was made by Great Britain during this interval of peace was that entered into with France by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed at Versailles on the 26th of September, 1786, and confirmed in the following year by parliament, both Houses of which, on the 8th of March, 1787, concurred in an address, thanking his majesty for this additional proof of his constant attention to the welfare and happiness of his subjects, and soon after (by the act of the 27 Geo. III c. 13, passed 25th April) adopted the necessary measures for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect. This treaty, commonly named after Mr. William Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), by whom it was negotiated, was founded on principles more liberal than had ever before, or have ever since, been recognised in any similar compact between England and France. It commenced with a joint declaration by his Britannic Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty of their desire to establish "a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages on both sides to the national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection." In the spirit of this profession it was stipulated, in the first place, that there should be "a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods in those places;" and by the second article it was declared that, even in the case of a rupture breaking out between the two crowns—"which rupture,"

* From the tables under the respective years in Macpherson—for the last four years by computation from his tables. The Chronological Account in Chalmers gives the tonnage of the ships cleared outwards, and although his figures do not quite coincide with Macpherson's the differences are not considerable.

† From the statements under the respective years in Macpherson.
‡ See ante p. 624.

said the treaty, "shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers"—the subjects of either power residing in the dominions of the other should be allowed to remain and continue their trade, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behaved peaceably and committed no offence against the laws of the country, "and in case," it was added, "their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property, whether intrusted to individuals or to the state." The third article bound the subjects of either party to abstain from all acts of hostility against those of the other, either by sea or land and to accept of no pretext or commission for privateering from any prince or states enemies to the other party either government as often as required by the other, engaging to visit transgressors with the severest penalties in its power to inflict. If such an agreement as this had subsisted between the two countries during the peace that succeeded the Seven Years' War the private adventurers who fled from France to assist the Americans at the commencement of their rebellion could not have been permitted by their government to gratify their peculiar sympathies in that manner, and the insertion of the article in the present treaty may be regarded as a condemnation, or renunciation at least, by the French court, of the policy which it had then pursued. By the next article liberty was secured to the subjects of either sovereign, "without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way," to enter, return from, pass through, or remain in, any dominions, towns, or other places whatsoever in Europe belonging to the other, therein to purchase whatever they pleased, "and they shall mutually," said the article, "be treated with all kindness and favour." The fifth article put English and French subjects on the same footing as to the right of coming with ships and merchandizes to all places belonging to either government in Europe, to hire houses, to warehouse their goods, &c., subject to no other impositions or duties than were provided by the treaty, or were payable by the native born as well as the foreign trader. "In matters of religion," it was added, "the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty they shall not be compelled to attend divine service, whether in churches or elsewhere, but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose, nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in anywise disturbed." Then followed the tariff, or list of duties on certain goods and merchandises, of which the fol-

lowing were the chief items.—The wines of France, imported direct from France into Great Britain, to pay the same duties then paid by the wines of Portugal (the same abandonment of the principle of the famous Methuen Treaty which had proved fatal to the treaty of commerce entered into by the two governments after the peace of Utrecht), the duty upon French vinegars to be reduced by rather more than one-half (from 67*l* 5*s* 3*d* per ton to 32*l* 1*s* 10*d*), the duty on French brandies to be reduced from 9*s* 6*d* to 7*s* per gallon, olive oil, direct from France, to pay no higher duty than that paid for the same from the most favoured nations, beer to pay reciprocally an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent, the duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, turnery, and all works of iron steel, copper, and brass, not to exceed 30 per cent *ad valorem*, all sorts of cottons and silks of woollens, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, to pay in both countries an import duty of 12 per cent *ad valorem* (fabric of cotton or wool mixed with silk, however, remaining prohibited on both sides), French and English linens to pay reciprocally no higher duties than were then paid by those of Holland or Flanders imported into Great Britain, cambrics and lins to pay reciprocally an import duty of 5 per cent piece of 7*4* yards, saddlery, a reciprocal *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent, candles, one of 10 per cent, and millinery, porcelain and earthenware, and glass (including plate glass, one of 12 per cent. "The duties above specified" said a subsequent article, "are not to be altered but by mutual consent, and the merchandises not above specified shall pay, in the dominions of the two sovereigns the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations at the time the present treaty bears date and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations." In case either government should afterwards grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nation, it was stipulated that the subjects of the other should participate therein, without prejudice, however, to advantages which they might reserve, France in favour of Spain, in compliance with the family compact assigned 10th May, 1761, England in conformity to her convention of 1703 with Portugal (the Methuen Treaty). Then followed various regulations which need not be quoted. By the 16th article it was agreed that foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who had commissions from any other prince or state at enmity with either nation, should not be allowed either to arm their ships in the ports of either of the two kingdoms, or to sell or exchange what they had taken, or even to purchase victuals, except only such as should be necessary for their going to the nearest port belonging to the power by whom they were commissioned. On the other hand, the subjects

of either of the two contracting powers were to have full liberty to sail with their ships to the ports of countries at war with the other; and it was stipulated that everything should be deemed free which should be found on board such ships, "although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties," with the exception only of the following commodities which were to be considered contraband or prohibited namely, "arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, picards, bombs, grenades, saucies, carcass, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gun-powder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, lu-d-pieces, helmets, cuirasses, halberts, ja chins, holsters, belts, horses and harnesses, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike instruments fit for the use of troops." But, it is expressly added, after this curious enumeration of the military weapons and artillery of the day, "these merchandises which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods: that is to say, all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulse, tobacco, and all kinds of spices, salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sort of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind, and of all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and rosin, anchors and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose." This was giving as limited a definition to warlike stores as the thing could well bear, and as such an interpretation to the rights of neutrality (only, however, between the two nations) as could be allowed without extinguishing all distinction between a neutral power and an enemy's ally. It may interest our readers at the present moment to quote the regulation established for the exercise of the right of search by any man-of-war or privateer of the one country meeting a ship belonging to the other, "either on the coast or on the high seas"—a previous article having provided that all merchant ships in war-time should be furnished with "sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander," and, if laden, "also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound," the 26th article says, "the said men-of-war and privateer, for preventing any inconveniences, are to remain out of cannon-shot,

and to send their boats to the merchant-ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall show his passport containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this present treaty, and the ship which shall have exhibited the same shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course." Ships going to an enemy's port, "concerning whose voyage, and the sort of goods on board, there may be just cause of suspicion," were to be obliged, both on the high seas and in ports and havens where they might put in, to exhibit not only their passports, but their certificates. Contraband or alleged contraband goods, if discovered in the certificate, were not to be seized. "It shall be unlawful," says the 28th article, "to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship, or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods . . . unless the lading be brought on shore, in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods, nor shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods, and the judges of the admiralty respectively shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same, *saving always as well the ship itself as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free*; neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize; and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case the captor, having received those goods as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her by any means from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination." In short, in regard both to this and to all other matters, everything was arranged, as far as possible, upon the principle of a perfect reciprocity of rights and advantages, or of the subjects of either government being entitled to the same treatment from the other as from their own. The treaty was to last, without revision or alteration, for the space of twelve years.

From the tables of imports and exports it appears that the trade between Great Britain and France stood as follows, for each of the ten years of the peace.—In 1783, imports from France, 87,119*l*, exports thither 98,166; in 1784, imports 141,568*l*, exports 495,572*l*; in 1785, imports 211,791*l*, exports 604,313*l*; in 1786, imports 266,121*l*, exports 612,519*l*; in 1787 (the first year under the treaty), imports 577,012*l*, exports 986,906*l*; in 1788, imports 452,986*l*, exports 1,240,672*l*; in 1789, imports 556,060*l*, exports 1,290,171*l*; in 1790, imports 605,371*l*,

exports 672,223*l*, in 1791, imports 546,057*l*, exports 1,181,376*l*, in 1792, imports 717,634*l*, exports 1,228,165*l*. Comparing, therefore, the last year of the peace with the first, it may be said that the commercial intercourse between the two countries was, not doubled, but decupled in the course of that interval, or if, discarding the first twelve months after the cessation of hostilities, we start from 1784, we find our imports from France to have become, in 1792, five times as great as in that year, and our exports thither between twice and three times as great. The commercial treaty may be said to have doubled both the imports and the exports within a year after it came into operation. After 1789 the convulsed or uncertain state of things in France, no doubt, tended to check the further development of trade, but still it maintained itself at the height to which it had grown if there was a falling off in the exports in 1790, they recovered their former amount in the course of the next two years. In 1792 the exports to France from Great Britain consisted of British merchandise to the value of 743,280*l*, and foreign produce to that of 484,885*l*. This amount of goods was carried out in 1317 British vessels, measuring 107,821 tons, and navigated by 7912 men, and in 166 foreign vessels of the burthen of 8421 tons, and carrying 1010 men. The imports from France in that year were brought in 1413 British ships, of the burthen of 91,428 tons, and manned by 7659 sailors, and in 330 foreign ships of 12,362 tons burthen, and carrying 2195 men. So that altogether the French trade at this time employed 2730 British vessels, measuring 199,249 tons, and manned by 15,571 seamen, besides 496 foreign vessels, of the burthen of 20,763 tons, and manned by 3205 hands. In this account, however, repeated voyages of the same vessel are reckoned as voyages by different vessels, the actual quantity of shipping engaged in the trade, therefore, was, no doubt, considerably less than it is here made to appear.

The progress of our trade with other parts of the world during the space of time under review will be sufficiently indicated by the following notices —

IRELAND — in 1785, imports from, 2,012,288*l*, exports to, 2,168,613*l*, in 1788, imports 2,184,963*l*, exports 2,424,899*l*, in 1792, imports 2,622,732*l*, exports 2,372,866*l*. In the last of these years the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 1,512,843*l*, and foreign produce to that of 860,022*l*, carried out in 6354 British and Irish vessels, measuring 508,372 tons, and manned by 30,192 seamen the imports were brought in 4194 British and Irish ships, measuring 294,698 tons, and manned by 20,434 seamen, and in 15 foreign ships, measuring 2026 tons, and manned by 134 seamen.

ISLE OF MAN — in 1785, imports from, 8389*l*, exports to, 31,867*l*, in 1788, imports 20,266*l*, exports 33,036*l*, in 1792, imports 27,342*l*, exports 37,527*l*. In the last year the exports con-

sisted of British merchandise to the value of 24,966*l*, and of foreign to that of 12,561*l*, carried out in 245 British vessels,* measuring 6841 tons, and manned by 776 seamen the imports were brought home in 196 British vessels, measuring 7580 tons, and manned by 649 seamen.

GUERNSEY, and the other Channel Islands — in 1785, imports from, 48,582*l*, exports to, 94,303*l*, in 1788, imports 40,178*l*, exports 77,427*l*, in 1792, imports 58,852*l*, exports 92,130*l*. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 79,233*l*, and of foreign to that of 12,896*l*, carried out in 363 British ships, measuring 19,583 tons, and manned by 1326 seamen the imports were brought home in 336 British ships, measuring 17,830 tons, and manned by 1206 seamen, and in one foreign ship of 16 tons with 4 hands.

EAST INDIES and OTHER PARTS OF ASIA — in 1785, imports from, 2,703,940*l*, exports to, 1,153,532*l*, in 1788, imports 3,453,897*l*, exports 1,430,633*l*, in 1792, imports 2,701,433*l*, exports 2,425,947*l*. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 2,332,172*l*, and foreign to that of 93,774*l*, carried out in 33 British vessels, measuring 27,645 tons, and manned by 3356 seamen the imports were brought home in 28 British ships, measuring 21,560 tons, and manned by 2541 seamen.

BRITISH AMERICA — in 1785, imports from, 208,511*l*, exports to 691,287*l*, in 1788, imports 249,400*l*, exports 895,393*l*, in 1792, imports 255,797*l*, exports 1,119,991*l*. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 908,104*l*, and foreign to that of 211,891*l*, carried out in 363 British vessels, measuring 55,367 tons, and manned by 3965 seamen the imports were brought home in 219 British vessels, measuring 33,176 tons, and manned by 2189 seamen.

BRITISH WEST INDIES — in 1785, imports from, 4,340,104*l*, exports to, 1,197,210*l*, in 1788, imports 4,053,153*l*, exports 1,698,890*l*, in 1792, imports 4,126,047*l*, exports 2,784,310*l*. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 2,550,643*l*, and foreign produce to that of 233,665*l*, carried out in 579 British ships, measuring 138,485 tons, and manned by 8249 seamen the imports were brought in 648 British ships, measuring 148,360 tons, and manned by 9543 seamen.

FOREIGN WEST INDIES — in 1785, imports from, 60,851*l*, exports to, 653*l*, in 1788, imports 314,678*l*, exports 28,160*l*, in 1792, imports 280,484*l*, exports 106,623*l*. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 95,724*l*, and of foreign to that of 10,897*l*, carried out in 4 British ships, measuring 425 tons, and manned by 60 seamen the imports were brought home in 15 British ships, measuring 2791 tons, and manned by 212 seamen.

* Under which denomination Irish vessels were now also included by the act 37 Geo. III. c. 19. passed in 1797.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA —in 1785, imports from, 893,594/, exports to, 2,308,023/, in 1788, imports 1,032,779/, exports 1,886,142/, in 1792, imports 1,038,706/, exports 4,271,418/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 3,974,527/, and foreign to that of 296,590/, carried out in 223 British ships, measuring 50,963 tons, and manned by 2763 seamen, and in 285 foreign ships, measuring 19,414 tons, and manned by 3041 seamen the imports were brought home in 197 British ships, measuring 42,035 tons, and manned by 2240 seamen, and in 313 foreign ships, measuring 64,035 tons, and manned by 3138 seamen.

RUSSIA, INCLUDING COURLAND AND LIVONIA —in 1785, imports from, 1,606,688/, exports to, 233,997/, in 1788, imports 1,916,221/, exports 378,235/, in 1792, imports 1,708,670/, exports 800,761/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 428,773/, and foreign to that of 371,957/, carried out in 322 British vessels, measuring 76,533 tons, and manned by 3613 seamen, and in 3 foreign ships, measuring 396 tons with 32 hands the imports were brought home in 922 British ships, measuring 221,217 tons, and manned by 10,345 seamen, and in 5 foreign ships, measuring 931 tons, and manned by 47 seamen.

GERMANY —in 1785 imports from, 559,177/, exports to, 1,403,980/, in 1788, imports 448,963/, exports 1,473,308/, in 1792, imports 650,436/, exports 2,130,110/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 411,131/, and foreign to that of 1,327,970/, carried out in 422 British ships measuring 61,075 tons, and manned by 3311 seamen, and in 92 foreign ships, measuring 14,307 tons, and manned by 680 seamen the imports were brought home in 246 British vessels, measuring 32,941 tons, and manned by 1749 seamen, and in 77 foreign ships, measuring 13,958 tons, and manned by 633 seamen.

POLAND AND RUSSIA —in 1785 imports from, 443,485/, exports to, 97,752/, in 1788, imports 462,942/, exports 146,127/, in 1792, imports 603,983/, exports 167,036/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 89,398/, and foreign to that of 95,100/, carried out in 150 British ships, measuring 33,633 tons, and manned by 1578 seamen, and in 98 foreign ships, measuring 21,993 tons, and manned by 993 seamen the imports were brought home in 573 British ships, measuring 189,760 tons, and manned by 8666 seamen, and in 365 foreign ships, measuring 44,035 tons, and manned by 1940 seamen.

DENMARK AND NORWAY —in 1785, imports from, 117,454/, exports to, 322,295/, in 1788, imports 127,254/, exports 266,965/, in 1792, imports 186,648/, exports 312,720/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 177,778/, and foreign to that of 134,940/, carried out in 325 British ships, measuring 52,183 tons, and manned by 2745 seamen,

and in 176 foreign ships, measuring 7,584 tons, and manned by 1980 seamen the imports were brought home in 420 British ships, measuring 49,705 tons, and manned by 2743 seamen, and in 638 foreign ships, measuring 104,253 tons, and manned by 6241 seamen.

SWEDEN —in 1785, imports from, 203,765/, exports to, 65,806/, in 1788, imports 258,531/, exports 62,050/, in 1792, imports 338,689/, exports 118,439/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 57,412/ and foreign to that of 60,926/, carried out in 148 British ships, measuring 14,988 tons, and manned by 941 hands, and in 50 foreign ships, measuring 7385 tons, and manned by 474 seamen the imports were brought home in 276 British ships, measuring 34,345 tons, and manned by 1874 seamen, and in 136 foreign ships, measuring 21,491 tons, and manned by 1291 seamen.

HOLLAND —in 1785, imports from, 468,121/, exports to, 1,506,303/, in 1788, imports 386,699/, exports 1,296,218/, in 1792, imports 801,534/, exports 1,516,449/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 765,206/, and foreign to that of 731,241/, carried out in 1152 British ships, measuring 139,694 tons, and manned by 7699 seamen, and in 168 foreign ships, measuring 14,576 tons, and manned by 1074 seamen the imports were brought home in 1002 British ships, measuring 130,281 tons, and manned by 7139 seamen, and in 516 foreign ships, measuring 33,536 tons, and manned by 1826 seamen.

ISLANDS —in 1785, imports from, 127,943/, exports to, 917,837/, in 1788, imports 102,189/, exports 865,090/, in 1792, imports 132,289/, exports 1,031,092/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 81,286/, and foreign to that of 649,805/, carried out in 562 British ships, measuring 62,178 tons, and manned by 4123 seamen, and in 42 foreign ships, measuring 4012 tons, and manned by 288 seamen the imports were brought home in 601 British ships, measuring 57,445 tons, and manned by 4080 seamen, and in 19 foreign ships, measuring 1085 tons, and manned by 109 seamen.

PORTUGAL, with Madeira and the Azores —in 1785, imports from, 430,943/, exports to, 843,182/, in 1788, imports 617,205/, exports 721,746/, in 1792, imports 977,819/, exports 754,622/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandize to the value of 714,949/, and foreign to that of 39,670/, carried out in 292 British ships, measuring 41,453 tons, and manned by 2593 seamen, and in 24 foreign ships, measuring 3604 tons, and manned by 263 seamen the imports were brought home in 578 British ships, measuring 72,325 tons, and manned by 4472 seamen, and in 17 foreign ships, measuring 2022 tons, and manned by 145 seamen.

SPAIN —in 1785, imports from, 697,712/, exports to, 788,063/, in 1788, imports 796,733/, exports 671,304/, in 1792, imports 897,839/,

exports 794,101/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 703,734/, and of foreign to that of 90,366/, carried out in 262 British ships, measuring 31,598 tons, and manned by 1949 seamen, and in 33 foreign ships, measuring 3464 tons, and manned by 256 seamen the imports were brought home in 376 British ships, measuring 44,350 tons, and manned by 2618 seamen, and in 45 foreign ships, measuring 4324 tons, and manned by 313 seamen.

ITALY, including Sicily and Sardinia (but exclusive of Venice) —in 1785, imports from, 687,150/, exports to, 513,170/, in 1788, imports 609,643/, exports 731,026/, in 1792, imports 1,004,288/, exports 946,119/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 765,291/, and of foreign to that of 180,829/, carried out in 207 British ships, measuring 29,290 tons, and manned by 1709 seamen the imports were brought home in 130 British ships, measuring 12,134 tons, and manned by 1016 seamen.

VENICE —in 1785, imports from, 69,194/, exports to, 20,294/, in 1788 imports 53,637/, exports 14,710/, in 1792, imports 65,331/, exports 17,112/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 12,903/, and of foreign to that of 4209/, carried out in 8 British ships, measuring 982 tons, and manned by 56 seamen the imports were brought home in 8 British ships, measuring 1141 tons, and manned by 85 seamen.

CANARIES —in 1785, imports from, 4457/, exports to, 17,034/, in 1788, imports 14,117/, exports 7006/, in 1792, imports 10,222/, exports 17,277/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 17,249/, and of foreign to that of 28/, carried out in 2 British ships, of 269 tons, and manned by 18 seamen the imports were brought home in 7 British ships, measuring 989 tons, and manned by 54 seamen.

STRAITS AND GIBRALTAR —in 1785, imports from, 2616/, exports to, 392,235/, in 1788, imports 5772/, exports 336,305/, in 1792, imports 13,153/, exports 197,224/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 179,693/, and of foreign to that of 17,429/, carried out in 59 British ships, measuring 6959 tons, and manned by 420 seamen the imports were brought home in 14 ships, measuring 2887 tons, and manned by 171 seamen.

TURKEY AND EGYPT —in 1785, imports from, 146,906/, exports to, 82,449/, in 1788, imports 183,335/, exports 47,838/, in 1792, imports 290,599/, exports 273,785/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 98,961/, and of foreign to that of 174,824/, carried out in 48 British ships, measuring 11,473 tons, and manned by 584 seamen the imports were brought home in 38 British ships, measuring 7788 tons, and manned by 425 seamen.

AFRICA, including the Cape Verde Islands —in 1785, imports from, 48,535/, exports to, 587,196/,

in 1788, imports 90,069/, exports 735,447/, in 1792, imports 82,912/, exports 1,367,918/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 862,053/, and of foreign to that of 485,845/, carried out in 250 British ships, measuring 54,928 tons, and manned by 5117 seamen the imports were brought home in 77 British ships, measuring 11,088 tons, and manned by 973 seamen.

GREENLAND, and Northern Whale Fishery —in 1785 imports from, 75,793/, exports to, 913/, in 1788, imports 160,609/, exports 2541/, in 1792, imports 63,777/, exports 695/. In the last year the exports consisted entirely of foreign merchandise, carried out in 93 British ships, measuring 26,983 tons, and manned by 3667 seamen the imports were brought home in 102 British ships, measuring 29,883 tons, and manned by 4147 seamen.

NEW HOLLAND, and Southern Whale Fishery —in 1785, imports from, 8483/, exports to, 2403/, in 1788, imports 0/, exports 0/, in 1792, imports 114/, exports 11,940/. In the last year the exports consisted of British merchandise to the value of 9197/, and of foreign to that of 2752/, carried out in 45 British ships, measuring 10,676 tons, and manned by 499 seamen the imports were brought home in 58 British ships, measuring 13,157 tons, and manned by 1053 seamen*.

One great branch of our commerce now stood, of course, upon a footing altogether new—that with our former colonies in North America, now become the United States. But although a successful revolt had broken the political tie that had hitherto united these settlements with the mother country, even that separation and the fierce struggle by which it was brought about could not destroy the natural bond that attached a young community, almost exclusively occupied in agriculture, to the greatest manufacturing community, and the most diffused maritime and colonial empire, in the world. Great Britain was still, as formerly by far the most convenient market for the people of the United States, and they, no longer our dependent colonists, were yet as much as ever our most valuable customers. In the general feeling that such was the case no time was lost by the British parliament, after the

* These counts are extracted from the official tables of imports and exports for the three years and from the account of the shipping, printed by Macpherson in *Annals of Commerce* vol. 11, pp. 188, 268 and 482. Owing however, to the form in which the tables are drawn up, in distinct columns throughout for Scotland and England, and not every number we have given has been obtained by my tally and we have neglected all illius and penes. Some difficulty also has been occasioned by all the tables not being constructed upon the same principle the account of shipping, in particular, is probably not so perfectly reconcilable with that of the imports and exports for the same year. For the year 1792 the shipping account (which consists of twenty-five columns) is quite a different distribution of countries from the table of imports and exports but in our comparison we have not found any absolute discrepancy except only that there is no head in the table of imports and exports to which we can refer the entries in the shipping account opposite to Florida and Honduras from which according to that account there were entered inwards in 1792 47 British ships measuring 10,901 tons and navigated by 248 seamen and to which the were cleared outward 20 British ships measuring 5107 tons and manned by 272 seamen. In the table of imports, and exports for 1792 there are also the following entries which we have not been able to include in our summary America in general imports from 16,824/ exports to 41,868/ and Prime goods imports 34,078/ exports 20,941/.

restoration of peace, in passing an act (the 23 Geo III, c 26) repealing all the prohibitory commercial acts made during the war, and by another act of the same session (the 23 Geo III, c 39) it was declared that, for a limited time, no manifest, certificate, or other similar document should be required from any vessels belonging to the United States on arriving in or clearing out from a British port, and, the king being meanwhile authorised to regulate the manner in which the trade should be carried on, a royal proclamation was immediately issued (on the 14th of May, 1783) for the admission, till further orders into the ports of Great Britain, of any unmanufactured commodities, the produce of the United States, either in British or American ships, without the usual certificates and on payment of the same duties as were payable on the same articles imported from British America. The same drawbacks and bounties were also allowed on goods coming from the United States as on those from the British possessions, and the benefit of the order was extended to all American vessels that had arrived since the 20th of January. But this by no means satisfied either the Americans or many zealous persons at home. "Britain," says Macpherson, "instead of being ruined for want of commerce with America, as had been predicted (and, indeed, contrary to a received maxim, that a trade once turned out of its channel cannot be recovered again), was in danger of suffering from the great ardour of the merchants for forming new connexions in that continent, many of which, as they found to their cost, were with people who could never have obtained credit for a shilling from those among whom they resided. Many of these adventurers, immediately upon their arrival in America, converted their goods into ready money at any price and then shipped themselves off for the continent of Europe, or hid themselves in the boundless back countries of America under the new assumed character of land jobbers. It appears from Mr Coxe's 'View of the United States of America,' p 34, that in the year 1787 the remains of the excessive importations of the four preceding years were constantly offered for sale at prices lower than their cost in Europe, which was a great injury to the fair importers and manufacturers in America. It is certain that considerable quantities of European goods were carried from America during those years to the West Indies and sold, even there, under the European prices." This, however, is no more than what is always apt and almost sure to happen on the opening of a new commerce, though it may be admitted that the nature of the country in America, and the constitution of society there, offered, as they still do, superior facilities for bold adventurers in this line. But there also arose a controversy as to the extent of the commercial rights which it would be advisable to grant permanently to the United States, the main point in dispute being whether the Navigation Act should be now enforced in regard to them as in re-

gard to all other foreign states, and should exclude their vessels from admission to our West India Islands. Any claim of right to such admission the American republicans certainly no longer possessed, any more than the inhabitants of Spanish America or the people of France. But an exemption in their favour from the rigours of the Navigation Act was urged, in the particular circumstances of the case, on grounds of expediency, and this view had the general support of the West India interest. The question was discussed in numerous pamphlets, and some of the governors of the West India Islands actually went the length of freely admitting American vessels into their ports in the same manner as they had been admitted before the war. It was asserted by the advocates of this policy, to quote Macpherson's summary of their arguments, which affords a good view of the nature and circumstances of the trade between the West Indies and the American continent, "that the planters had been very scantily supplied with provisions and lumber during the war, that a considerable part of their supply was derived from intercepted cargoes which were destined for the foreign islands, a resource which the peace put an end to, as it did also to the supplies from Florida, which was now yielded to Spain, and that they had been compelled by necessity to convert their land to provision grounds, and to draw off their slaves from their proper plantation employments to cultivate provisions and cut lumber, that the provisions and lumber procured either by importation, capture, or their own labour, were obtained at such an enormous expense, that nothing but the hopes of soon seeing a change for the better could support them under it, but that a long continuance of it must be absolutely ruinous. Lastly, they urged, as a proof of the bad consequence to Great Britain of turning their industry out of its proper channel, that in the year 1777, before any of our islands were taken by the enemy, the quantity of sugar imported into England was short of that in the year 1774 (when part of the sugars went to the American colonies) full 45,000 hogsheads, the value of which was nearly a million of money, the freight of which would have been 150,000/, and the duties payable to the public above 100,000/. It was asserted that the rum, of which near eight millions of gallons were annually made in the West India Islands, and which, being an acceptable present to the Americans, used to be the principal resource for the supply of plantation necessities, must now become a dead stock in the hands of the planters, as the consumption of Great Britain did not much exceed half a million of gallons.* With respect to a supply of corn from

* Macpherson shows in a note that there must be a good deal of exaggeration in this statement, inasmuch as the average quantity of rum imported into Great Britain in the ten years from 1778 to 1788 inclusive was 2,078,848 gallons, of which there were exported annually on an average 617,389 gallons leaving 1,461,459 gallons for home consumption, while, on the other hand, the quantity exported to the continent of North America from all the islands on an average of three years preceding the war, did not exceed 2,900,000 gallons annually.

Canada, it was observed that, though that country had had plentiful harvests from the year 1772 to 1778, and particularly in 1774, yet these years of plenty were followed by such a succession of defective crops, that from 1779 to 1782 inclusive, the exportation of corn and bread was prohibited, and the province even received some supplies from other quarters. Hence it was evident that there never could be any dependence upon Canada for a regular supply. As to Nova Scotia, it was not alleged that it had ever been capable of raising corn for its own consumption".* These representations, and the clamour that was raised produced such an effect, we are told, that "even the government was like to be carried away with the stream, and on the point of confirming by law those concessions with respect to the commerce of the West Indies which were hitherto granted by mistake, or connivance, of some servants of the crown,"† when the meditated course of policy was prevented by the strong considerations urged in two pamphlets, the first entitled 'Observations on the Commerce of the American States,' by Lord Sheffield, the other, which appeared soon after, entitled 'Opinions on interesting Subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy arising from American Independence,' by Mr George Chalmers. "Both these authors," says Macpherson, "insisted strongly, that Britain and Ireland, with the remaining continental colonies, were fully sufficient to supply the British West India Islands with provisions and lumber, as they had done during the war, even if all the States of America should unite in refusing to sell those articles to our vessels, which was, however, by no means to be apprehended, and that the manufacturers and merchants of Britain could have nothing to dread from the menaced refusal of America to admit British goods, because goods must ever find their market in proportion to their quality and price, independent of all resolutions, and even laws."‡ Of course, the ground on which Sheffield and Chalmers rested their opposition to the demand of the Americans was the importance of maintaining inviolate the system of the Navigation Act, the palladium, as it had been generally regarded, of our naval power. In the end the government took a middle course. On the 2nd of July a proclamation by the king in council was issued, permitting British subjects to carry in British vessels all kinds of naval stores, lumber, live stock, corn, flour, and bread from the United States of America to the West India Islands, and also to export rum, sugar, molasses, chocolate, nuts, coffee, ginger, and pimento from the islands to the States, under the same duties and regulations as if the commodities were cleared out for a British possession. "This order," says Macpherson, "was considered by the administration as an indulgence, both to the Islands and to the United States, but it was not received as such by either of them. The

West India planters cried out, that the islands must inevitably be ruined, if there were not as free and unrestrained an intercourse between them and the continent, and as free admission of American vessels as there was when the latter was under the British dominion, and the Americans were so much offended by it, that the assemblies of three of the States actually made a requisition to the Congress that they would prohibit all commercial intercourse with the British colonies".* The British government, however, would not be moved from its restrictive and cautious policy. Three other temporary orders were issued in the course of the year: the first, on the 6th of June, permitting American tobacco to be imported into London, Bristol, Liverpool, Cowes, Whitehaven, and Greenock, and to be warehoused under the custody of the revenue officers, the importer paying down five per cent on the value as part of the duty; the second, on the 5th of November dispensing with that immediate payment; the third, on the 26th of December, by which time the preceding orders had expired, renewing that of the 2nd of July with regard to the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, but relaxing the former regulations for the British trade so far as to permit the importation of any unmanufactured goods not prohibited by law, except oil, and also of pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, masts, yards, and bowsprits, being the produce of the United States either by British or American subjects, and either in British or American vessels. And those orders in council, and the act of parliament by which they were authorised, were annually renewed or continued, with little alteration, throughout the next five years. Meanwhile the Americans persisted in urging their claims to have both trades placed upon a more liberal system, and some attempts were even made at retaliation. In 1784 the Congress recommended to the legislatures of the different states the adoption of a resolution prohibiting for fifteen years the importation and exportation of every species of merchandise in any vessels belonging to foreign powers which had not connected themselves with the government of the United States by commercial treaties. "The people of Boston," writes the historian of our commerce under the year 1785, "were highly offended by the exclusion from the ports of the West Indies, by the high duties on rice, oil, and tobacco, and by the regulations for the British fisheries in the American seas. They were also greatly alarmed at the establishment of British factors in their country (a measure rendered necessary by the enormous deficiencies of some of those who assumed the character of merchants in America immediately after the peace), and they presented a petition (22nd April, 1785) to the Congress for regulations to counteract those of Great Britain, which was soon followed by an act of the commonwealth of Massachusetts (June 23rd) for the regulation of navigation and com-

* *Annals of Commerce* iv. 40
‡ *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.* p. 19

* *Annals of Commerce* iv. p. 26

merce, whereby they prohibited the exportation of any American produce or manufacture from their ports in vessels owned by British subjects after the 1st of August, 1785, with a provisional exception in favour of those British settlements whose governors should reverse their proclamations against the admission of American vessels into their ports. They also enacted several extra duties to be paid by vessels belonging to foreigners, and particularly by British subjects, with a permission, however, for new vessels, built in Massachusetts, though partly or wholly owned by British subjects to take in cargoes upon equal terms with the citizens of the United States, but only for their first departures.* But a measure such as this, proceeding from a single state, was not likely to have any effect in driving the British government from the position it had taken up, and, if it was not to operate in that way, it could only make matters worse still farther limiting and impeding the trade, and directly tending indeed to put an end to the interchange of commodities between the two countries altogether. Just before this, in March, 1785, an act had been passed by the English parliament (the 27 Geo III c 1), permitting bread, flour, and live stock, but no other articles upon any pretence whatever, to be imported for a time into Newfoundland and the adjacent islands from the United States of America in British vessels navigated according to law, and provided with licences, which were to be in force for a term of seven months, from the commissioners of the customs in Great Britain. This concession was granted in consequence of what had happened in the early part of the preceding year, when, the settlers at Newfoundland being in great distress for want of provisions, a supply arrived in some British ships from the United States, which the governor and council, after some deliberation, had in the circumstances allowed to be limited and sold. On the other hand, in the act passed in 1787 (the 27 Geo III c 7), for continuing the temporary acts regulating the commercial intercourse with America, while the importation of provisions and lumber into any of the British West India Islands from the foreign West India Islands was permitted in cases of emergency and distress on the responsibility of the governor and council, the admission of the produce of the United States was more rigorously prohibited than ever, the penalty for the importation of such produce into any British possession contrary to law, or to the orders of the king in council, being now made the forfeiture of both cargo and vessel. At last, however, in 1788, an act was passed permanently permitting the importation into the West Indies, in British vessels, of tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, masts, yards, bowsprits, lumber, horses, cattle and other live-stock, bread, flour, peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and other grain, the produce of the United States, and the exportation from the West Indies to the States of

any goods or produce which might be lawfully exported to any foreign country in Europe, and also of sugar, molasses, coffee, pimento, cacao (or chocolate nuts), and ginger. The jealousies and animosities not unnaturally excited by these contentions now gradually subsided, and seem to have passed away much sooner and more completely than might have been anticipated. So early as under the year 1789, we find the recorder of the facts belonging to this department of our history writing as follows—"The ill will engendered by the American war was now turned into friendship and harmony between Great Britain and the American states, the influence of which extended to the most distant British possessions. Earl Cornwallis, governor-general of India, about the beginning of this year, or the end of the last, gave orders that American vessels should be treated at the Company's settlements in all respects as the most favoured foreigners. The ship *Chesapeake*, the first American that was allowed to trade, or to show her colours, in the river Ganges, was moreover favoured by the supreme council of Bengal with an exemption from the government customs which all foreign vessels are bound to pay."* The general diffusion of these better feelings was already preparing the way for an harmonious commercial arrangement between the two countries, which, as we shall find, was completed a few years later.

A very complete view of the trade of the British West India Islands for the year 1787 was published in 1789, in a series of tables, by the Board of Trade. According to this account the entire imports of the islands for that year were as follows.—From Great Britain, British and Irish goods 1,441,048/, India goods 23,570/, foreign goods 174,085/, in all 1,638,703/, from Ireland, Irish goods 19,914/, British goods 111/, foreign goods 135/, in all 20,160/, from Newfoundland, 890 barrels of wet fish, and 64 123 quintals of dry fish, from the foreign West Indies, 1,943,000 lbs cotton, 64,750 lbs cacao, sundry woods, cattle, hides, &c, and some dollars, and, finally from Africa, 20,978 negroes. The exports are made to have consisted of sugar 2,002,736 cwt, rum 5,270,496 gallons, molasses 68,052 gallons, cotton 9,544,121 lbs, indigo 41,064 lbs, coffee 34,446 cwt, cacao 4234 cwt, pimento 616,444 lbs, ginger 10,546 cwt, dye-woods 12,726 tons, mahogany and other hard woods 16,929 tons, and 5531 hides, together with a few other articles not particularized. The value of the entire exports of each of the islands, calculated not by the old Custom house rates, but according to the actual prices current in London at the time, is stated as follows. Jamaica 2,136,442/ (principally sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, pimento, and dye woods) Tortola 106,960/ (principally sugar, rum, and cotton), Anguilla 12,993/ (principally cotton), St Christopher's 510,014/ (principally sugar, rum, and cotton), Montserrat and Nevis 214,142/ (the same) Antigua 592,597/ (the same), Dominica 302,987/ (principally sugar,

* Annals of Commerce, p 77

* A table of Commerce, p 183

molasses, cotton, indigo, and coffee), St Vincent's 192,162*l* (principally rum and cotton), Grenada 614,908*l* (principally sugar, rum, and cotton), Barbadoes 539,606*l* (principally sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, and ginger). The entire amount was made up to 5,389,054*l* by the addition of the Bay of Honduras 106,243*l* (principally mahogany and dye-woods, with a little cotton and cacao). There are no returns from the Bahamas and Bermuda. "The loyalists from North America," Macpherson observes, "had just begun to bring the cotton of the former into consideration, and the inhabitants of the latter were beginning to follow their example, as far as the narrow limits of their island would permit."* The exports were, of course, principally to Great Britain, the only other parts of the world with which any export trade was carried on were Ireland, British America, the United States, the foreign West India Islands, and Africa†. The exports to the United States, according to this account, were from Jamaica 60,096*l*, from Tortola 1499*l*, from St Christopher's 15,513*l*, from Montserrat and Nevis 13,982*l*, from Antigua 44,680*l*, from Dominica 7164*l*, from St Vincent's 5712*l*, from Grenada 24,597*l*, and from Barbadoes 23,218*l*, all principally in rum. To Africa the only exports noticed are, from Jamaica 8600 gallons of rum, from Nevis one ship of the burthen of 102 tons, cargo not mentioned, and from Barbadoes 100 gallons of rum. To Great Britain the exports from all the islands were, sugar 1,926,121 cwt, rum 2,251,341 gallons, molasses 37,472 gallons, cotton 9,396,921 lbs, indigo 39,414 lbs, coffee 30,365 cwt, cacao 3954 cwt, pimento 606,094 lbs, ginger 9159 cwt, dye-woods 12,637 tons, mahogany and other hard woods 7569 tons and 5180 hides. To Ireland there were exported, sugar 26,182 cwt., rum 209,264 gallons, and cotton 1259 cwt. According to a further account, the total value of the exports to Great Britain, which in 1787 was 3,749,447*l* (calculated by the custom-house rates), rose in 1788 to 4,253,879*l*. The real or market value was, probably, about a fourth greater.

The publication of these statements with regard to the value of the West India Islands and their trade arose out of the strong feeling that about this date began to be excited on the subject of the trade in negro slaves. After the restoration of peace with the colonies, general attention was attracted to this subject in London by swarms of American negroes, whom the events of the war had emancipated, appearing in the streets, begging for employment or for bread, to such an extent as to be a serious public nuisance. In 1787 about 700 of these destitute blacks were collected for the purpose of being sent out in government transports to Sierra Leone; and, although a large proportion of them died, or deserted, or had to be discharged as unmanageable, before the vessels sailed,

about 400 of the number were actually conveyed to Africa, where, however, the settlement that was thus attempted to be formed did not prosper. The following year, after the question had begun to be agitated in parliament, the Board of Trade (or, as it was then called, the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations) was directed to inquire into the state of that part of Africa whence the slaves were brought, the manner of obtaining them, the transportation and sale of them, and the effects of the trade upon the colonies and the general commerce of the kingdom, and upon these various points a great mass of information was collected by the board, which was embodied in the same Report, presented about a year after to the king in council, in which are contained the accounts abstracted above of the exports and imports of the West India Islands. With the details given in the report in regard to the condition of the African tribes the purchase or capture of the slaves, their conveyance to America, and their treatment there, the public mind has long been sufficiently familiar, but some accounts which it contains of the statistics of the trade in negroes, as it was at this date and had been for a long course of years carried on, deserve notice with reference to our present object. The English slave-trade, at this time, belonged chiefly to the two ports of Liverpool and Bristol. Of 137 vessels engaged in it in the year 1787, eighty belonged to the former of these ports, thirty to the latter. There is no complete account of the number of vessels annually employed in the trade before the year 1760, but for the twenty-seven years subsequent to that date, it had ranged from 28, measuring 3475 tons, in 1779, to 192, measuring 20,296 tons, in 1771. The traffic appears to have been depressed by the war from 1776 to 1783, but it revived with the return of peace the 137 vessels, which, as we have seen, it employed in 1787, were of the burthen of 22,263 tons, which was the highest tonnage then on record. From 1776 down to 1782 inclusive, the value of the cargoes exported to Africa in the slaving vessels ranged from 470,779*l*, which it was in 1776, down to 154,086*l*, in 1778, but previously, from the year 1763, the amount had usually been between 450,000*l* and 800,000*l*, in 1772 it had been 866,394*l*, in 1774, 846,525*l*, in 1775, 786,165*l*, and since the peace it had again become as great as formerly, having been 888,738*l* in 1786, and 668,255*l* in 1787. And, as the total exports from Great Britain to Africa, which according to the official tables were that year 735,447*l*, were in 1790, 929,203*l*—in 1791, 856,082*l*—and in 1792, 1,367,928*l*, we may presume that that portion of them, amounting to nine-tenths of the whole, which was carried out by the slave-ships, and for the purposes of the slave-trade, shared in this increase. Of the 668,255*l* worth of goods carried out by the slave-traders in 1776, 401,593*l* consisted of British merchandise, 186,258*l* of India goods, and the remaining

* *Annals of Commerce* p. 160.

† One vessel of 100 tons burthen is stated to have proceeded from Antigua to the South of Europe, but neither the description nor value of her cargo is given.

80,403' of foreign merchandise. The India goods are not particularized of the other descriptions the principal articles are stated to have been, woollens to the value of 138,330/, cottons to that of 51,636/, iron ware, chiefly guns, cutlasses, &c., to that of 43,515/, gunpowder to that of 37,923/, British linens to that of 18,200/, foreign linens to that of 13,043/, bugles (glass beads) to that of 12,916/, wrought copper to that of 12,269/, foreign bar iron to that of 10,947/, lead shot to that of 1408/, together with 290,542 gallons of British spirits, valued at 20,417/, and 64,584 gallons of rum, valued at 19,406/. The entire value of the imports from Africa to England in 1787 was 117,817/, consisting of red-wood to the value of 62,480/, ivory to that of 15,335/, gum-arabic to that of 6388/, Senegal gum to that of 5184/, bees'-wax to that of 3819/, and sundry trifling quantities of cam wood, ebony, ostrich feathers, &c. These commodities were brought home in 46 vessels, measuring altogether 6630 tons, and having no concern in the slave trade. The 137 slaves of course proceeded with their human cargoes from the African coast to the West Indies and then returned to England laden with the produce of the islands. About this time a slave is said to have cost from 8/ to 22/ in Africa, and to have brought from 28/ to 35/ in the West Indies about a century before the price is stated to have been about 3/ in Africa, and from 15/ to 17/ in the West Indies. The entire number of negroes annually exported from the west coast of Africa is supposed to have been, when the Board of Trade instituted its inquiry into the subject not less than 74,000 namely by the British 38,000, by the French 20,000 by the Portuguese 10,000, by the Dutch 4000, and by the Danes 2000, but of these many were conveyed to the Spanish and other foreign possessions in the new world. We have seen that the importation into the British West Indies in the year 1747 was about 21,000, and of these about 5000 appear to have been re-exported to the foreign West India Islands and to the United States. In the first three years after the war, however (1783, 1784, and 1785), 36,158 negroes were landed in Jamaica alone, of which only 9118 were re-exported, namely, 395 to the United States, the rest to the foreign West India Islands. In 1789 the entire number imported into all the British Islands was 21,425, of whom 8764 were re-exported, in 1790 it was 21,889, of whom 7542 were re-exported, in 1791 it was 30,763, of whom only 1427 were re-exported.

We will now shortly notice the progress made during this time of peace by some branches of our trade, which, although not actually carried on in the country, may nevertheless be described as domestic, inasmuch as they did not bring us into any direct intercourse with foreign nations.

Considerable exertions continued to be made for the encouragement and extension of the herring, pilchard, and cod fisheries, in our own and the neighbouring seas. In 1785 parliament passed an

act (the 25 Geo. III. c. 58) raising the bounty on the exportation of salted pilchards caught during the succeeding twelvemonths, with the view of reviving that fishery, which had formerly been carried on to a considerable extent on the south-west coast of England, but had lately declined, and by a subsequent act (the 26 Geo. III. c. 45) this encouragement was continued, under somewhat modified regulations, till June, 1791. In 1790 the pilchard fishery on the coast of Cornwall is stated to have been unusually abundant, the little town of Mevagissey is recorded to have cured 10,000 hogsheads, "which," observes Macpherson, "would have been a fund of wealth to the inhabitants, if the high price of salt whereof six bushels are required to every hoghead, did not carry off the greatest part of the proceeds."* The following year, however, we find the parliament (by the 31 Geo. III. c. 44) still further encouraging the pilchard fishery by a new bounty on exportation. For the ten years preceding 1756 the annual export of pilchards is said to have averaged 30,000 hogsheads, and to have employed about 3000 Cornish fishermen, besides about 4000 or 5000 people on shore. The fish were exported principally to the Mediterranean, in vessels which brought back salt, staves, and other materials for the fishery. "Pilchards," says Macpherson, under the year 1782, "are so much in request in the Italian states, that the orders from them for lead, tin, copper, leather, &c. have been often conditional, that, if such a quantity of pilchards could not be sent, the other articles could not be received, and the Venetian government allowed British vessels importing a certain quantity of pilchards to take in currants at their islands, though the carriage of that fruit was restricted to their own vessels." Afterwards, however, the quantity of pilchards annually exported fell off to only 12,000 or 13,000 hogsheads.

The herring fishery on the Yarmouth coast employed only 94 vessels in the year 1782, "whereas" says Macpherson, "in the year 1760 it employed 205, of from 30 to 100 tons, and gave employment to about 6000 men, women, boys, and girls, besides 30 or 40 vessels from Folkestone, Hastings, &c. which have now deserted it entirely. For about twenty years preceding 1760, the annual capture of herrings on the Norfolk coast was above 47,000 barrels, of which above 38,000 were exported. The fishery which the people of Yarmouth, with the assistance of the Shetland fishermen, used to carry on, in about 200 vessels of from 40 to 60 tons, in the neighbourhood of Iceland, where the cod most saleable in the Spanish and Italian markets are caught, has been annihilated by the operation of the salt-laws."† From 1777 to 1782 the total quantity of herrings cured in England appears to have varied from 23,890 barrels, which it was in the first of these years, to 35,359, which it was in the last. The cod ex-

* Annals of Commerce, iv. 213.
† 14th 754.

ported was 3473 cwt in 1777, 495 cwt in 1779, 6905 cwt in 1781, and 1341 cwt in 1782. The Scottish herring-fishery, on the other hand, had risen as the English declined. In 1751 the Scottish fishery employed only 2 vessels measuring together 148 tons, and employing 33 men and boys, and the quantity of herrings taken was only 213 barrels. The first slight impulse appears to have been received in 1760, when the number of vessels was 13, measuring 554 tons and manned by 130 hands, and the quantity of herrings taken 3089 barrels. A few years before, in 1757 the bounty had been raised from 30s to 50s per tun, at which rate it continued down to the year 1770 though for a part of this period it is said to have been very irregularly paid. However, in 1762 the fishery employed 49 vessels 87 in 1763, 119 in 1764, 157 in 1765, 261 in 1766, and 266 in 1767, in which last year the quantity of herrings taken was 28,328 barrels, upon which bounties were paid to the amount of 31,584*. After this there was a falling off for two or three years, but even under the system of a reduced bounty the fishery soon began to revive till in 1775 the number of vessels employed was 251 and the quantity of herrings taken 53,466 barrels and in 1776 the number of vessels was 294 and the herrings taken 51,863 barrels. "Campbelltown (in Argyleshire) the chief rendezvous of the fishery," Macpherson observes, "was raised by it, from having only 4 small vessels and 3000 or 4000 inhabitants in the year 1750 to the possession of 62 stout vessels, carrying 750 men, and a population of above 7000 inhabitants, in the year 1777. But this increase is a small object, in point of national utility, when compared with the increase of seamen produced by the bounty. It being calculated that two-thirds of the seamen who man the shipping of the Clyde, besides a considerable proportion of those in the vessels belonging to Liverpool, Bristol, and even London, and great numbers in the navy, have been bred in that fishery.† After the commencement of the American war, however, the rise in the prices of barrels, salt, naval stores, and in seamen's wages, which had advanced by the year 1779 from 100 to 400 per cent, pressed so hard upon this branch of adventure that the number of vessels, or busses, employed in the fishery, gradually declined from 240, manned by 2600 hands, in 1777, to 147, manned by 1667 hands, in 1782, and the quantity of herrings taken from 43,313 barrels in the former year, to only 13,457 in the latter. But the trade

* The numbers given in all these accounts as of barrels taken throughout include only those taken in the first voyage of each season, or that called the bounty voyage, and never the whole of this quantity appears to have been usually reported. But observe Macpherson, "as the busses often make a second and sometimes even a third, voyage, and as the herrings taken in those after voyages are believed to be one year with another equal to those taken in the bounty voyages, the real quantity of herrings caught and cured by the busses may be fairly estimated at double, he accordingly here stated. The number of herrings taken by boats and consumed fresh or slightly salted in the country, of which no account is taken, must also be prodigiously great, especially when an extraordinary plenty and consequently low price encourages the cadgers (luggers) to carry them as far as possible into the inland parts of the country — *Annals of Commerce* iii. 725.

† *Annals of Commerce* iii. 634.

was one which, from the nature of things, did not admit of a condition of steady prosperity, and even the bounties paid by the public, with the object of encouraging and sustaining it, although they no doubt occasioned its being carried on to an extent which it would not otherwise have attained, at the same time only gave it more of an uncertain and gambling character. Macpherson himself, with all his zeal in favour both of the fisheries and of the bounty system, cannot altogether shut his eyes to this view of the matter. "The precarious nature of the fishery," he observes, under the year 1782, "appears very strongly from the great inequality of the exportation from the same port Campbelltown, which in the year 1755 exported 24,436 barrels and has been generally one of the chief ports of Scotland for the exportation of herrings, exported this year only 396 barrels. Stranraer (in Wigtonshire) in the year 1758 exported 13,121 barrels, and has in some years exported none at all. Cod is chiefly imported from Shetland, next to which Campbelltown, and of later years sometimes Stranraer and Aberdeen, have been the chief fishing places for the exportation of cod."*

The Irish herring fishery appears to have been that which was carried on with the greatest spirit and success in the early years of the war. Large importations of herrings had long been made to Ireland from the List Country, or the coasts of the Baltic, to be thence re-exported to the West Indies, where they formed the principal food of the negroes, but, while from 1764 to 1773 this importation from abroad averaged 25,365 barrels annually, besides 16,657 barrels from Great Britain, the total average importation from all parts from 1779 to 1783 had fallen to 12,277 barrels, and at the same time the quantity exported had greatly increased. In 1781 there were 147 bounty vessels fishing in Loch Swilly besides 117 others from Liverpool and the Isle of Man. "The Irish," says Macpherson, "have great advantages in the herring-fishery. The arrival of the herrings, so precarious upon the extensive west coast of Scotland, is certain on the north west coast of Ireland, and they are in close to the shore. The fishing is free from restrictions, and the adventurers either fish themselves or purchase from the fishers, as they find most convenient whereby they are often enabled to complete their loading in two or three days, and to make several trips during one fishing season, which generally lasts six weeks or two months. And thus they can obtain a greater quantity of fish in the same space of time, and also run their cargoes much earlier to a market, than the British fisherman, who is tied down by restrictive laws to lose a great deal of time, and support a very heavy expense, that he may be entitled to the bounty." He adds that the certainty and greater abundance of herrings had induced many of the fishermen of England and Scotland to prefer the Irish fishing grounds to those of their own coasts.†

* *Annals of Commerce* iii. 725.

† *Id.* p. 725.

For some years the multitude of herrings on the Swedish coast had been so great that, after as many were eaten and salted for future consumption and exportation as could be so disposed of, many millions of them were boiled for oil, of which one barrel was obtained from eighteen barrels of herrings. About 16,000 barrels of this herring-oil were made in the year 1781, of which between 14,000 and 15,000 barrels were exported to the Baltic, Holland and Spain. But under the year 1784 we read, "This year no herrings appeared upon the coast of Sweden. But on the west coasts of Ireland and Scotland the abundance of those heaven-directed visitors was inconceivably great. On the Irish coast the fishermen generally loaded their boats with a single haul of a net, and each boat cleared 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the three months of the summer fishing, though the herrings were sold during the first month (July) for about 10d a thousand, or from 4d to 6d for as many as a horse could carry, though millions were boiled down for oil, and millions were thrown away. On the coast of Scotland as many herrings were caught in one inlet of the sea, called Loch Urn, in Inverness-shire, in seven or eight weeks, as, if they could have been brought to market, would have sold for 56,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., after which, the stock of salt and casks being expended, the people, who seem to have known nothing of the method of making oil of them, or were prevented by the want or high price of fuel, gave up the fishery." * This year, it is stated, the foreign vessels employed in the herring fishery on the north and west coasts of Scotland were no fewer than 275, carrying 3765 men, namely, 166 from various ports of Holland, 44 from Emden, 29 from Hamburg and Altona, 24 from Ostend and Nieuport, 7 from Dunkirk, together with 3 Danish yaggers and 2 Dutch store-ships.

The next year a new act was passed for the regulation of the fisheries (the 25 Geo III c 65), which removed some restrictions under which the bounties had hitherto been paid busses or vessels of the burthen of 80 tons or more were now allowed to receive bounty for that amount of tonnage, all the vessels were permitted to proceed direct to the fishery, without being compelled to muster at a general rendezvous, and liberty was given to employ the salt shipped for curing herrings in curing cod, ling, or hake (which fish, so cured, however, were not to be entitled to any bounty on exportation). Another act was passed in 1786, reducing the bounty to 20s per ton, and a third the year after that, making some other alterations, which need not be detailed. It appears to have been only in the Scotch fishery that the bounty was operative to any material extent. According to a table which Macpherson inserts under the year 1800, "extracted," he says, "partly from various accounts laid before the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the fisheries, who bestowed much

attention on that important object in this and the preceding year, and partly from the books of the inspector-general of imports and exports," there were no vessels engaged in the English fishery "on the tonnage bounty" in any of the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, and only from one to six in any of the seven following years, except in 1788, when the number was 15, and 1789, when it was 16. Yet the exportations of herrings from England throughout the ten years are stated to have varied from 12,116 barrels of white herrings in 1785 to 25,630 in 1792, and from 12,914 barrels of red herrings in 1789 to 40,270 in 1784. In the Scotch fishery, on the other hand, the number of vessels engaged on the bounty system appears to have increased progressively from 154, measuring 7307 tons, and manned by 1696 hands, in 1783 to 332 measuring 15,525 tons, and employing 3738 hands, in 1792, while the quantity of herrings cured for the bounty rose during the same time from 13,603 barrels to 81,851. In 1792 also 25,822 barrels of herrings are stated to have been cured in Scotland "not on the tonnage bounty" *. Some of the parties engaged in the Yarmouth fishery began, it seems, in the year 1787 to fit out vessels for the deep-sea fishery, under the encouragement of the act passed the preceding year, one of the clauses of which ~~allowed~~ premiums of 80, 60, 40, and 20 guineas, to be paid, in addition to the tonnage bounty, to the four vessels which should bring to land the greatest quantities of herrings from the north and north-east coasts of the kingdom between the beginning of June and the end of November. "Their fishermen," Macpherson relates, under the year 1789, "proceeded to Shetland, and sometimes so far beyond it that they fell in with floating ice. They followed the Dutch method of shooting their nets in deep water from the vessels, and not in locks or bays from their boats as the British buss-fishers do. In the second and third years of their fishing they believed their herrings to be nothing inferior to those of the Dutch in respect to curing, and they sent the most of them to Hamburg, where, happening to be the first that arrived, they brought a price equal to that of the early Dutch herrings, and, after the arrival of the Dutch, they were still able to stand the competition with them. This year some of the Yarmouth pickled herrings were sent even to Rotterdam, and the owners had no reason to complain of their sales. But, the expense of this mode of fishing, though it had hitherto been attended with such auspicious prospects, being greater than the usual returns could indemnify and the adventurers being disappointed in obtaining the bounties they thought themselves entitled to, they gave it up" †.

An account of the fishery and trade of Newfoundland from the end of the war, drawn up from official returns by the admirals commanding on that station, was published by the Board of Trade in 1792. According to this statement the number

* Macpherson *Annals of Commerce* iv 68* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* i 351† *Id.* p. 394

of British fishing-vessels engaged in the fishery had increased from 236 in 1784 to 389 in 1788, but had after that declined till it was only 276 in 1792, the British sack-vessels, which were only 60 in 1784, were 173 in 1786 and 161 in 1792, the British colony-vessels were 50 in 1784, 31 in 1786, 28 in 1788, 70 in 1789, and 57 in 1792, the bve boats were 344 in 1784, and 584 in 1791, and the boats belonging to the inhabitants, which were only 1068 in 1784, were 2090 in 1788, and, although the number afterwards fell off, were still 1259 in 1791. In 1792 the bve boats and boats of the inhabitants are reckoned together as 1997. The number of people residing throughout the winter in the island, which was 10,701 in 1784, had increased to 19,106 in 1789, but by 1791 had fallen off to 16,097. The exports in 1791 consisted of 751,296 quintals of dried cod (of which 29,717 were sent to the British islands, 57,177 to the West Indies, the remainder to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Madeira), 20,820 quintals of core fish (all to the British islands), 5046 tierces of salmon (mostly to the south of Europe), 1720 barrels of herrings (mostly to the West Indies), 2122 tons of oil (mostly to the British islands), 28,964 seal-skins (all to Great Britain and Ireland), 40,544 feet of planks and boards (to the same quarter), 29,000 shingles (to the West Indies), 16,948 staves (to the British islands). These commodities formed the cargoes of 523 ships, measuring 58,420 tons, and manned by 4269 seamen, 268 of the number clearing out for the Roman Catholic countries in the south of Europe, 140 for the British islands, 47 for the West Indies, 35 for the British possessions in North America, and 13 for the United States.

The Greenland or Northern whale-fishery received a great impulse from the cessation of the war. In 1781 the vessels engaged in this trade were only 34 from England and 5 from Scotland, measuring altogether 11,318 tons. The next year the bounty was raised from 30s to 40s per ton, but the number of vessels was still only 44 (including 6 from Scotland) in 1782, and 51 (including 4 from Scotland) in 1783. In 1784, however, the number was 89 from England and 7 from Scotland, in 1785, 136 from England and 13 from Scotland, in 1786, 162 from England and 23 from Scotland, and even in the next year, when the bounty was again reduced to 30s, the number was 219 from England and 31 from Scotland, measuring altogether 73,337 tons*. In 1788, it was still 216 from England and 31 from Scotland. After this, however, there was a considerable falling off, the account of shipping for 1789 exhibiting only 133 vessels cleared out for Greenland from England and 28 from Scotland, that for 1790, only 93 from England and 23 from Scotland, that for 1791, the same numbers, and that for 1792, only 73 from England and 20 from

Scotland, measuring altogether 26,983 tons, or little more than a third of the quantity of shipping employed in the trade five years before. With the view of checking this decline, acts modifying the regulations under which the fishery should be conducted were passed by parliament in 1789, and again in 1791, but the result showed that the branch of enterprise which it was thus attempted to foster was really of too uncertain and precarious a nature to sustain itself without the artificial prop of the bounty system, according to the extension or restriction of which it was plain that the trade would usually expand or contract.

Meanwhile, a new whale fishery, which had sprung up some years before the commencement of the present period, was now annually attracting adventurers to an opposite region of the globe. The South Sea whale-fishery took its rise, in some degree, as Macpherson observes, from the American war, with the breaking out of which the commencement of the prosecution of this trade by the English coincides. "The American whale fishers," the historian relates, "when they found the whale scarce in their own seas, used to stretch over to the coast of Ireland, and often as far as Africa, Brazil, and even the remotest Falkland Islands, in pursuit of the sperm whale, the most valuable of the cetaceous tribes. That fishery being given up in consequence of the war, many of the harpooners were induced to enter into the service of the British merchants, who fitted out vessels for the Newfoundland and Southern whale fisheries. For the latter, which was quite a new business in this country, there were equipped 15 vessels of about 170 tons, and each carrying four American harpooners, and, though their acquisitions were only abt 40 or 50 tons of oil for each vessel, yet the superior quality, and the price of it advanced by the war from 35/ to 70/ per ton, were sufficient to encourage the merchants to persevere in the business."† Acts establishing bounties for the encouragement of the South Sea whale fishery were passed by parliament in 1786, 1788, and 1789. It appears that the vessels engaged in this trade, which till 1781 all belonged to London, were 12 in 1776, 13 in 1777, 19 in 1778, after which the number fell to 4 in 1779 and was never higher than 9, which it was in 1783, till 1785, when it was 11. The number for 1786 is not given,† but it was 28 in 1787, 42 in 1788, 45 in 1789, 33 in 1790, 75 in 1791, and 42, of 9544 tons burthen and carrying 816 men, in 1792. No Scotch vessels took part in this fishery.

At the same time that the political constitution and government of the East India Company were

* Annals of Commerce iii. 590.

† In the table printed by Macpherson *Annals of Commerce* iv. 180 from which we extract the figures in the text, both the number of vessels and the measure for 1788 are set down as 0. But this must be either a misprint or must be intended to lead only to say that the proper figures cannot be ascertained for the other columns of the table show that the trade for that year was very considerable. The bounty paid amounted to £4000/ and the returns from the fishery were 1115 tons of oil 257 cwt of whale-bus and 778 seal-skins. All these numbers are very greatly larger than those for the preceding year, when 11 vessels are stated to have engaged in the fishery.

* From a table in Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* iv. 180. The numbers differ somewhat from those given in Chambers's *Historical View* p. 175 on which the statement in vol. i. p. 64 is founded.

regulated upon a new principle by the act of 24 Geo III sess 2, c 25, passed on the 13th of August, 1784, a great change was wrought in the principal branch of the Company's trade by the act reducing the duties on tea, called the Commutation Act (the 24 Geo III sess 2, c 38), passed on the 20th of the same month*. In the nine years preceding 1780 the importations of tea from China into Europe had been 118,783,811 pounds in 107 ships belonging to the Continent, and only 50,759,451 pounds in 79 ships belonging to the Company, that is to say, the average annual importation by the Company had been only 5,639,939 pounds while the supply annually brought by other parties was 13,198,201 pounds. At the same time, it was calculated, from the inquiries that were made in the best informed quarters, that the consumption of the article in the British dominions and on the Continent was directly the reverse of what these quantities would indicate—that the people of the Continent certainly did not use more than 5,500,000 pounds of tea in the year, and the subjects of Great Britain at least 13,300,000 pounds. And it was also well known that several millions of pounds of the leaves of sile, ash, and other trees were sold for tea in this country, so that the total quantity of the commodity, genuine and fictitious, that was consumed in the British dominions was supposed to be probably not much less than 18,000,000 pounds, of which between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 must have been smuggled or counterfeited†. When the *ad valorem* duty was reduced by the Commutation Act from about 120 per cent to 12½ per cent the Company's sales increased at once to nearly three times their former amount. The quantity of tea sold by the Company in 1785 was 16,307,433 pounds, in 1791 it was 16,989,744, in 1792 it was 17,294,205. The importations by the Company, of course, rose in the same proportion, on the other hand, the quantity annually imported direct from China into the Continent of Europe went on decreasing, till from 19,072,300 pounds, which it was in 1784, it had fallen to 2,291,560 pounds in 1791. At the same time the demand for British goods, and especially woollens, became every year greater in China. In 1785 the woollens exported to China consisted only of 4534 pieces of cloth, of 60,000 pieces of long ell, and of 332 pieces of camlet, in 1791 they consisted of 6456 pieces of cloth, 150,000 pieces of long ell, and 2340 pieces of camlet. In the former of these years no tin was exported, in the latter the quantity sent out was 1200 tons. The exportation of tin commenced in 1789. Altogether, the prime cost of the woollen goods exported by the Company to China, India, Benccolen, and St Helena, which was only 238,946/ in 1784, had grown to be 560,098/ in 1791, and 675,285/ in 1792. Of this latter sum the portion paid for goods sent to China was

587,421/. The value of the entire merchandise exported by the Company, which in 1784 was 418,747/ in 27 vessels, was in 1792 1,031,262/ in 43 vessels. On the other hand, the quantity of bullion sent out gradually declined from 724,317/ in 1785 to 489,192/ in 1788, and then, after rising in 1789 to 787,078/ fell again to 532,705/ in 1790, to 530,557/ in 1791, and to 10,943/ in 1792*. The entire value of the Company's imports which in 1783 was 3,000,978/, and which in 1784 was 4,204,981/, was 4,647,974/ in 1785, 5,141,532/ in 1791, and 5,050,819/ in 1792. But during this space what was called the private trade also made a rapid progress, and became of large amount this was the trade carried on by the commanders and officers of the Company's ships and by their servants and the free merchants residing by their permission in India, who were allowed to export and import goods on their own account in whatever spare room was left in the ships after the cargoes belonging to the Company had been taken on board. In this private trade, the value of the imports, which in 1783 was only 144,176/, and in 1784 400,784/, had by 1787 risen to 918,389/, and was 930,330/ in 1790, 709,455/ in 1791, and 703,578/ in 1792. The progress of the entire trade will be most distinctly indicated by exhibiting its state for the three years immediately preceding 1785, and during the three years ending with 1792.—In 1782, total exports 547,092/ in 24 ships, total imports 3,353,174/ in 1783, exports 405,442/ in 13 ships, imports 3,145,154/ in 1784 exports 418,747/ in 27 ships, imports 4,605,765/ in 1790, exports 1,461,488/ in 25 ships, imports 6,035,439/ in 1791, exports 1,505,516/ in 28 ships, imports 5,850,987/ in 1792, exports 1,042,205/ in 43 ships, imports 5,754,397/. It is to be remembered that there was no bullion exported in the former three years, and only the amount of 10,943/ in 1792.

The increase of the trade demanding the employment of a larger capital, the Company was empowered in 1786 (by the 26 Geo III c 62) to add 800,000/ to its stock, and this, being subscribed for at 155 per cent, produced an actual additional capital of 1,240,000/. In 1789 another act (the 29 Geo III c 65) authorised the augmentation of the capital of the Company by the sum of 1,000,000/, which, being subscribed for at 174 per cent, produced 1,740,000/. The Company's nominal capital was now 5,000,000/., upon which the proprietors were paid a dividend of 8 per cent, as they had been ever since 1778.

We will close these details of the state of the several branches of our commerce in 1792, and of the progress it had made during the preceding eight years of peace, by collecting from some curious tables and statements given by George Chalmers, in his 'Historical View of the Domestic

* See vol i pp 509 549, and ante p 623

† Macpherson's History of the European Commerce with India 1790

* Table in Macpherson's History of European Commerce with India p 48. At p 211 he makes the bullion exported in 1791 to have been only 428,098/.

Economy of Great Britain and Ireland,' the leading particulars of the commercial condition of the country at the commencement of the war with France in 1793, as compared with what it was at the commencement of the American war in 1774.

Taking the averages of the six years ending with 1774, and of the six ending with 1792, it appears that the value of British manufactures annually exported to the different countries of the world had increased between the one date and the other as follows —to Ireland, from 1,024,231/ to 1,352,291/; to Guernsey and the other Channel islands, from 36,201/ to 73,342/; to the Isle of Man, from 2893/ to 17,717/; to Greenland, from 2/ to 111/; to the South Sea whale fishery, from 0/ to 75/ to New Holland, from 0/ to 3179/; to the East Indies, from 907,240/ to 1,921,955/; to the West Indies, from 1,209,265/ to 1,845,962/; to British America, from 310,946/ to 697,205/; to the United States, from 2,216,824/ to 2,807,306/; to Africa, from 449,364/ to 568,663/; to Holland, from 741,806/ to 746,715/; to Italy and Venice from 618,817/ to 722,221/; to Portugal and Madeira, from 578,951/ to 643,553/; to Germany, from 431,223/ to 763,160/; to Flanders, from 332,667/ to 386,054/; to the Straits and Gibraltar, from 136,713/ to 250,228/; to Russia, from 132,257/ to 278,054/; to Denmark and Norway, from 97,034/ to 160,131/; to France, from 87,164/ to 717,807/; to Turkey, from 65,189/ to 73,026/; to the East Country from 62,996/ to 78,674/; to Sweden from 22,090/ to 41,570/. The only instance of decrease was in the exports to Spain and the Canaries, the value of which had declined from 878,066/ to 607,055/. On the whole the average exports to the British dominions in Europe had risen from 1,063,327/ to 1,443,361/; those to countries beyond Europe, from 5,093,639/ to 7,844,345/; those to all foreign European countries, from 4,185,053/ to 5,466,253/; making a total increase of from 10,342,019/ to 14,753,959/; or of not much less than 50 per cent in the eighteen years, the first eight of which had been years of war and only the last ten years of peace.

Another account shows the quantity of the shipping cleared outwards from Great Britain at the commencement, the middle, and the close of this period of eighteen years. On the average of the years 1772, '73, and '74, British 899,631 tons, foreign 66,443, total, 966,074, value of cargoes, 17,128,029/; on the average of 1785, '86, and '87, British 1,156,306 tons, foreign 122,301, total, 1,278,607, value of cargoes, 16,429,497/; on the average of 1790, '91, and '92, British 1,499,105 tons, foreign 169,684, total, 1,668,789, value of cargoes, 22,585,772/. In 1791 the entire quantity of shipping belonging to the British dominions consisted of 15,647 ships, measuring 1,511,401 tons, and manned by 117,113 hands; in 1792, of 16,079 ships, measuring 1,540,145 tons, and manned by 118,286 hands; in 1793, of

16,329 ships, measuring 1,564,520 tons, and manned by 118,952 hands. Of the ships in the last of these years, 10,779 belonged to England, 2122 to Scotland, 1181 to Ireland, 1889 to the colonies, 177 to the Isle of Man, 92 to Jersey, and 89 to Guernsey. The royal navy, which in 1760 amounted to 300,416 tons, had declined to 276,046 tons in 1774, but had risen to 433,239 tons in 1792, in which year it consisted of 7 first rates, 21 second-rates, 112 third-rates, 21 fourth rates, 103 fifth rates, 42 sixth rates, and 192 sloops, &c., making a total of 498 vessels of all kinds.*

As a final index of the increase of the commercial activity of the nation, and the general progress of our economical prosperity during the interval between the war of the American and the war of the French revolution, we may notice the growth of the post-office revenue. Macpherson, in his 'Annals of Commerce,' has given a table, drawn up in the latter part of it, under the direction of the secretary and accountant-general of the post-office, which exhibits both the gross and net annual revenue from 1783, and also presents a view of the history of the establishment from the earliest date. In 1652, according to this account the revenues of the post-offices of England, Scotland, and Ireland were farmed for 10,000/. At this time there were only two rates of postage 2d for a letter carried not more than eighty miles, 3d for one carried beyond that distance. In 1663 the post office was farmed for 21,000/, and in 1685 the revenue was estimated at 65,000/. This, however, was probably the gross revenue, for, on the average of the four years from 1707 to 1710 inclusive, the net annual revenue is stated to have been only 58,052/. In 1711 the rates of postage were augmented 50 per cent, and on the average of the four years from 1711 to 1714 inclusive, the annual net revenue was 86,223/ for England and 2000/ for Scotland, or in all 90,223/. In 1722 the gross revenue was 201,804/, but this included 31,398/ for franks, while the management or expenses of the establishment amounted to 70,396/, so that the net revenue or actual produce was no more than 98,010/. For the year ending 5th April, 1755, the gross revenue was 210,663/, but whether this included the rates that would have been chargeable on franks does not appear. The privilege of franking was considerably limited in 1764 (by the 4 Geo III c 24), and in the year ending 5th April, 1765, the gross revenue of the post-office was 281,535/. In that ending 5th April, 1775, it was 345,321/. In 1783 the gross revenue was 416,668/, the net produce 159,858/. In 1784 the privilege of franking was further limited (by the 24 Geo III sess 2, c 37), the rates of postage were raised, and the expenses were also reduced, as well as additional rapidity, punctuality, and security given to the conveyance of letters by the establishment of mail-coaches, and the other improvements in-

troduced by Mr Palmer* For that year the gross revenue of the post-office was 438,734†, the net produce 197,655‡ In 1785 the gross revenue was 486,178‡, the net produce 265,679‡ And from this point the returns continued steadily to increase, till in 1792 the gross revenue was 607,881‡, the net produce 368,784‡† This would indicate an augmentation of correspondence since 1784 to the extent of not much less than 40 per cent

But this onward course, in which things had been proceeding so steadily for eight or nine years, was, towards the close of the year 1792, checked and brought to a stand still at once In the month of November in that year, the Gazette announced the unprecedented number of 107 bankruptcies No such wide spread commercial ruin had ever before been known in England in the worst of times In the beginning of the eighteenth century the average number of bankruptcies in England was not 40 a year From 1710 to 1720 the number was as often considerably under as somewhat above 200 It was 415 in 1726, 446 in 1727, and 388 in 1728, but after these three years it again declined, till, in 1745, it was only 200, and in 1746 only 159 nor was it ever so high as 300 till the year 1764, when it was 301 It was 525 in 1772, and 562 in 1773, but in 1774 it fell again to 360 In 1778 the extraordinary number of 675 bankruptcies occurred, but, for the next six years, the average number was only about 500 annually It rose gradually with the extension of trade, but, although it was 604 in 1791, the rate at which it proceeded for the first ten months of 1792 would not have made it more than 570 for the whole of that year What occasioned the shock and panic in the public mind was the suddenness with which the monthly number of bankruptcies mounted to 105 in November, from having been not so many as 50 per month, on an average, since the beginning of the year The greatest number of bankruptcies that had ever before this occurred in one month was 83, which was the number in November, 1788†

Referring to these facts, "we may see," observes Chalmers, "that the commencement of Queen Anne's war did not greatly incommode our traders The bustle and business of her hostilities appear to have increased the number of bankruptcies The rebellion of 1715 seems to have made none The South Sea year, 1720, appears to have involved our merchants in the burst of bubbles, though it was public rather than private credit which was chiefly affected during this unhappy year of visionary projects Our bankruptcies now

regularly increased with the augmentation of our trade The rebellion of 1745 overturned none of our commercial houses. The war of 1756 seems to have done a little more mischief, though that mischief seems to have decreased as hostilities went on The peace of 1763 augmented the number of bankruptcies, though the commercial distresses of that period seem to have been more in sound than in reality With our traffic and business, our bankruptcies continued to increase in number and magnitude We perceive how many they were augmented during 1772 and 1773, when our circulation was impeded at a moment of uncommon prosperity We see a smaller number of bankruptcies in 1781, when our trade was the most depressed during the American war, than in 1772 and 1773 The two most prosperous years which this nation had ever known were 1791 and 1792, yet, strange to tell, the number of our bankruptcies was larger than the amount of them in 1781, the most disastrous year of the American war"*

The alarm, however, excited by the large number of the bankruptcies which took place in November, 1792, did not arrive at its height till the spring of the following year In December, 1792, the bankruptcies were only 47, but in January, 1793, the number was 71, in February 67, in March 105, in April 188, in May 209, in June 158, in July 108 thus, for the five months from March to July inclusive, making an average of about 154 a month, or at the rate of 1850 a year The actual number of bankruptcies in the year 1793 was 1304, which was considerably more than twice the number that had happened in any preceding year, with the exception only of the year 1778, when rather more than half as many had happened

Many of the houses that came down in this commercial storm of the spring and summer of 1793 were of old standing and great eminence, and their liabilities were of an amount proportioned to the extent to which their business had been carried on, and the confidence that had been universally reposed in their wealth and stability Chalmers, who endeavours to show that the shock thus given to the system of the national credit and trade had nothing to do with the war between England and France, which, after having been for some time manifestly inevitable, broke out in the beginning of February in this year, has preserved some interesting details of the commencement and progress of the panic "The first bankruptcy," he states, "which created suspicion, from its amount, was the failure of Donald and Burton, on the 15th of February, 1793 They were engaged in the most uncertain of all traffics—in the trade of corn—in speculations on American corn, but they had sustained no loss from the war On Tuesday evening the 19th of February, the Bank of England threw out the paper of Lane, Son, and Fraser, who had never recovered the shocks of the American war, and next morning they stopped payment, to

* See vol i pp 571 578

† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce iv 547 548 The table of the gross revenues from 1708 to 1798 in Chalmers's Historical View p 208 gives considerably smaller sums under each year the difference is probably occasioned by the revenue of the Scotch post office being included in the one account and not in the other The statements of the gross revenue for 1784 and 1785 given in the preceding Table (vol i pp 571 578) must be understood as referring to England only

‡ See Table of the number of bankruptcies in every month, from 1700 to 1798, in Chalmers's Historical View p 228

* Chalmers's Historical View p 228

the amount of almost a million of money. This great failure involved the fate of several very substantial traders, but none of those houses had sustained any damage from the war. Suspicion was now carried up to alarm, and every merchant and every banker who was concerned in the circulation of negotiable paper met with unusual obstructions in their daily business, yet it was not till the 16th of March that the long-established house of Burton, Forbes, and Gregory stopped, which was followed on the 18th, by the failure of their correspondents, Caldwell and Company, of Liverpool, to the amount of nearly a million. Still, neither of these great circulators of paper had sustained any loss from the war, and, as suspicion had been carried up to alarm, alarm was now magnified into panic.* The real cause of the mischief Chalmers finds in the great number and reckless operations of the country banks, which within the last few years had risen in almost every market-town. Of 279 of these establishments, of which he had a list, no fewer than 204 issued what were called optimal notes, that is, notes which the bank reserved to itself the option of paying either in London or in the country, and of the 71 stopped payment in this year, 1793 "Their notes," says Chalmers, "came oftener, and in greater numbers to London, than were welcome in the shops of London. These notes became discredited, not only in proportion as the supply was greater than the demand for them, but as the banks were distant and unknown. The projects and arts by which those notes were pushed into the circle of trade were regarded with a very evil eye by those who, in this management, saw great imprudence in many, and a little fraudulence in some. When suspicion stalked out to create alarm, and alarm ran about to excite panic, more than 300 country banks in England sustained a shock, all were shaken, upwards of 100 stopped, some of which, however, afterwards went on in their usual course of punctual payments."† The entire number of country banks in England and Wales, at this time, has been variously stated at from 280 to above 400‡. The bankrupts of the disastrous spring and summer of 1793 were chiefly, Chalmers asserts, country bankers and country traders. Few foreign merchants, he affirms, failed. Macpherson also agrees that the country banks, "which were multiplied greatly beyond the demand of the country, . . . and whose eagerness to push their notes into circulation had laid the foundation of their own misfortunes, were among the greatest sufferers, and consequently the greatest spreaders of distress and ruin among those connected with them." "And they were also," he adds, "the chief cause of the great drain of cash from the Bank of England, exceeding every demand of the kind for about ten years back"§.

In the universal alarm, applications from various

* Chambers's Historical View p. 227.

† Ibid. p. 228.

‡ See Macpherson's Annals of Commerce iv. 266
§ Ibid.

quarters were made to the government, and at length, on Monday the 22nd of April, Mr Pitt called together a number of gentlemen, at his house, to take their opinion as to a proposition for the revival of commercial credit, and the restoration of confidence by a parliamentary advance of exchequer bills to parties possessed of real capital.* There was much disunion and difference of opinion at this meeting, but in the end it was agreed that eleven of the leading merchants present, being principally those who had expressed the greatest difficulties in seeing their way to any remedy for the universally admitted evil, should assemble again on the following day at the Mansion-House, to take the plan submitted by the minister into further consideration. At this second meeting it was, after another long discussion, unanimously agreed, "that the interposition of parliament was necessary, and that an issue of exchequer bills, under certain regulations and stipulations, was the best practicable remedy." A representation to this effect having been drawn up, a copy of it was immediately laid before Mr Pitt, who lost no time in calling the attention of the House of Commons to the subject, and on the 25th, on his motion, a select committee was appointed, "to take into consideration the present state of commercial credit, and to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House." The report of the committee was brought up by the chairman (the Lord Mayor) on the 29th. It embodied a statement which had been made to the committee by the chancellor of the exchequer (Pitt), to the effect that, according to representations which had been made to him from many different quarters, the failures which had taken place had begun by a run on those houses which had issued circulating paper without being possessed of sufficient capital, but the consequences had soon extended themselves so far as to affect many houses of great solidity, and possessed of funds much more than sufficient ultimately to answer all demands upon them, although these funds could not be converted into money or negotiable securities in time to meet the pressure of the moment. The mere sudden discredit of the paper issued by many of the country banks, Pitt went on to observe, had of itself produced a deficiency of the circulating medium occasioning material inconvenience in mercantile transactions. Then, in addition to this, the circumstances in which they were placed had induced bankers and others to keep in their hands greater quantities of money than usual, so that large sums were in this way kept out of circulation, and much difficulty was experienced in procuring the usual advances on bills of exchange, particularly on those of long date. Finally, many persons possessed of large stocks of goods could at the present moment neither dispose of them nor raise money on their credit, in consequence of which the usual orders to

* This notion was suggested in a letter to Pitt by Sir John Sinclair on the 14th of April. See Sir John's History of the Revenue (3rd edit.), II. 266-267.

manufacturers were interrupted, and numbers of their working people thrown out of employment. It is said that many of the workmen who were discharged and thrown idle at this crisis enlisted in the army, and many others emigrated to foreign countries.* The statement made by the chancellor of the exchequer, the report proceeded to relate, was borne out by facts which several members of the committee mentioned as having fallen under their personal information. Mr Thornton, for instance, was acquainted with the situation of five or six mercantile houses, possessed of quantities of goods abundantly sufficient to cover their liabilities, but which they could neither sell nor convert into money, so that they were under very great apprehension of being shortly obliged to stop payment. He had been lately appointed a trustee for winding up the affairs of a London firm, with extensive connections in the country, which, after suspending payments for three weeks, had been enabled to pay its acceptances, and within a twelvemonth would discharge all its debts, and probably find itself in possession of a surplus of 100,000/. Other cases of a similar kind were mentioned by Mr Alderman Anderson and Mr Chiswell. Mr Gilbert Innes, a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland, being examined by the committee, stated that that country was in very great distress—that the two chartered banks there would not be able much longer, with prudence to themselves, to furnish the necessary accommodation and support either to different mercantile and manufacturing establishments or to the country banks, and consequently, if something was not immediately done by government, a very general commercial ruin might be expected, involving many houses of undoubtedly ample means. The distress which threatened the Scotch manufacturers arose not so much, in Mr Innes's opinion, from a failure of the usual markets for their goods, as from the difficulty of discounting, either in London or in Scotland, the long dated bills received from the purchasers of their goods. Great quantities of manufactured goods belonging to Scotch manufacturers were then in London, which used when sold to be paid for in bills at three months for a small part, and at from six to fourteen months for the rest, but which now either remained unsold or were disposed of at a loss for cash, in consequence of the long dated bills not being negotiable. The Scotch manufacturers frequently borrowed money for the purposes of their business on personal bonds, a great part of which money had been called for at Whitsunday next (the 10th of May), and from the state of credit in Scotland this witness had reason to think that the manufacturers would not, as usual, be able to answer this call by borrowing again on their former securities. Innes believed that the quantity of paper circulated by the country banks in Scotland had of late been considerably diminished, and their discounts on bills of exchange greatly so since the present troubles began, but the circulation of

the metropolitan bank with which he was connected was, he stated, nearly the same as usual, and the assistance given by it to the country greatly superior to what it had given at any former period. Mr Macdowal, member for Glasgow, and also a member of the committee, stated that he had just returned from that city, where he had found "all the commercial houses and manufacturers in the greatest distress, from the late stagnation of commercial credit and total want of private confidence." The banks at Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock had not for some time past discounted to any extent, from their notes being poured in upon them for gold, and from the alarm which the state of credit in London had occasioned. In Glasgow, Paisley, and the places connected with them in different parts of Scotland, there were about 160,000 men, women, and children dependent for employment upon the manufacturers, and in Glasgow a very great number of these working-people had been already discharged. Looking to the whole case, the committee came unanimously to the conclusion that it was advisable to adopt the plan which had been proposed, of assisting houses possessed of sufficient means, and which could give the necessary security, by advances of public money, and the report recommended that the amount of exchequer bills to be issued for this purpose should be 5,000,000/ instead of 3,000,000/, as originally suggested. When the report was read in the House, a short debate took place on the question that it should be referred to a committee of the whole House on the following day. Fox said that he did not feel disposed to give his consent to the proposed measure, but yet he confessed, under the present circumstances of the country, he wanted nerves to give it a decided opposition. "It seemed to him a business of a very anomalous nature, nor had he ever heard of a system in any shape similar having been hitherto adopted or thought of." Both he and Mr Grey also objected to the unconstitutional influence and control which the plan would enable the government to exercise over the commerce of the country, and they urged that, if the proposed advances of money to parties in difficulty really were expedient they ought to be left to be made by the Bank, whose proper business it was to lend money to all who could offer it sufficient security. On the next day, the 30th, the subject was again warmly discussed, when Fox reiterated his objections at greater length, and was supported by Francis, and M. A. Taylor; but nobody ventured formally to move a negative. Pitt's proposition, that his majesty should be enabled to direct exchequer bills, to the amount of 5,000,000/, to be issued to commissioners, to be by them advanced, under certain regulations and restrictions, for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as should be desirous of receiving the same, on due security being given for the repayment of the sum so advanced within a time to be limited. The minister and his friends expressed perfect confidence in the efficacy of the measure, if it

* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* iv 367 note

should be only brought into operation without any considerable delay Pitt said "that, from the nature of the business, the Bank had declined interfering, because the species of the security to be given was not such as the Bank had been accustomed to receive. The measure now proposed was of a temporary nature. The practice of the Bank upon discount was permanent. The Bank took securities for what business they transacted in this way at two months. The security to be given here was not determinable at that time, and the deposit was of a nature which the Bank had not been accustomed to act upon." The resolution having been agreed to, it was reported to the House the next day, and a bill pursuant to it brought in, which underwent some discussion two days after on the motion for committing it, but was carried triumphantly through all its stages. The advances, which were to bear interest at the rate of 2½d per day on the 100l, and were to be in sums of not less than 4000l, were authorised to be made on security approved by the commissioners, or on the deposit of goods of double the value of the sums advanced, to be lodged in warehouses, to the satisfaction of the commissioners, if in London, or of the principal officers of the customs or excise, if in Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Leith.

It is admitted on all hands that the effect of this measure was immediate and powerful. "The very first intimation," says Macpherson, "of the intention of the legislature to support the merchants operated all over the country like a charm, and in a great degree superseded the necessity of the relief by an almost instantaneous restoration of mutual confidence."* The entire number of applications for advances out of the 5,000,000l granted by parliament was 332, and the entire amount applied for was only 3,855,624l. The applications by 45 parties for 1,215,000l of this sum were afterwards withdrawn or not persisted in, and 49 applications, for 438,324l, were rejected, as not coming within the intention of the act, or from the inability of the parties to give the required security, so that the whole amount that was actually advanced was 2,202,200l, to 238 applicants. According to an account printed by Chalmers, the following were nearly the sums granted to the different parts of the kingdom — To London, 969,700l; to Glasgow, 319,730l; to Manchester, 246,500l; to Liverpool, 137,020l; to Bristol, 41,500l; to Leith, 25,750l; to Paisley, 31,000l; to Dundee, 16,000l; to Edinburgh, Perth, and Banff, 4000l each, and to other places, 310,000l † (or rather 383,000l, if we are to account for the distribution of the entire amount advanced). Of the 2,202,000l every farthing was repaid, together with interest amounting to 18,033l (or 4348l, beyond the expenses of management); and of the 238 persons who were assisted, only two became bankrupt. Long before the end of the year confi-

dence was perfectly restored, and the facility of raising money both in London and in the country had become as great as it usually is in a healthy state of the commercial system. The bankruptcies announced in the Gazette for the last five months of the year 1793 were only at the rate of about 74 a month, or not half as many as the preceding five months had produced.

In Scotland, Chalmers affirms, the commercial distress during this crisis, though great, was much less than in England. Adam Smith has given an account of the act of parliament passed in 1765 (the 5 Geo III c 49) which suppressed the ten and five shilling bank-notes till then circulated in Scotland, and also what were there called optional notes, that is, notes containing a clause by which the bank "promised payment to the bearer, either as soon as the note should be presented, or, in the option of the directors, six months after such presentation, together with the legal interest for the said six months." "The directors of some of those banks," continues Smith, "sometimes took advantage of this optional clause, and sometimes threatened those who demanded gold and silver in exchange for a considerable number of their notes, that they would take advantage of it unless such demanders would content themselves with a part of what they demanded. The promissory notes of those banking companies constituted at that time the far greater part of the currency of Scotland, which this uncertainty of payment necessarily degraded below the value of gold and silver money. During the continuance of this abuse (which prevailed chiefly in 1762, 1763 and 1764), while the exchange between London and Carlisle was at par, that between London and Dumfries would sometimes be 4 per cent against Dumfries, though this town is not thirty miles distant from Carlisle."* The Act of 1765 at once restored the exchange between England and Scotland to its natural state, and Chalmers attributes to the greater circumspection introduced from that era into the banking system of the latter country much of the comparative stability which it was now found to possess. The following account is given in a letter which he quotes from a Glasgow correspondent — "The distress began to be felt here in a few days after it began in London in the month of February last, but we had no failures till the 28th of March, when the banking-house of Murdoch, Robertson, and Co were made bankrupts for about 115,000l. This was followed by the banking-house of A G and A Thompsons, who owed about 47,000l. The first will pay every shilling to their creditors, and it is supposed that the last will do so also. One or two more of the country banks in the west of Scotland were under temporary difficulties, but made no pause, and, having got assistance, they went on, and, as all the other banks did, drew in their funds and lessened their engagements. Some of the banks here did certainly continue to discount some bills, but in a less degree than formerly. All of

* *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 292.

† *Manchester View* p. 388. Chalmers says that the account is, he believes sufficiently accurate to show in what parts of the country the principal relief was wanted.

• *Wealth of Nations*, book II. chap. 3.

the banks were under the necessity of allowing many of such bills as they held to be renewed at two or three months' date, either in whole or in part, according to circumstances, which, in fact, was the same thing as a new discount. In this way all our banks have been going on to this hour, by making renewals when they could not obtain payment, endeavouring to lessen the amount at every renewal, so as gradually to draw in their funds"*. It is pretty evident from this statement, however, that the utmost the generality of the Scotch banks were able or even attempted to do was to take care of themselves, the accommodation which they had been accustomed to give to the public appears to have been all at once, not merely restricted, but entirely withdrawn.

Chalmers conceives that the increase in the number of bankruptcies which took place in 1792 and 1793 was, in great part at least, a natural consequence of the extraordinary commercial activity and prosperity of the preceding eight or nine years, and to illustrate this view of the matter he refers to a statement made by Lord Kaimes, which in his lordship's own words is as follows—"In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt, imprisoned for debt, obtains liberty by a process called *cessio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to 1744 there were but twenty-four processes of that kind, which shows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained still ignorant of their advantages by the Union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another, an evident proof of the late rapid progress of commerce in Scotland. Every one is roused to venture his small stock though every one cannot be successful"†. That is to say, apparently, that, while the average number of bankruptcies in Scotland during the half century ending with 1744 was not quite one in the two years, the average number in the next quarter of a century was seventy two annually, or a hundred and forty-four times as many as before. Of course, where there is no trade there can be no bankruptcies, and a busy and extending trade, with its elements of speculation and adventure, will produce more than its due proportion of bankruptcies, as compared with a trade which neither overflows its old channels nor seeks new ones. If bankruptcies really increased in Scotland after 1744 at the rate Kaimes seems to assert, the commerce of the country must have begun from that epoch not only to extend itself rapidly beyond its ancient limits, but altogether to change its character. The natural growth and expansion of the commercial system of England may be held sufficient to account for the gradual augmentation in the annual number of bankruptcies from 1762, for example, when it was 205, to 1792, when it was 628—or the prosperity of the seven years from 1784 to 1791 may of itself have been enough to raise the number in that interval from 517 to 604,

but it must have been something else than this constantly operating cause which suddenly more than doubled it two years after. If, indeed, the prosperity was in a great degree only apparent or hollow, it would be easy to understand how the crash should have been the greater the longer it was deferred—how the downfall of the house of cards should have made the more wide-spread ruin the higher it had been raised. And this appears to have actually been the case in so far as the system of trade which had arisen was kept up by a paper currency not representing any real capital. Such support is like that given to the physical system of an individual by alcohol or opium.

Another consolatory view which Chalmers takes is, that this crisis was upon the whole certainly productive of more good than evil. This is explained in a passage which he gives from another letter of his Glasgow correspondent, written in the end of the year 1793—"The truth is, that most of us are of opinion that the late stagnation has been exceedingly useful to our trade, and that, if it does not proceed too far, it will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to men of real capital. For previous thereto the sales were so rapid, the returns so quick, and money so abundant, that much business was established upon little better than mere paper circulation, or speculation alone, which is now at an end. The wages of our labourers, too, had got to such a height, that we must in all probability have been gradually undermined in foreign markets by foreign manufacturers, and, if this had once occurred, it would have been much more difficult to recover from than any temporary shock like the present. Besides, these high wages occasioned much idleness and dissipation, and much of the time of our workmen was consequently spent in alehouses, where they became politicians and government-mongers, restless and discontented. Upon the whole, therefore, we may say with truth, that all which has hitherto happened has been for the best"*. All this, however, only goes to show that the storm that cleared the atmosphere was needed for that purpose—not that the destruction it wrought was a good thing in itself.

This storm, however, which had almost wrecked the commerce and navigation of England, Chalmers considers to have, even at the time, very little deranged the trade of Scotland. The total official value of the exports from Scotland, which had been 1,170,076/ in 1789, and 1,230,884/ in 1792, was in 1793 only brought down to 1,024,751/. Of the shipping of that country the entire tonnage, which was 154,409 tons in 1790, and 157,098 in 1791, was 154,857 in 1792, and 155,315 in 1793. The quantity of linen cloth manufactured in Scotland for sale, which was 18,739,725 yards in 1791, rose to 21,065,386 in 1792, and was still 20,676,620 in 1793. From these facts this writer infers "that the commercial affairs of Scotland were little embarrassed

* Historical View p. 233.

† bkcs class 11 = History of Man book 1 sketch 5 sect 1 note.

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* Historical View p. 230.

by the impeded circulation in 1793, and still less by the commencement of war." "And," he concludes, "I am inclined to believe that, had not any unusual bankruptcies happened in England during 1793 from the imprudent management of country banks, her trade and shipping had been little lessened by sudden hostilities."*

The history of our foreign trade during the war will be most conveniently and distinctly traced by taking first and by itself the space of four years that elapsed before the suspension of cash payments by the Bank. In the year 1793, the last of the peace, the official value of the total imports into Great Britain, as we have seen, was 19,659,358*l*, that of the exports thence to all parts of the world, 24,907,200*l*†. For the first four years of the war the annual imports and exports are stated to have been as follow—in 1793, imports 19,255,116*l*, exports 20,388,828*l*, in 1794, imports 22,276,915*l*, exports 26,748,083*l*, in 1795, imports 22,736,889*l*, exports 27,123,338*l*, in 1796, imports 23,187,319*l*, exports 30,518,913*l*. So that, with the exception of the first year of hostilities only, our trade would appear, by these accounts, to have been not only steadily progressive during this space, but to have advanced at a much more rapid rate than even in the previous season of peace. From 1793 to 1796, taking imports and exports together, the augmentation is made to have amounted to not less than 36 per cent, or more than one third, which was very nearly double the augmentation that took place in the three years from 1789 to 1792.

The statement of the tonnage of the ships entered inward and cleared outward however, in these four years scarcely bears out these accounts of imports and exports. The tonnage of the ships entered inward in 1792, was, as stated in a preceding page, 1,891,711 tons, of those cleared outward, 1,739,300‡. For the four following years the amounts, as they are to be collected from the official tables, were—in 1793, inward 1,675,327 tons, outward 1,427,234, in 1794, inward 1,786,091, outward 1,600,817, in 1795, inward 1,632,815, outward 1,728,017, in 1796, inward 1,995,018, outward 1,632,984. According to this indication the entire increase of trade from 1793 to 1796 would be only about 16 per cent. Still, this account also establishes the fact that there was an increase, and one of considerable amount §. The net revenue of the customs, which

had been 4,027,230*l* in 1792, was 3,978,645*l* in 1793, 3,565,117*l* in 1794, 3,569,560*l* in 1794, 3,651,757*l* in 1795, and 4,111,051*l* in 1796. But, for the reasons already explained, very little can be made of this last series of figures as an index of the progress of our foreign trade.*

The effect of the commencement of hostilities with France, of course, was at once to extinguish nearly the whole of the large and growing trade which had for some years been carried on directly between the two countries, under the treaty of 1786. The treaty itself was at an end, and to the natural difficulties interposed by the war were added positive prohibitions by the one power against the exportation of almost every species of goods which the other would receive, and the importation of nearly everything which the other would allow to leave its dominions. The trade, accordingly, in so far at least as indicated by the entries at the Custom-house, was speedily reduced to a very small matter. In 1792 as we have seen, our imports from France were valued at 717,634*l*, our exports thither at 1,228,165*l*. In 1793 the imports are stated in the accounts of the inspector-general at 121,027*l*, the exports at 228,887*l*, in 1794, the imports at 167*l*, the exports at 34,543*l*, in 1795, the imports at 10,362*l*, the exports at 78,652*l*, in 1796, the imports at 14,655*l*, the exports at 7,975*l*. No doubt, however the actual trade continued to be much greater than it would appear to have been from these figures considerable quantities of British manufactured goods, in particular, are known to have throughout the war constantly found their way into the dominions of France, in violation and defiance, for the greater part, of the laws of both countries.

Flanders, or the Netherlands, had been overrun by France, and wrested from the possession of the house of Austria, before the war with England began, yet for some years our trade with the Flemings still continues to make a large figure in the annual official accounts. Our imports from Flanders, which in 1792 had amounted to 132,289*l*, are still set down in 1793 at 120,180*l*, and in 1794 at 76,820*l*, and our exports thither, which in 1792 had been 1,031,092*l*, only fell to 776,189*l* in 1793, and to 671,852 in 1794. Up to this time the Netherlands appear to have been still regarded by the English government as part of the dominions of our ally, the emperor, and the customary amount of the exports and imports was only reduced by the French occupation of the country, and perhaps its still unsettled or uneasy state under its new masters. In 1795, however, the trade with Flanders, having been generally prohibited and declared illegal, disappears from the inspector general's returns as completely as the trade with France. The imports for that year are

Historical View p. 235

† See ante p. 629

‡ See ante, p. 629

§ In the chronological account given by Chalmers (Historical View opposite to p. 215) the tonnage of the ships cleared outward in 1796 is made 1,739,300 tons. The excess of about 100,000 tons over the amount to be collected from the detailed account of Macpherson (Annals of Commerce, iv. 400) in the British ships both statements agree in making the tonnage of the foreign ships cleared outward 478,356 tons. If we follow this statement of the shipping in Chalmers the augmentation of trade thereby indicated in the three years from 1793 to 1796 would be about 20 per cent. The accuracy of the official account of exports for 1794 was, it seems, objected to in the H. of Commons, and when a misapprehension into particularly the article of coffee, as stated to be exported to the incredible value of 6,040,000*l*, Mr. Pitt allowed that there might be a mistake in that article (Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, iv. 381 note. But in

fact the amount of foreign (under which is included colonial) merchandise exported in 1796 as stated in the official account exhibits no remarkable increase upon its amount for some years preceding. It is 10,022,887*l* in 1794, 10,785,132*l* in 1795, and 11,416,698*l* in 1796. And the next year the increase was still greater than this.

* See ante p. 629

set down at only 4287/, the exports at only 13,508/. In 1796 the imports were 7,067/, the exports 65,054/. This slight improvement, which was maintained and extended in subsequent years, is to be attributed to a proclamation by the king in council, which was issued in the beginning of September in that year, permitting all kinds of British and foreign merchandize, except military and naval stores, to be exported from Great Britain in vessels belonging to any friendly power, to the Netherlands, and also to Holland and any part of Italy. "The Dutch government," Macpherson states, "considering this indulgence as a scheme for draining their country of its ready money, issued a counter-proclamation, in the strongest terms enjoining their countrymen not to engage in such a trade, and strictly prohibiting the entry of British goods in their ports. They also required the French republic to adopt a similar resolution. But the French, though they had already prohibited the importation of British manufactures, finding it convenient to wink at a clandestine importation of them, were unwilling to follow the example of their allies in enforcing a strict adherence to a line of conduct, which, it is said, they themselves recommended to them. At last, on the Dutch threatening to withdraw their prohibition, the French government not only prohibited the importation of British merchandize, but also ordered that all British goods which were already in the country should be exported, and that all persons attempting to evade the prohibition should be stigmatized in the public papers as brokers of England and destroyers of French industry."* The effect of this prohibition, which had been for some time threatened or apprehended, although it was not issued till the 2nd of November, 1796, may be partly seen in the insignificant amount, as just stated, of our exports to France in that year.

The first foreign state, after France, our commercial intercourse with which was in like manner all but annihilated by the war, was Holland, which was conquered by the French in the early part of the year 1795. In 1792, the official value of our imports from Holland had been 801,534/, that of our exports thither 1,516,449/†. In 1793 the imports are set down at 806,305/, the exports at 1,616,782/, and in 1794 the imports had increased to 1,013,351/, the exports to 1,640,915/. But in 1795 the imports were only 119,586/, the exports only 111,115/. In 1796, however, the imports, according to the official account had risen again to 309,933/, and the exports to 516,267/.

In the course of the same year 1795, France, on the 5th of April, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with Prussia, and on the 23rd of July, a similar treaty with Spain, which latter power, on the 5th of October, 1796, further declared war against England. On the 1st of March, 1795, also, the Duke of Tuscany had proclaimed his secession from the coalition against the French

republic, in the summer of the same year the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had made peace with France, and in the course of 1796 the King of Sardinia, the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Modena, the Pope, the King of Naples, and all the other princes and states of Italy, as well as some of those of Germany, had been forced to follow these examples. "The French government," observes Macpherson, "in their treaties with all those powers stipulated the most favourable terms for the commerce of France, and they expressly insisted on an exclusion of British vessels from their ports as the condition of their pacification with some of them. As they rightly considered the British commerce as the feeder and support of the war, they took possession of the port of Leghorn, the capital station of the British trade in the Mediterranean sea, and seized all the British property found in it. The ports of all the continent of Europe were now shut against the admission of British merchandise by authority of their sovereigns, except the British port of Gibraltar, those of Turkey, Portugal, Germany, and the three northern powers."*

On the other hand, in the course of these first four years of the war, various acquisitions were made by Great Britain beyond the boundaries of Europe. In 1793 we took from the French the island of Tobago in the West Indies (15th April), and Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and all their other settlements in the East Indies. In March and April, 1794, the French West India islands of Martinique, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe, with its dependencies, surrendered to Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, and, though Guadaloupe was retaken by the French in December following, and St. Lucie in July, 1795, the latter was recovered in May, 1796. From the Dutch, again, we took Malacca, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope, in the latter part of 1795, and Amboyna and Demerara in the spring of the year following. Within Europe, also, we acquired, in June, 1794, the sovereignty of Corsica which we held till the beginning of the year 1797. These changes ought to be kept in mind in reviewing the progress of our foreign trade for the first four years after the commencement of the war.

By comparing the account of imports and exports for the year 1796 with that for 1792, it appears that, in addition to France, Holland, and Flanders, already mentioned, the only foreign countries our trade with which suffered any diminution during this interval were the following —

ITALY (exclusive of Venice) —from which the imports were 1,004,288/ in 1792, and only 299,796/ in 1796, and to which the exports were 946,119/ in 1792, and 747,969/ in 1796.

SPAIN —the imports from which were 897,839/ in 1792, and 809,880/ in 1796, the exports to which were 794,101/ in 1792, and 546,125/ in 1796.

* Annals of Commerce iv. 380

† See ante p. 633

* Annals of Commerce iv. 381

PORTUGAL AND MADEIRA —from which the imports were 977,819/ in 1792, and 677,772/ in 1796, and the exports to which were 754,622/ in 1792, and 876,000/ in 1796

TURKEY AND EGYPT —from which the imports were 290,599/ in 1792, and 150,182/ in 1796, and the exports to which were 273,785/ in 1792, and 155,510/ in 1796

AFRICA (including Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope) —the imports from which were 82,912/ in 1792, and 120,396/ in 1796, but the exports to which were 1,367,918/ in 1792, and only 614,307/ in 1796

In none of these cases, however, was the decrease of any considerable amount, except only in the imports from Italy and the exports to Africa, and, although our trade with Portugal, Turkey, and Africa may have been depressed by the state of things arising out of the war, we were in no degree shut out by the war from our customary intercourse with those parts of the world

There was, indeed, likewise some slight falling off in the following branches of the trade carried on between Great Britain and the other portions or dependencies of the empire —

BRITISH AMERICA —from which the imports were 255,797/ in 1792, and 268,776/ in 1796, but to which the exports were 1,119,991/ in 1792, and only 1,017,620 in 1796

GBRALTAR (with the Straits) —the imports from which were 13,153 in 1792, and 29,593/ in 1796, but the exports to which were 197,224/ in 1792, and only 141,936/ in 1796

ISLE OF MAN —from which the imports were 27,342/ in 1792, and 31,310/ in 1796, but the exports to which were 37,527/ in 1792, and only 36,446/ in 1796

But all this—the nearly entire loss of the trade with France and the Netherlands, the great diminution of that with Holland and that with Italy, the decrease in that with Spain and the more considerable falling off in that with Africa, the insignificant decline in that with Portugal and that with Turkey, and the other still more trifling differences, of a merely accidental or temporary kind, which turn up against 1796 on a comparison of the two years—is much more than counterbalanced by the gain in the following cases —

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA —imports from, 1,038,706/ in 1792, 2,080,970/ in 1796, exports to, 4,271,418/ in 1792, 6,054,238/ in 1796

RUSSIA —imports from, 1,708,670/ in 1792, 2,110,083/ in 1796, exports to, 800,761/ in 1792, 766,896/ in 1796

GERMANY —imports from, 650,436/ in 1792, 2,082,275/ in 1796, exports to, 2,139,110/ in 1792, 8,173,989/ in 1796

PRUSSIA AND POLAND —imports from, 603,933/ in 1792, 1,304,386/ in 1796, exports to, 167,036/ in 1792, 596,379/ in 1796

DENMARK AND NORWAY —imports from, 186,648/ in 1792, 243,928/ in 1796, exports to, 312,720/ in 1792, 509,783/ in 1796

SWEDEN —imports from, 338,689/ in 1792, 347,336/ in 1796

VENICE —imports from, 65,391/ in 1792, 75,257/ in 1796, exports to, 17,112/ in 1792, 25,882/ in 1796

CANARIES —imports from, 10,222/ in 1792, 15,751/ in 1796, exports to, 17,277/ in 1792, 16,724/ in 1796

FOREIGN WEST INDIES —imports from, 280,454/ in 1792, 356,481/ in 1796, exports to, 106,623/ in 1792, 107,328/ in 1796

BRITISH WEST INDIES —imports from, 4,128,047/ in 1792, 4,541,217/ in 1796, exports to, 2,784,310/ in 1792, 3,954,816/ in 1796

EAST INDIES and other parts of Asia —imports from, 2,701,433/ in 1792, 3,972,689/ in 1796, exports to, 2,425,947/ in 1792, 2,358,707/ in 1796

NEW HOLLAND and Southern Whale Fishery —imports from 114/ in 1792, 0/ in 1796, exports to, 11,940/ in 1792, 18,669/ in 1796

GREENLAND and Northern Whale Fishery —imports from, 63,777/ in 1792, 106,867/ in 1796, exports to, 695/ in 1792, 358/ in 1796

IRELAND —imports from, 2,622,732/ in 1792, 2,764,877/ in 1796, exports to, 2,372,866/ in 1792, 2,897,069/ in 1796

GUERNSEY and other Channel Islands —imports from, 58,852/ in 1792, 228,979/ in 1796, exports to, 92,130/ in 1792, 196,631/ in 1796

In some of these instances it is easy to see that the increase was partly, the consequence of the stoppage or diminution of the trade with some other country. Thus, no doubt, the commerce which had formerly been carried on directly with Holland, the Netherlands, and Italy, was now in part carried on indirectly through Germany and Prussia. In other cases a freer intercourse than formerly had been promoted, or sought to be promoted, by special arrangements or treaties of commerce

A commercial treaty, which had been concluded with Russia in 1766, after having been allowed by the Russian government to expire, was renewed for six years in 1793, but no sooner had this been done than an imperial ukase was issued (on the 8th of April) absolutely prohibiting the importation of many of the principal articles of British manufacture, such as wrought iron of all sorts, wrought copper, gilt and plated ware, watches, coaches, striped and flowered casimirs, spagnolettes, and plushes, gauzes, and all ribands of more than one colour, and this was followed (on the 13th of December) by the prohibition of all other striped or woollen goods. "The consequence of these edicts," says Macpherson, "was, that many of the Russian merchants were reduced to bankruptcy, or obliged to return the goods they had purchased, instead of making the stipulated payment, to the importers, who in vain applied to the empress to restore the duties they had paid for the right of selling the goods in her dominions; so that prodigiously heavy losses fell upon the

British merchants, the very best customers of Russia, and upon the British manufacturers, who had put goods suitable for the Russian market in hand in a dependence on receiving the customary orders for them. It is difficult to account for this conduct of the wise and magnanimous Catherine. She could not intend to depress the British manufactures in favour of those of France, for she had already cut off all communication with that country, and, if she proposed by the prohibition of such goods to encourage or push forward the manufacture of such articles in her own dominions, the measure was at least premature."* At this time more than half of the entire foreign trade of Russia was with Great Britain. Of 800 foreign (besides 48 Russian) vessels which arrived at St Petersburg in 1793, no fewer than 536 were British, as were 542 of 877 which in the same year cleared outwards from that port. Although, however, the prohibitory regulations of the government of Russia appear to have for a time checked or somewhat diminished the importation of British manufactures into that empire, the trade between the two countries in Russian produce, as we have seen, went on increasing, and giving every year more employment to British shipping. And at last, in February, 1797, a new commercial treaty was concluded between the two countries, to last till 1807.

But the most important treaty of commerce the account of which belongs to the space of time now under review was that concluded with the United States of America. In the beginning of November, 1793, with the view of preventing the importation by the French of the produce of their West India islands, which, after the commencement of the war was managed by the produce being first sent to the continent of America, and thence conveyed to France in the neutral vessels of the United States, an order of the king in council was issued for seizing and detaining all vessels carrying either any produce of the French colonies, or provisions or other supplies for the use of those colonies. It is said that so many as 600 American vessels were seized or detained in English ports, under this order, between the 6th of November, 1793, and the 28th of March following, and it spread the greatest alarm among the merchants connected with the United States, who declared their apprehension that it would occasion an immediate rupture with that country. The American government, also, soon took up the matter, and, after having, on the 26th of March, 1794, laid an embargo for thirty days on all British vessels in their ports, dispatched Mr Jay, as envoy extraordinary to the Court of St James's, to demand redress. Upon this the order in council was revoked, and negotiations were entered upon, in a conciliatory spirit, which ended in the conclusion of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the two countries. Of this treaty the following were the most material articles.—The river Mississippi (in

conformity with a similar arrangement in the treaty of peace of 1763) was declared to be entirely open to the subjects of both governments, who might equally use all the landing-places on its east side. Provision was made for ascertaining and settling, by a joint survey and amicable negotiation, the northern boundary of the territory of the United States, between the Lake of the Woods and the river Mississippi (the still undetermined division of the Oregon country). It was also agreed that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to determine which of the branches of the river St Croix ought to be fixed as the boundary between the British provinces in the north-east and the United States (the question, or equivalent of the question, that has only just been settled). The 10th article ran as follows—"Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to individuals of the other, nor shares nor moneys which they may have in the public funds or in the public or private banks, shall ever, in any event of war or national differences be sequestered or confiscated, it being unjust and impolitic that debts and engagements, contracted and made by individuals having confidence in each other, should ever be destroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and discontents." A reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce being mutually agreed upon, it was arranged that during the continuance of the war, and for two years after its termination, the citizens of the United States might carry, in vessels of their own not exceeding the burthen of 70 tons, to the British West Indies, all such produce or manufactures of the United States as could be lawfully carried from the States to the islands by British vessels, and also that the American vessels might carry back from the islands to the States all such West Indian produce as British vessels might carry to the same quarter, the same duties being levied by each government upon the ships of the one country as upon those of the other engaged in this trade. The United States, however, engaged to prohibit the carriage, in American vessels, of molasses, sugar, coffee, cacao, or cotton (the produce of the British West Indies, it must, apparently, be understood, although it is not so expressed), either from the islands or from the United States to any other part of the world. The liberty of trading in the ports of the British territories in the East Indies was granted to American vessels, the government of the United States engaging that such vessels should carry the goods brought away by them from India to no part of the world but their own ports in America. By the 15th article it was agreed that no higher duties should be charged in the ports of either country upon vessels belonging to the other than were paid by the like vessels or merchandise of all other nations. "Nor," continued the article, "shall any prohibition be imposed upon the exportation or importation of any articles to or from the territories of the two

parties respectively which shall not equally extend to all other nations. But the British government reserves to itself the right of imposing on American vessels entering into the British ports in Europe a tonnage duty equal to that which shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of America, and also such duty as may be adequate to counterbalance the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Asiatic goods when imported into the United States in British or in American vessels." Both parties further agreed to treat for a more exact equalization of duties. If a vessel should be taken or detained on suspicion of having enemy's property on board, or of carrying to an enemy any contraband articles, it was stipulated that only the illegal portion of the cargo should be condemned and made prize. By the 21st article the two governments bound themselves not to permit their subjects or citizens to accept commissions from the enemies of the other, nor to permit such enemies to enlist any of their subjects or citizens into the military service, any subject or citizen found acting contrary to this article being made punishable as a pirate. And by subsequent articles they agreed that neither would permit privateers commissioned by the enemies of the other either to arm or to trade in their ports, nor would either allow a vessel belonging to the other to be taken within any of its bays or within cannon shot of its coasts. In case of a rupture between the two countries the subjects or citizens of the one residing in the dominions of the other were to have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade so long as they committed no offence against the laws, and, even if their conduct should induce the government to order them to depart from the country, they were to be allowed twelve months to remove their families and effects. Each party, by the 27th article, agreed to deliver up to justice all fugitives charged with murder or forgery committed within the jurisdiction of the other. Other articles provided for the settlement, by commissioners appointed by the two governments, of various claims made by the one against the other, arising out of the events of the war, especially the claims of the United States on account of damages their citizens were alleged to have sustained by irregular and illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels and property by British cruisers, and those made by subjects of Great Britain, who complained that their vessels had been taken within the jurisdiction of the United States, or by vessels originally armed in the ports of that country. The revocation of the order in council of November, 1793, had, before the commencement of the negotiations, removed a principal source of complaint on the part of the Americans, but nothing was settled by the treaty as to other matters which had been the subjects of remonstrance by the government of the United States: among others, the standing provocation and cause of after-quarrel, the asserted imprisonment of American seamen by British ships of war.

This treaty, which was signed by Lord Grenville and Mr Jay on the 19th of November, 1794, "was very far," says Macpherson, "from being satisfactory to the people of the United States, who complained that their trade with the British West Indies would be so hampered with the restrictions of it that it would never be of any advantage to them. They also observed that the chief points in dispute between the two countries were still as far from being decided as ever. On the other hand, it was remarked on this side of the water that the article restricting the trade of the United States with the British West Indies to vessels not exceeding seventy tons was equivalent to an act for creating a nursery of seamen for America." This last objection was founded on the notion that small vessels require a considerably greater number of men than large ones in proportion to the quantity of goods carried by them. Although ratifications of the treaty by the two governments were exchanged on the 25th of October, 1795, it was not ratified by the American House of Representatives till the 30th of April, 1796, nor was the act for carrying its provisions into full effect passed by the British parliament till the 4th of July, 1797.

The suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, in February, 1797, affecting, as it could not fail to do, the money prices of all commodities in the home market makes as marked an epoch in the history of our commerce as it does in that of the national finances. The circumstances which led to and accompanied this memorable event have already been briefly noticed in our First Chapter, but some additional details are required fully to explain the causes or state of things by which so remarkable a crisis was brought about. From papers which were laid before parliament, it appears that the first formal intimation of a pressure, or apprehended pressure, was made by the Bank to government in the beginning of 1795. A resolution of the directors, on the 15th of January in that year, expressed their determination not in future to allow the sum to be advanced at any time upon treasury bills to exceed 500,000*l*., alleging as a reason the uneasiness they felt at the heavy amount of the loans then about to be raised, 6,000,000*l*. (the actual sum was 4,600,000*l*.) for a foreign power (the emperor), besides 18,000,000*l*. for ourselves. On the 16th of April we find them reiterating this determination and at the same time complaining that their actual advances were still allowed to stand at between 1,500,000*l*. and 2,000,000*l*., notwithstanding a promise of the chancellor of the exchequer three months before that the excess over 500,000*l*. should certainly be paid off after the receipt of the first payment on the new loan. All their applications remaining unattended to, on the 30th of July they passed a resolution threatening to give orders to the cashiers to refuse payment of all treasury bills whatever the advance should amount to the limit

they had fixed. A few days after this (on the 6th of August) came an application from Pitt for a further accommodation (it appears to have been to the extent of 2,500,000*l*.) on the security of the growing surplus of the consolidated fund: this the directors declined taking into consideration till the minister should have given them full satisfaction on the subject of the advances on treasury bills, "which," remarks the resolution, "is not even touched upon in his letter." The loan was eventually granted only on Pitt's assurance that he would take care the conditions insisted upon by the Bank, including the reduction of the advances on bills to 500,000*l* by the end of November, should be punctually complied with. The arrangement was made, as the directors remind him in a subsequent communication, dated the 8th of October, "with extreme reluctance on their part on his pressing solicitations and statement that serious embarrassments would arise to the public service if the Bank refused." In this communication the directors for the first time enter upon a full exposition of the grounds of their apprehensions. They mention "the very large and continued drain of bullion and specie which the Bank has lately experienced, arising from the effects of the loan to the emperor and other subsidies," and "the prospect of the demand for gold not appearing likely soon to cease," and then they say, "In addition to the above causes, it may be proper to state that large sums are likely soon to be called for by the claimants of the cargoes and freights of the neutral ships taken and about to be reimbursed, many of whom, as they [the directors] are credibly informed, are instructed by their owners and proprietors to take back their returns in specie or bullion. The present price of gold being from 4*l* 3*s* to 4*l* 4*s* per ounce, and our guinea being to be purchased at 3*l* 17*s* 10½*d*, clearly demonstrates the grounds of our fears." Matters continued in the same state for the rest of this year, the drain of specie went on, and on the 12th of December the advances by the Bank (in the bills drawn by the treasury amounted to 2,670,000*l*). At a meeting of the directors on the 28th of January, 1796, when it was stated that a notice had come from the Treasury, intimating that bills to the amount of 201,000*l* would be presented for payment at the Bank on the 3rd of February it was resolved unanimously "that the governor do give directions to the cashiers not to advance any money for the payment of these bills, nor to discharge any part of the same, unless money shall be sent down for that purpose." Pitt was accordingly obliged to provide the money. After this the governor and other directors had repeated interviews with Pitt. At one of these conferences, on the 5th of February we are told, "Mr Pitt read some extracts of letters from the British resident and others at Hamburg, which mentioned that large quantities of English guineas were imported thither by the packets from Yarmouth, and one mentioned that the guineas were

melted down on their arrival there." Pitt observed that attention should be paid to this matter at the outports. The amount advanced by the Bank upon the Treasury, however, now underwent some reduction on the 14th of June, 1796, it is stated at 1,232,649*l*. Pitt having, a few days after this, again addressed the directors in the most importunate terms, and wrung from them a further advance of 800,000*l*, and also an engagement (from which they at first shrunk in utter dismay) to let him have as much more by the end of the following month, they accompanied their most reluctant acquiescence in the last of these demands, on the 28th of July, with a memorial, in which they said that they thought they should be wanting in their duty if they did not take the occasion of making a "most serious and solemn remonstrance, which, for the satisfaction of their court, they desire may be laid before his majesty's cabinet," adding that, by what they had consented to do, they rendered themselves totally incapable of granting any further assistance to government during the remainder of the year, and unable even to make the usual advances on the land and malt tax bills for the ensuing year, should those bills be passed before Christmas. On the 3rd of November, nevertheless, they agreed, at Pitt's request, to advance him 2,750,000*l* on the land and malt taxes, on condition that their advances on the treasury bills, now amounting to 1,513,345*l*, should be paid thereout. Pitt seems to have got the money, but not to have repaid the advances, for on the 1st of February, 1797, we find the directors again representing, in a very uncomfortable tone, that the said advances now amounted to 1,544,635*l*, and would, in a few days, be augmented to 1,819,818*l*. But now came, in addition to all other causes of alarm, the proposal of a loan of 1,500,000*l* to Ireland. On the 10th of February, the directors, taking this threatening certainly, as they describe it, into their most serious consideration, and looking to the evils which would probably follow on such a measure to their establishment, "by the sending over to that country a great part of the sum in specie," resolved to apply to the minister for the repayment, or at least considerable reduction, of the debt due by government to the Bank, as the only means of defence they could devise against the mischiefs they dreaded from this Irish loan. The entire sum owing them by the government they made to be 7,186,445*l*, besides about 400,000*l* arrears of interest: the items being—arrears of advances on malt and land tax, for 1794, 1795, and 1796, 3,220,000*l*; advances on exchequer bills, 2,291,800*l*; and advances on treasury bills, 1,674,645*l*. The money for Ireland was eventually found by increasing the loan to be raised for Great Britain from 13,000,000 to 14,500,000*l*. But no sooner had this been settled than another black and fast-spreading cloud appeared in the sky to raise the alarm of the directors to a higher pitch than ever. A resolution, or minute, of a meeting of the court

on the 21st of February states the great uneasiness inspired by the large and constant decrease of the cash in the coffers of the Bank, and expresses the conviction impressed upon the court, "by the constant calls of the bankers from all parts of the town for cash, that there must be some extraordinary reasons for this drain, arising probably from the alarm of an expected invasion." It was resolved to send a deputation to the chancellor of the exchequer, to ask him that he would, "if possible and proper, strike out some means of alleviating the public alarm, and stopping this apparent disposition in people's minds for having a large deposit of cash in their houses." Pitt said he could not think there was any good ground for the apprehension of an invasion, which had spread so generally—although he "could not answer that no partial attack on this country would be made by such a mad and desperate enemy as we had to deal with," and he advised the deputation to endeavour to obtain a supply of gold from abroad, which they told him they would if they could, having already had the matter under consideration. Orders were accordingly sent to Hamburg for the purchase of gold. The drain, however, still continued, or increased, and on the 24th a deputation from the court of directors again sought an interview with the minister, at which, laying before him the state of things, and their alarm for the safety of the house, they asked him "how far he thought the Bank might venture to go on paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere before our cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the state." From an account afterwards printed, it appears that the stock of cash and bullion in possession of the Bank, which had been 8,608,000*l* in March 1794, had declined to 7,940,000*l* in March 1795, to 2,972,000*l* in March 1796, to 2,508,000*l* in December 1796, and was now, on Saturday the 25th of February, 1797, reduced to 1,272,000*l*. In this critical state of affairs a dispatch was sent to the king, requesting him to come immediately to town to be present at a privy council, which was accordingly held on the next day, Sunday the 26th, at St James's, and then, after an interview with the governor and other directors of the Bank in Downing street, at which there is said to have been a warm discussion, the leading members of the administration, namely, the lord chancellor (Loughborough), the lord president (Earl of Chatham), the Duke of Portland (secretary of state for the home department), the Marquis Cornwallis (master-general of the ordnance), Earl Spencer (first lord of the admiralty), the Earl of Liverpool (chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster), Lord Grenville (foreign secretary), and the chancellor of the exchequer (Pitt), met again, and drew up a minute, declaring that upon the representations of the chancellor of the exchequer, as to the effects of the unusual demands for specie that had been made upon the metropolis, "in consequence of ill-

founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country," it was the unanimous opinion of the board that it was indispensably necessary for the public service that the directors of the Bank of England should forbear issuing any cash in payment, until the sense of parliament could be taken on that subject, "and the proper measures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture." It was ordered that a copy of the minute should be transmitted to the directors, "and they are hereby required," it was added, "on the grounds of the exigency of the case, to conform themselves thereto, until the sense of parliament can be taken as aforesaid." The order of council was published by the directors on Monday morning, accompanied by a notice of their own, in which they stated that the general concerns of the Bank were in the most affluent and flourishing condition, and were such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes, and thus, in one night, all people found their money converted into leaves of paper, intrinsically of no more value than the leaves into which the magic coins, that glittered so brightly when deposited in the chest, are when next inspected discovered to have withered away, in the Eastern tale.

For all practical purposes, however, the value of the now inconvertible bank notes underwent at first very little, if any, change. "The actual arrival," says Macpherson, "of an event, which, by all persons who had ever contemplated a probability of its happening, had been dreaded as the death blow to the commercial prosperity of the country, produced considerable alarm, but it was infinitely short of what might have been expected." Now that the bold step had been ventured upon, the most spirited and energetic measures were taken to sustain public credit under so great a shock. The principal merchants and bankers of London immediately assembled at the Mansion House, and, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, resolved unanimously that they would readily receive bank-notes in all payments to be made to them, and would use their utmost endeavours to make all their own payments in the same manner. This resolution was signed in a few days by above three thousand merchants, bankers, and other persons engaged in trade. On the following day a similar paper was signed and published by the lords of privy council. "And in a few days," it is stated, "all transactions of every kind went on as if nothing had happened, and people in general did not perceive, at least not immediately, that there was any difference between bank-notes, not convertible into money of solid gold and silver, and that money itself." Bills were immediately brought into parliament, and were carried expeditiously through both Houses, authorising the Bank of England to issue promissory notes pay-

able to the bearer for sums under five pounds, and suspending the act of 1775, against the circulation of notes under the value of twenty shillings in England, and also that of 1765, which prohibited such notes in Scotland. But even before the proceeding had thus obtained the sanction of the legislature the directors of the Bank of England had begun the issue of one and two pound notes, "which," says Macpherson, writing in 1805, "have continued ever since to be almost the only currency for making small payments in London and the neighbouring country." And he adds, "As a further substitute for British guineas, they also introduced into the circulation of this country a great quantity of Spanish dollars, which, with a miniature impression of his Britannic majesty's head stamped upon them, they issued at the price of 4s 9d. They continued in circulation till the 31st of October, 1797, during which time prodigious numbers of dollars were imported into the country, and stamped so like those stamped for the Bank at the Mint, that they could scarcely ever be distinguished. At the time of calling them in, the directors of the Bank found it necessary, after their clerks had done all in their power to distinguish the counterfeit stamps from their own, to submit to the loss, and receive all stamped dollars indiscriminately at 4s 9d., whereby, it was said, considerable sums were made by some unprincipled people, who had made a business of dealing in dollars."* The indignant historian does not seem to perceive that the Bank itself had been here carrying on precisely the same traffic which he reprobates as so unprincipled in other dealers—importing dollars to pass them off for more than they cost or were worth—and that in being thus obliged to take in a few more high-priced dollars than they had issued they were only armed at their own weapons. Some accommodation was also given by a new coinage of penny and twopenny pieces in copper. "They were executed," says Macpherson, "by Messrs Boulton and Watt, of Soho, near Birmingham, and have been admired for the elegance of the figure of Britannia, who has the olive-branch (the emblem of peace) in her right hand, as before, and in her left, instead of the hasta (or spear), she now wields Neptune's trident, a ship under sail appearing at sea in the distance. The letters of the legend (or inscription) are not raised, as usual, but sunk into the surface of a border, which rises above that of the coin, in order to protect the figures from being worn away."†

The parliamentary sanction of the order in council issued on the 26th of February was not obtained till the 3rd of May, when an act (the 37 Geo III. c 45) was passed confirming whatever had been done by the governor and company of the Bank in pursuance of the said order, indemnifying them for the illegality of their refusal to give cash for their notes, declaring any suits brought against them on that account to be void, and of no effect,

and also extending the suspension of cash payments to the 24th of June. A succession of subsequent statutes, however, continued the restriction throughout the present period; so that from this date an inconvertible paper-money remained the basis of the national currency.

But, as we have said, the natural effects of this change upon prices, and in other respects, do not appear to have been felt to any considerable extent for some time. It is supposed that the quantity of gold in circulation, at the time of the suspension, may have been about 22,000,000*l*. Of this amount probably not less than 5,000,000*l* was hoarded, or withdrawn from the circulation without being sent out of the country, and there was still a subsisting currency of guineas, and other gold coins, which, although it had been constantly diminishing, was estimated as being even at so late a date as 1811 not much less than 3,000,000*l*, so that the entire amount of gold set free to augment the quantity of that commodity in the foreign market could not have exceeded 13,000,000*l* or 14,000,000*l* sterling.* The quantity of gold, coined and uncoined, in Europe, Asia, and America, was probably not much less than a hundred times this amount,† and therefore the value of money could only have been diminished (or, in other words, prices could only have been raised) abroad to the insignificant or nearly imperceptible extent of little more than one per cent., by the immediate and direct operation of this change in the system of the English currency. In England, again, it may be doubted if it really produced any rise of prices at all at first. For some years after the suspension of cash payments, the issues of the Bank were so limited that its paper does not appear to have undergone any depreciation whatever, nor down to 1810 did the average excess of the market above the mint price of gold rise to more than about 4 per cent. It has indeed been argued that the rise of prices occasioned by the substitution of a fictitious for a real currency is not to be measured by this depreciation, and that it was actually much greater than such an indication would make it, but this notion appears to rest on no intelligible grounds. It probably never would have been taken up had it not been that there did take place, in point of fact, some time after the suspension, a progressive rise of prices, affecting most of the articles of primary necessity, but occasioned by causes with which the issues of the Bank had nothing to do.

Mr Tooke, in an historical review of the state of prices and of the circulation from 1793 to 1803, has conclusively established the following among other facts and deductions—"That, in consequence of the two very deficient harvests of 1794 and 1795, a great rise of the prices of provisions took place in 1795 and 1796, coincidently with a remarkable contraction of the Bank circulation;

* See 'A History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation, from 1793 to 1827' by Thomas Tooke Esq. F.R.S. 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1828. Vol. i. pp. 130 &c.

† The amount when he wrote in 1811 is estimated by Mr Jacob, 'On the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals' vol. ii. p. 347, at about 1,300,000,000*l*.

* *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 418

† *Ibid*

and that there was, coincidently with an enlargement of the circulation, a rapid fall of the prices of provisions and a complete subsidence of them, at the close of 1798, to the level of what they had been at the commencement of 1793," "That, while from 1796 to the close of 1798 the prices of provisions, and of European produce generally, were falling, the prices of all Transatlantic produce were rapidly rising," "That the great fall of the prices of corn, and of European produce generally, from 1796 to the close of 1798 took place coincidently with a progressively increasing government expenditure, defrayed chiefly by loans," "That the prices of provisions, which at the beginning of 1799 were as low as they had been on an average of some years anterior to 1793, advanced, in common with other articles of European produce, to an unprecedented height, as a necessary consequence of the two very deficient harvests of 1794 and 1800, combined with actual and apprehended obstructions to importation," "That, coincidently with the great rise in the prices of provisions, and of European produce, in 1799 and 1800, a very great fall took place in all Transatlantic produce, thus negativing the inference of the operation of a common cause, such as that of mere increase of money." Finally, Mr Tooke has shown that, except in the case of articles constituting naval and military stores, not a trace can be found, from 1793 to the peace of Amiens, of the operation of war demand upon prices, any more than of that of depreciation of the value of the currency, "unlike, indeed, by that term, a rise of prices caused by an increase of money, and not by a relative scarcity of commodities" *.

The only qualification we should be disposed to offer to these views of Mr Tooke would be to suggest that the coincidence of a rise in the prices of Transatlantic produce with a fall in the prices of provisions in the period from 1796 to 1799, and of a fall in the prices of Transatlantic produce with a rise in the prices of provisions in 1799 and 1800, may possibly have been in part occasioned by a cause to which we do not find that he anywhere adverts, namely, the greater amount of income in the one case, and the less in the other, left free for the purchase of articles that were not of first necessity. The prices of all other things appear to be governed, to a certain extent, by the price of provisions and of other absolute necessities. When provisions are scarce and dear, there is less money to be laid out on articles of luxury, the prices of which, accordingly, other things remaining the same, are depressed, and the contrary when provisions are plentiful and cheap. The general facts brought out by Mr Tooke's investigations, however, remain unaffected by this consideration, and they are very material to be kept in recollection in looking at the progress of our foreign trade during the small portion of the present period that still remains to be gone over.

Our territorial acquisitions from the beginning of

1797 to the peace were principally the following. In February, 1797, we took from Spain the important island of Trinidad. In the spring of 1799, the capture of Seringapatam and the conquest of Mysore made a considerable addition to our Indian empire. In the autumn of the same year we obtained possession of the Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America. Early in 1800 we took from the French the island and fort of Goree, in Africa; and in the latter part of the same year their recent conquest, Malta, fell into our hands, and also the Dutch West Indian island of Curaçoa.

The total official value of our imports, which in 1796, as we have seen, was 23,167,319/, fell in 1797 to 21,013,956/, and that of our exports from 30,518,913/ to 28,917,010. In 1798, however, the imports rose to 27,857,889/, and the exports to 33,591,777/, in 1799, the imports were 26,837,432, the exports 35,991,329/, in 1800, the imports were 30,570,605/, the exports 43,152,019/. On the whole, therefore, the imports had increased in these four years very nearly 33 per cent, and the exports more than 41 per cent. The increase of the entire foreign trade was from 53,706,232/ to 73,722,624/, or between 35 and 36 per cent.

We will now subjoin a view of the extent of our trade with the different parts of the world in the year 1800, as compared with the year 1796, adding under each country a notice of the principal articles imported from it and exported to it, collected from a more detailed statement which Macpherson gives as extracted by himself from the Custom house registers, and which he says will be found to differ very much from the accounts commonly given *.

IRELAND —The official value of the imports from Ireland had declined from 2,764,877/ in 1796, to 2,312,823/ in 1800, but that of the exports which had increased from 2,697,069/ to 3,741,499/. The imports in 1800 consisted of cattle, hides, beef, pork, tobacco, 321,52,399 yards of linen, some linen and woollen yarn, a few potatoes, &c., the exports, of coals (to the value of 360,000/., mostly from Scotland), woollen, cotton, and silk manufactured goods, cotton yarn to the value of 80,458/, leather, ironmongery and hardware, earthenware, 106,000 barrels of herrings (mostly from Scotland), bottles and window-glass, salt, cheese, &c., together with rum, brandy, wine, sugar, tea, drugs, dye-stuffs, and numerous other articles of foreign and colonial produce.

ISLE OF MAN —The imports, consisting of red and white herrings, Irish linen, and linen yarn, had increased from 31,310/ to 37,109/., the exports, consisting of coals, flour, cottons and woollens, sugar, tea, rum, &c., from 36,446/ to 54,056/.

GUERNSEY and the other Channel Islands —Imports had increased from 228,979/ to 238,007/., exports from 196,631/ to 210,272/. "Guernsey," says Macpherson, "is a kind of storehouse for merchandise imported from foreign countries and

lodged there in order to save the advance of the duties, till they [the goods] are wanted; and hence the imports consist of all kinds of foreign goods, but chiefly Portugal, French, and Spanish wines, brandy, &c., also some dye-stuffs and drugs, javing stones, cyder, worsted stockings from Jersey, 5935 dozen pairs." Among the exports to these islands are enumerated 196 cows and oven to Alderney flour, 2007 tons of wool to Jersey, provisions, cloths, and the other ordinary necessities, India piece-goods, German, Irish, and Russian linens, rum, geneva, &c.

GREENLAND, and the Northern Whale Fishery.—Imports, consisting of train and spermaceti oil, whalebone, and seal-skins, had increased from 106,867*l* to 125,804*l*; exports (rum, for ship stores), from 358*l* to 761*l*.

NEW HOLLAND, and the Southern Whale Fishery.—Imports (same as from the Greenland seas, with a little wood and some birds) had increased from 0*l* to 89,232*l*; exports, consisting of brandy, geneva, and wine for ship stores, and of wrought iron, hardware, cloths, groceries, &c., from 18,669*l* to 25,617*l*.

EAST INDIES, and other parts of Asia.—Imports had increased from 4,372,669*l* to 4,942,241*l*; exports, from 2,358,707*l* to 2,835,063*l*. The imports consisted of tea, indigo, sugar, coffee, barks, canes, drugs, gums, oils, cochineal, China ink, galls, turmeric, seed-lack, ivory, fans, cane-mats, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, pepper, Cayenne pepper, ginger, sago, rice, cassia, ebony, sandal, satin, and sapan woods, preserved fruits, mother of pearl, cowries, carnelian stones, saltpetre, arrack, Carmania and goats' wool, raw silk, calicoes and muslins, and many varieties of piece-goods for reimportation, the sale of them in Great Britain being prohibited. The exports comprehended most of the ordinary articles of consumption, whether necessities or luxuries, among other things, 14,836*l* worth of books, a large amount of ship-chandlery of all kinds, for the building of vessels in India, some woollens, silks, and cottons, 8000 yards of British muslins, tin and other metals, coaches and chaises, French, Portugal, Rhenish, and Spanish wines, rum, brandy, and geneva.

GI BRALTAR, with the Straits.—Imports had increased from 28,593*l* to 32,665*l*; exports, from 141,936*l* to 294,557*l*. The imports were currants, drugs, and dye-stuffs from the Straits, barilla, brimstone, quicksilver, cochineal, indigo, and other dye-stuffs, almonds, raisins, and other fruits, oil, Portugal, Spanish, Italian, Cyprus, and Madeira wines, some cotton, and 84,748 lbs of Spanish wool from Gibraltar. Nothing was exported to the Straits, but to Gibraltar were sent all the ordinary articles of consumption, the place itself producing nothing. Some trade was also carried on in 1800 with our recently acquired possessions of Minorca and Malta. The imports from Minorca, estimated at 13,500*l*, consisted of barilla, lemons and oranges, with a little oil, thrown silk, cotton, and oil, the exports thither, of a few wool-

len goods, some herrings, a small quantity of refined sugar, and several other such articles. From Malta there were no imports, but the place figures in the table of exports for this year on the strength of a shipment to it of 28*l* worth of bottled beer.

AFRICA, including Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope.—Imports had declined from 120,396*l* to 96,563*l*, but exports had increased from 614,307*l* to 1,099,656*l*. There were no imports from Sierra Leone, those from the Cape consisted of some wine, cotton, and skins, those from the rest of Africa, of gums, camwood, ebony, redwood, ivory, a few ostrich feathers, and some skins. The exports were guns, to the number of 80,806, cutlasses, gunpowder, rum, brandy, geneva, and British spirits, beer, woollens, cottons, and linens, India piece-goods to a large amount, earthenware, glass, provisions, and a few other necessities.

BRITISH AMERICA.—Imports had increased from 268,776*l* to 393,696*l*; exports had declined from 1,017,620*l* to 975,956*l*. The imports consisted of skins, or furs, feathers, and castoreum, from Hudson's Bay, a small quantity of fish, train-oil, and sea-skins from Newfoundland, pearl-shells, pot-ashes, wheat, flour, castoreum, train-oil, skins, masts, boards, and other lumber from Canada, skins and lumber from New Brunswick, tar and turpentine, skins, lumber, and pearl-ashes from Nova Scotia. The principal exports were guns, gunpowder, cordage, sailcloth, salt, copper, steel, wrought brass, wrought leather, cottons, silks, woollens, hats, hubrashes, wines, spirits, groceries, and other foreign or colonial produce. There was also a small trade now carried on with Nootka Sound, in which woollens, cottons, tea, coffee, sugar, and a few other articles of consumption were exported in 1800 to the value of 37,497*l*, but the sea-otter furs, the only commodity obtained from the country, were all carried across the Pacific to China.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.—Imports had increased from 4,541,217*l* to 5,805,787*l*; exports had diminished from 3,954,816*l* to 3,416,966*l*. The imports were sugar, rum, coffee, chocolate, ginger, pimento, cotton, indigo, dyeing woods, mahogany, cedar, ebony, castor oil, turmeric and some other drugs, tamarinds, &c., and also some hides, tobacco, and other articles obtained from wrecks and prizes. The exports consisted of all the ordinary descriptions of manufactured goods, and of colonial and foreign produce.

FOREIGN WEST INDIES (including Demerara, Surinam, and the Islands conquered from the French, Spanish, and Dutch).—Imports had increased from 356,811*l* to 3,034,491*l*; exports, from 107,328*l* to 1,081,612*l*. The articles, both of import and export, were nearly the same as in the trade with the British islands, no merchandise, however, being sent out from England to Cayenne, Cuba, St. Croix, St. Domingo, or St. Martin. Some hides, unwrought copper, and vultures' feathers were imported from Buenos Ayres, to which also there were no exports, and this small trade

is probably included under the head of Foreign West Indies in the official account. From Honduras there were brought mahogany and other woods in 1800 to the value of 16,777*l*, and there were exported thither rum, Irish beef, pork, and linen, with other provisions and necessaries, to that of 2301*l*. From Florida, also, were imported indigo, cotton, train and spermaceti oil, skins, &c., to the value of 10,116*l*; the exports, to the value of 28,946*l*, consisting chiefly of low priced woollens, linens, and cottons, &c., partly British, partly Irish and German. "Ever since the peace of 1783," says Macpherson, in a note, "a few houses in London have carried on a trade with Florida, by sending British vessels under licences obtained from the British and Spanish governments, and the war has not interrupted the trade. The cotton of that country is of the quality of the Upland cotton of Georgia, but much inferior to the Sea-island cotton of that state."* This was written in 1805.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA — Imports had increased from 2,080,970*l* to 2,308,216*l*; exports, from 6,054,238*l* to 6,885,500*l*. The imports consisted of pearl-shells, pot-ashes, flour, wheat, Indian corn and rye meal, sassafras shumack, ginseng, snake-root, sarsaparilla, spermaceti oil, whalebone, turpentine and turpentine-oil, tar pitch and rosin, oak, fir, and other timber, staves and other lumber, hides and pelts, cochineal, indigo, fustic, logwood, redwood, lignum vitæ, mahogany, bark, sugar, coffee, cotton, rice, and tobacco. The exports, of books and stationery, wrought brass, copper, iron, and silver, pewter, lead, steel, tin, tinned plates, coals, salt, earthenware, bottles and glass, woollen, cotton, and silk manufactures, beaver, felt, and chip hats, thread, haberdashery, English, Scotch, and Irish linens, sailcloth, apothecaries' ware, wearing-apparel, coppers, painters' colours, guns, gunpowder, flints, watches, musical instruments, beer, grindstones, with drugs, dye-stuffs, cinnamon and other spices, India piece-goods, Russia and German linens, geneva French and other wines and a few articles of grocery.

FRANCE — Imports had increased from 14,655*l* to 110,415*l*; exports, from 7975*l* to 1,325,419*l*. The imports in 1800 are stated to have consisted of books, maps, pictures, &c., millstones, verdigris, cochineal, valonia, 234 weys of salt for Scotland, seeds, brandy, starch, tallow, rye-meal, some wheat, barley, and other grains, 150 cwt of bread, beef, pork, bacon, butter, and tanned ox, cow, and calf hides. The exports, of a small quantity of printed cotton and linen goods, sugar, coffee, cacao, tobacco, India piece-goods, cinnamon, cloves, pepper, pimento, ginger, and other spices, casia lignea, rhubarb, and other drugs, indigo, logwood, and other dye-stuffs.

FLANDERS — Imports had increased from 7067*l* to 34,656*l*; exports, from 65,054*l* to 808,826*l*. The imports consisted of tanned hides, seeds, and

371 tons of rags, the exports of refined sugar, some coppers and numerous kinds of colonial and foreign produce, but in very small quantities.

HOLLAND — Imports had increased from 309,933*l* to 972,599*l*; exports, from 516,267*l* to 3,208,613*l*. The imports were books, maps, drawings, paintings, prints, corn, oak-bark, juniper-berries, flax, hemp, madder, flower-roots and trees to the value of 1074*l*; seeds, geneva, butter, cheese, bacon, potatoes, a few linens and 61,000 tons of rags. The exports, some cotton and woollen goods, train-oil, and a great variety of articles of foreign and colonial produce.

PORTUGAL AND MADEIRA — Imports had increased from 677,772*l* to 927,257*l*; exports, from 876,000*l* to 1,199,023*l*. The imports were, from Madeira 494 tons of wine (besides much more brought home by circuitous routes), and from Portugal, 19,328 tons of Port wine, Madeira, French, and Spanish wines, 1,663,582 lbs. of Spanish wool, some cotton, 6000 dozen of goat-skins, other skins, Indian and other hides, almonds, figs, raisins, and other fruits, 33,518,701 lemons and oranges, annatto, orchil, argol, cochineal, Brazil-wood, indigo, madder, and other dye stuffs, balsam capivi, ipecacuanha, gum arabic, gum Senegal, and other gums and drugs, brimstone, cork, and some wheat and flour, which Macpherson describes as "very unusual exports from Portugal." Our exports to Portugal and Madeira comprised the usual articles of domestic, colonial, and foreign manufactures and produce, among which are mentioned 1021 cannon, 4413*l* worth of Irish linens, and 1584 quarters of wheat, as well as various other commodities, such as cottons, drugs, dye-stuffs, spices, &c. also enumerated among the imports.

TURKEY — Imports had increased from 150,182*l* to 199,779*l*; exports, from 155,510*l* to 166,804*l*. The imports were cotton and cotton yarn, raw silk, goats' hair, mohair, goat skins, carpets, copper, coculus Indicus, tragacanth, opium, senna, and other drugs, berries, galls, madder, valonia, and other dye-stuffs, box wood, currants, figs, raisins, and other fruits. The exports, lead, tin, iron, 170 cannon and other wrought-iron goods, watches, some cottons and woollens, India piece-goods, sugar, coffee, indigo, and other colonial produce.

RUSSIA — Imports had increased from 2,110,083*l* to 2,382,098*l*; exports, from 766,896*l* to 1,025,334*l*. The imports were, 410,260 tons of tallow, pearl-shells, pot-ashes, and weed-ashes, bristles, cordage, flax, and hemp, bar iron, cast iron, 24 tons of wrought iron, linens, diapers, drilling, and sheeting, pitch and tar, bread, bacon, beef, and tongues, lint-seed, bees'-wax, singlass, rhubarb, and some other drugs, skins of hares, seals, and calves, timber, boards, and staves, 28 tons of rags, and some corn. The exports, alum, coals, slates, salt, sal-ammoniac, spelter, tin, watches, musical instruments, horres, herrings, woollens, cotton, and silk goods of all kinds, India

calicoes and muslins, and other common articles of consumption

GERMANY — Imports had increased from 2,082,275/ to 2,352,197/ , exports, from 8,173,989/ to 12,664,591/ . Our trade with Germany was therefore at once the greatest and the most rapidly growing branch of our foreign commerce. Our imports from this country in 1800 consisted of linen-yarn to the amount of 3,000,000 lbs., cotton, silk, wool, flax, hemp, linens, cambrics, canvas, lawns, hollandes, tabling, &c., goat, ox, and horse hair, 2378 lbs of human hair, hides, clup and straw hats, 3002 tons of rags, some paper, goose-quills, timber, boards, &c., oak-bark, brimstone, books, maps, prints, pictures, 3195 wooden clocks, cork, bees'-wax, calf, bear, coney, goat, sheep, and seal skins, oil of turpentine, verdigris, coppers, succus liquoritæ, gums, arsenic, antimony, and other drugs, hops, juniper berries, seeds, wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, rye, rye-meal, wheat-flour, butter, cheese, beef, pork, tongues, potatoes, brandy, geneva, and other spirits, Rhenish, Tokay, French, and Spanish wines. Our exports thither were equally numerous and various, comprising, of our domestic produce and manufactures, cotton goods to a large amount, cotton-yarn to the value of 365,945/ , woollens, silks, lead, pewter, tin, tinned plates (which, half a century before, we used to import from Germany), wrought brass, copper, and iron, silver plate and plated ware, coal-, earthenware, glass, cabinet-ware, coaches, horses, watches, musical instruments, books and stationery, wearing-apparel, tanned leather, wrought leather, gloves, haberdashery, hats, bark, train-oil, whalebone, painters' colours, coppers, oil of vitriol, sal ammoniac, and other drugs, refined sugar, molasses, herrings red and white cod, oysters, and the following articles of colonial and foreign merchandize — mother-of-pearl, walking-canes, aloes, rhubarb, borax, camphor, cassia lignea, castoreum, jalap, and other drugs, gum senegal and other gums, cochineal, indigo, annatto, Brazil wood, fustic, logwood, madder, and other dye-stuffs, mahogany and other West India woods, ivory, cinnamon, cloves, pepper, ginger, and other spices, cacao, coffee, sugar, tea, sago, currants, turmeric, Indian hides, ox and cow hides, skins of deer, otter, bear, fox, mink, wolf, &c., horns, lint-seed oil and other oils, rum, brandy, arrack, French, Spanish, and other wines, tobacco, whalebone, cotton, cotton-yarn, India piece-goods, and a few Irish linens. Macpherson observes that much of the commerce of Germany was "for account of the nations involved in the war."

PRUSSIA AND POLAND — Imports had increased from 1,804,386/ to 1,733,945/ , exports, from 596,379/ to 842,353/ . The imports consisted of pearl-shells, weed-shells, spruce beer (1054 barrels from Prussia, 1093 barrels from Poland), wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, rye, flax, hemp, linen, timber, boards, staves, &c., madder, bristles, millstones, wool, hides, goose-quills, cheese, lint-seed, and some-skins, the exports, of iron, lead, tin,

earthenware, woollens, cottons, and other ordinary articles of consumption.

DENMARK AND NORWAY:—Imports had fallen off from 243,928/ to 241,561/ , if so insignificant a difference can be so described; exports had increased from 509,783/ to 540,697/ . The imports in 1800 were oak-bark, cordage, hides of horses and oxen, bar iron, kelp, rock moss, furs and peltry, tar, timber and boards, 34,666 lbs. of cotton, 10,000 lbs of indigo, some salted beef, pork, and butter, and, in this year of scarcity, the unusual article of corn. The exports included lead, tin, coals, glass, salt, cottons and woollens of all kinds, hats, Scotch linens, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and the other usual commodities.

CANARIES — Imports, consisting in 1800 of barilla, copper, some drugs and gums, orchilla, 47 tons of Canary wine, and 553 tons of Spanish wine, were estimated at 48,536/ , whereas in 1796 the value put upon our imports from the Canary islands was only 15,751/ , which made the entire trade still greater in 1800 than in 1796, although in 1796 our exports thither were valued at 16,724/ , and in 1800 there were none.

The only parts of the world our trade with which, upon the whole, appears to have declined in the interval between these two years, were the following —

SPAIN — Imports had fallen from 809,880/ to 655,652/ , exports had fallen from 546,125/ to 338/ . Our imports from Spain in 1800 consisted of barilla, cork, black lead, succus liquoritæ, mahogany, shumack, 5,995,624 lbs of Spanish wool, 10,517,750 lemons and oranges, figs, currants, chestnuts, hazel-nuts, walnuts, almonds, anise-seed, oil, brandy, beans, and some wheat, our direct exports thither were only some cinnamon and cacao.

ITALY (exclusive of Venice) — Imports had increased from 299,796/ to 357,735/ , but exports had fallen from 747,969/ to 568,731/ . The imports in 1800 were, books, drawings, &c., barilla, brimstone, cork, cream of tartar, essence of lemons, manna, senna, and other drugs, juniper-berries, perfumed oil, argol, galls, madder, and other dye-stuffs, anchovies, almonds, figs, prunes, nuts, currants, raisins, &c., ordinary and salad oil, chip and straw hats, bugles (or glass beads), raw, thrown, and waste silk, lambs, goats, and kids' skins, 695 tons of rags, 439 cwt. of cheese, brandy statutory to the value of 1368/ , marble, and cotton. The exports consisted of alum (a commodity with which in the middle ages Genoa used to supply all Europe), wrought brass, iron, and silver, plated ware, woollens of all sorts, cottons to a considerable amount, a few linens, earthenware, glass, hardware, tinned plates, dry cod, red and white herrings, 32,881 hogshheads of pulchards, tanned and wrought leather, dye-stuffs, spices, cacao, coffee, sugar, foreign iron, India piece-goods, rum, tar, tobacco, whalebone, and foreign ox-gut. "What," exclaims Macpherson, "would the merchants of Italy in the middle ages have said to any

person who would have ventured to predict that a country which they knew good for nothing but feeding sheep and cattle, and furnishing wool, hides, lead, and tin, should ever supply them with Oriental produce and manufactures, and many other comforts and luxuries of life!"

VENICE —Imports had fallen off from 75,257*l* to 54,028 , exports, from 25,882*l* to 17,798*l*. The imports and exports in the trade with Venice were of the same description as in that with the rest of Italy.

SWEDEN —Imports had declined from 347,336*l* to 309,279 , exports, from 121,512*l* to 78,839*l*. * The imports in 1800 consisted of some corn and bread, 313 barrels of herrings, flax bar and cast iron, a very small quantity of wrought iron, rock moss, pitch and tar, timber, boards, staves, &c , the exports, of coals, lead, tin, painters' colours, cotton and woollen goods, sugar, coffee, tobacco, spices, drugs, dye-stuffs, East India calicoes, rum, and other spirits.

This account sufficiently demonstrates that the war, so far from destroying or diminishing our foreign trade, did not even check its expansion, nay, did not prevent it from enlarging and extending itself faster perhaps than it had ever done in a time of the profoundest tranquillity. It may be doubted if our trade would have been so great as it was in the year 1800 had the country been at peace for the whole of the preceding seventeen years, instead of having been engaged for nearly the latter half of that time in the most general and most costly war it had ever waged. In truth, after the recovery of our commercial system from the momentary shock occasioned by the commencement of hostilities with France, the new state of things proved, upon the whole, highly favourable to the extension of our trade. Difficulties were interposed in the way of our direct intercourse with some parts of the continent, but even to most of these interdicted quarters our manufactures still found their way in large quantities by circuitous routes, and we soon made ourselves so completely masters of the great highway of nations the ocean, that our ships traversed it in all directions almost as freely as they had ever done in time of peace, while the flags of our rivals scarcely dared anywhere to show themselves, and our acquisitions of territory besides, in the West Indies and elsewhere, opened to us several new and important markets. But the extension of our trade was, of course, also the extension of our manufactures, by which it was in great part fed and sustained. And herein, also, other countries, which experienced its actual ravages, were rendered by the war more dependent than ever upon this country, the only considerable seat of industry in Europe which it left unviolated and undisturbed.

The figures given in the above review of the progress of our trade with the different parts of the world are, as has been explained, the official

values of the commodities imported and exported, or the values calculated according to the same unvarying rate or price of a certain quantity of each. The sums so obtained serve very well to indicate the comparative quantities of goods sent out of the country and brought into it at different times, but this method of calculation disregards altogether both differences of quality and fluctuations of price in whatever way arising, and it gives no view of the real value of the exports and imports in any particular year. Since 1798, however, it has been attempted in the official accounts to estimate this real value also. For that year we have only such an estimate of the value of the British merchandise exported, which is set down as having been actually worth 33,148,682*l* instead of 19,672,503 , as it stands registered according to the standard rates. In 1799 the real marketable value of the imports was, according to the report of the inspector general, 49,002,170*l* , of the exports of all kinds 50,290,190*l*. And in 1800 the real value of the imports is stated to have been 55,400,416*l* , of the exports 55,830,843*l*. In all these years, too, the excess of the real over the official value was rendered less than it ought to have been by what the report of the inspector general calls "an old established error in rating coffee for exportation very much above its real value" —so much in fact as to make the official higher than the real value of the whole foreign merchandise exported. This may serve to explain a statement with regard to the exports of coffee noticed in a preceding page.*

The total amount of the mercantile marine of the empire in 1800 is stated to have been 17,885 vessels of all sizes, measuring 1,835,879 tons, and navigated by 138,721 hands. Of these vessels 12,198 belonged to England, 2155 to Scotland, 1003 to Ireland, 2161 to the colonies, 130 to Guernsey and the other Channel islands, and 238 to the Isle of Man. There entered inward in this year 10,496 British vessels, measuring 1,379,807 tons, and 5,712 foreign vessels, measuring 763,236 , and there cleared outward 11,856 British vessels, measuring 1,444,271 tons, and 4693 foreign vessels, measuring 683,051 tons†. There were built and registered in the several ports of the British dominions in the course of this year 965 vessels, measuring in all 126,268 tons.

In 1801, the last year of the war and of the period under review, the 'Chronological Table' in Chalmers makes the total official value of the exports to be only 37,786,857*l* , but the amounts given in this table for the two preceding years are greatly lower than those we have quoted above from the statements of the inspector-general (33,640,357*l* instead of 35,991,329*l* in 1799, and 38,120,120*l* instead of 43,152,019*l* in 1800), so that Chalmers has evidently applied some principle of reduction to these statements, at least as quoted by Macpherson. As both accounts agree in the values assigned to the exports from Scot-

* It ought to have been stated at p. 680 that the official value of the exports to Sweden was 116,269*l* in 1798, and 121,812*l* in 1799.

† See ante p. 680 note §
+ Macpherson: *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 336.

land, it may be conjectured that the acknowledged error in the rating of exported coffee, which we have just noticed, is corrected or allowed for by Chalmers. The official value of the imports for 1801 would, according to his table, be 32,795,557*l*., but this sum is deduced by subtracting what he calls the favourable balance of trade from the exports, so that it involves the same discrepancy that has been already explained. Other accounts differ from both Macpherson and Chalmers. Thus, in a table given in the article 'Great Britain,' in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' (vol. xi. p. 417), the total official value of the imports for 1801 is stated as 31,786,262*l*., that of the exports as 35,264,650*l*./ Mr Macculloch, again, in a table in his 'Dictionary of Commerce' (second edition, p. 672), makes the official value of the imports for this year to have been only 28,257,781*l*., and that of the exports 34,381,617*l*./ The declared or real value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from Great Britain in 1801 is set down in the Cyclopædia at 39,730,659*l*./ by Mr Macculloch at 36,929,007*l*./ This may serve as a sample of the utter confusion in which the whole matter remains.*

The number of bankruptcies in each year, from 1794 to the end of the present period, seems to corroborate other facts in indicating a steady increase of trade throughout that space. The number was 812 in 1794, 718 in 1795, 747 in 1796, 869 in 1797, 729 in 1798, 599 in 1799, 740 in 1800, 893 in 1801†. Here we see the tendency to augmentation on the whole, but no instance of anything resembling the sudden expansion by which the number of bankruptcies, which was 628 in 1792, rose to be 1304 in the disastrous year following. The reduction of the number in 1798, and the two following years, may be taken as sufficient evidence that even the licence accorded to the bank to issue inconvertible paper gave at first no undue or dangerous impulse to speculation if it had the diminution of bankruptcies during these three years would, at least, have been succeeded by a much more than proportionate increase afterwards, which was not the case. The number in 1802 was only 853, and in 1803 no more than 906, a rate of increase not greater than might be looked for, as the natural effect of the growth and enlargement of our trade. On the whole, therefore, any variation traceable in the number of the bankruptcies, during the ten years that followed 1793, probably represents this steady commercial progress much more than the operation of any other influencing cause—whether unsound

or excessive speculation on the one hand, or the occasional occurrence of seasons of difficulty and depression, financial or general, on the other.

The progress of the post-office revenue has been stated in a preceding page up to the year 1792 inclusive*. In 1793 the gross revenue was 652,868*l*., the nett produce 397,086*l*./ In 1795 the gross revenue was 745,238*l*./; the nett produce 414,548*l*./ This year further restraints and limitations were placed upon franking, by the act 35 Geo III c. 53, and in 1796 the gross revenue rose to 811,539*l*./, the nett produce to 479,487*l*./ Then an augmentation of the rates of postage was made by the act 37 Geo III c. 18. Still the revenue went on steadily increasing, its gross amount in 1800 being 1,083,950*l*./, its nett produce 720,981*l*./, and in 1801 its gross amount being 1,144,900*l*./, its nett produce 755,299*l*./, or not much less than four times what it was before the introduction of Mr Palmer's improvements in 1784†.

Before the commencement of the present period the quantity of Bank of England paper in circulation at any one time, including both notes and post bills, was usually under 7,000,000*l*./ In 1786 it rose for the first time to above 8,000,000*l*./; and, according to the accounts made up to 31st of August in each year, it continued from this date to be gradually augmented till in 1791 it attained to the amount of 11,672,320*l*./ This increase, however, was certainly not more than in proportion to the increase of the commerce of the country. In the first years of the war the circulation of the Bank suffered some contraction, so that by the year 1796 it had fallen to 9,246,790*l*./ Then came the exemption from cash payments, under which new state of things the issues of bank paper increased during the remaining years of the present period as follows—11,114,120*l*./ in 1797 12,160,610*l*./ in 1798, 13,389,490*l*./ in 1799 15,047,180*l*./ in 1800, 14,556,110*l*./ on the 31st of August, 1801. The dividends received by the proprietors of bank stock continued throughout the present period to be 7 per cent., as they had been ever since 1788. In the year 1800, by the act 40 Geo III c. 28, the charter of the Bank was continued (from 1806) till twelve months' notice after the 1st of August, 1833; the Bank advancing to government the sum of 3,000,000*l*./ without interest for six years (a period subsequently prolonged till six months after the conclusion of the new war with France that broke out in 1803).

In 1793 the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years, or till the 1st of March, 1814. The act passed for that purpose (the 33 Geo. III c. 52), under the notion that the trade and territorial revenues of the company might henceforward be relied upon for the production of a clear annual revenue of at least full 1,200,000*l*./,

* As the table in Mr Macculloch's Dictionary (also repeated in his Statistical Account of the British Empire first edition p. 186) is stated to be founded upon official documents (namely *Parli Paper No 247* for 1800 and *Finance Accounts*) we may add here the sums it gives for the years 1800 and 1799 (with which it commences), for comparison with those quoted in the text for Macpherson and Chalmers—1799 official value of imports 25,122,804*l*./ of exports 27,517,027*l*./ 1800 official value of imports 24,004,700*l*./ of exports 29,596,827*l*./ The declared or real value is only given for the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures. The table in the Penny Cyclopædia, for which no authorities are referred to goes back only to the year 1801.

† Chalmers Historical View p. 240.

* See ante p. 645.

† Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* iv. 248. A table of the nett produce in Chalmers' *Historical View* p. 281 gives somewhat lower amounts under each year apparently from including only the English post office.

directed that of this surplus 500,000*l* a-year should be set aside for the reduction of the company's debt in India to 2,000,000*l*, and that 500,000*l* more should be annually paid into the Exchequer to be appropriated for the public service as parliament should think fit to order. The anticipation of any such surplus revenue, however, proved entirely fallacious, and this contribution to the public expenses was only paid for one year. The act renewing the charter had been preceded the same year by another act (the 33 Geo III c 47) authorising the company to add another million to their capital, and, as the new stock was subscribed at 200*l* per cent, it produced 2,000,000*l* in money. This made the nominal capital of the company (or that upon which the dividends are paid) 6,000,000*l*, at which it still continues.*

The act of 1793, which renewed the charter, also made provision for partially opening the trade with India to private individuals. Any British subject residing in any part of the king's European dominions was allowed to export to Bengal, Malabar, Coromandel, or Sumatra, but only in the company's ships, any article of the produce or manufacture of the British dominions in Europe, except military stores, ammunition, masts, spars, cordage, anchors, pitch, tar, and copper, and on the other hand liberty was given to the company's civil servants in India, and to the free merchants living in India under the company's protection, to ship in the company's ships, on their own account and risk, all kinds of India goods, except calicoes, dimities, muslins, and other piece goods — those they were not to ship without a licence from the company. It was directed that, for the purposes of this private trade, the company should in every year set apart at least 3000 tons of their shipping, the owners of the goods paying for their freight at the rate of 5*l* outward, and 15*l* homeward in time of peace, and at higher rates in time of war, if the company, with the approbation of the Board of Control, should see good to exact such.

Scarcely any goods were sent out to India by the manufacturers of Great Britain under the act of 1793. "But the merchants residing in India," says Macpherson, "as soon as they understood that a legalised extension of their trade was in the contemplation of the legislature, and without waiting to know the regulations of it, built a considerable number of ships, which they proposed to employ in the trade between India and England, though Lord Cornwallis, then governor-general, and Sir John Shore, his successor, both informed them that there could not be employment for their ships in the way they expected. In the year 1795, when seven of the largest of the company's ships

were taken into his majesty's service, and the company at the same time ordered large quantities of rice to be brought from India, in order to afford relief to this country, then distressed by a scarcity of corn, twenty-seven of these India-built ships were taken into the company's service at the rate of 16*l* per ton for rice and heavy goods, and 20 for fine goods. All of these ships carried goods to London for account of the private merchants settled in India, and also carried British goods to India for them. The owners of the India built ships now thought that they had reason to believe them regularly established in the trade, but, as the emergency which called them into employment no longer existed, it was impossible to allow them to supersede the ships, built and equipped in a superior manner expressly for the service of the company, which they were under engagements to employ for a stipulated number of voyages."† This gave rise to a long contest between the company and the private merchants, the result of which was, that the company were forced at last to make various concessions beyond the provisions of their charter. The progress of the trade, from 1792 to the close of the present period, will be most distinctly indicated by the following notice of the exports and imports — Total exports from England in 1793, 1,266,036*l* (including only 10,290 of bullion), in 1797, 1,739,510 (including 627,858*l* of bullion), in 1798, 2,634,502*l* (including 1,217,748*l* of bullion), in 1801, 2,512,779*l* (including 435,595*l* of bullion). Total imports to England in 1793, 5,769,547*l* (of which on account of private trade, 882,620*l*), in 1795, 8,098,495*l* (of which private trade, 1,189,296*l*), and what is called neutral property 380,230*l*), in 1797, 6,053,401*l* (of which private trade, 1,204,901*l*, and neutral property 129,678*l*), in 1798, 10,315,256*l* (of which private trade, 1,629,959*l*, and neutral property 348,231*l*), 1801, 9,153,511*l* (of which private trade, 2,305,235*l*, and neutral property 220,775*l*).† What is called neutral property in this account would appear to be goods sent home to England in the company's ships, by subjects of the United States, and other friendly powers, to whom a general permission to trade with the territories under the government of the company, under certain regulations, was granted by acts passed in 1797, after it had been practically enjoyed for some preceding years.

We now proceed to the History of the Useful Arts during the present period, commencing with agriculture, the most important of all. In agriculture we must not expect the sudden revolutions which sometimes take place in the other useful arts. Indeed, it is often conducted for ages with scarcely any variation. There is little to distinguish the present short period from the one immediately preceding it, so far as this art is concerned,

* Mr Macculloch in his Commercial Dictionary second edition, art. East India Company p 888, states that in 1796 leave was given to the company by parliament to add two millions to their capital stock by creating 20,000 new shares, and that as these shares sold at the rate of 175*l* each, they produced 3,500,000*l*. An act to the effect mentioned was passed in March 1797 but it was never taken advantage of by the company. It seems to be confounded in this statement with the act of 1793 (see ante p 648) under which additional stock to the amount of one million was subscribed for at the rate of 174 per cent.

• History of the European Commerce with India p 228.

† Table in Macpherson, History of Commerce with India p 490.

but there are nevertheless a few circumstances connected with it that require a brief notice. After the peace of Paris in 1763, there was manifested a strong spirit of agricultural improvement, the effects of which have been adverted to in the preceding Book,* and at the commencement of the present period the close of the war with the American colonies left the nation equally at liberty to pursue a similar course with still greater ardour. To engage extensively in agricultural pursuits was at this time regarded as one of the most patriotic duties to which persons of rank and wealth could devote their attention. Their example and influence were not without effect, and the number was constantly increasing of those who endeavoured to augment the capabilities of the soil by availing themselves of scientific discoveries and the improvement of the arts. New processes of cultivation were tried, and every branch of rural economy was investigated, with the view of ascertaining if anything in it could be amended. The improvement of live-stock, especially cattle and sheep, which Bakewell had carried to so high a point in the preceding period, was as zealously pursued by many other breeders, and the success which attended their efforts is one of the most striking examples of agricultural improvement which we have now to notice. Culley, who was himself a great improver of live-stock, and who wrote a useful little work on the subject in 1809, shows that it was no mean advantage which these men conferred on the nation. Although his work was published several years after its close, yet it was during the present period that the changes of which he speaks had taken place. Before its termination, there were, he says, oxen which were "more like an ill-made black horse than an ox or a cow," and the flesh, which did not in his opinion deserve to be called beef, was "as black and coarse-grained as horse-flesh." Such an animal could scarcely be fattened for the butcher, as nearly all the food which it consumed went to the support of "offal." As to sheep, he says, while the old sorts required three years, or even a still longer time, the improved breeds could be made fit for market in two years—making, in this way only, a saving of above thirty per cent. In cattle it was calculated that a similar saving of twenty five per cent was effected, and in both cases the meat obtained, at a less expense of food, and in a shorter space of time, was far superior in quality and quantity to that of the old breeds, in which the difference between the coarser and finer parts amounted to one hundred per cent, while the quantity of bone was very great. Other departments of rural economy were already in a state only requiring favourable circumstances to bring the improvements which had been already introduced into more general practice. The character of the harvests during several years of the period, and the increase of population, had this effect.

The frequent recurrence of unfavourable seasons from 1766 to 1775 having occasioned high prices,

an immense quantity of land (not less than 1,207,000 acres) was enclosed in the ten years ending with 1779, and much of it was brought into cultivation. In the twenty years from 1780 to 1799, although the population was increasing more rapidly, the number of acres enclosed was very little more (1,308,270 acres) than in the ten years from 1770 to 1779. The seasons were more favourable in the earlier part of the present period, and in six of the years from 1780 to 1789, wheat was exported, the average price in the home market being at or under 44s the quarter, when the exporter could claim the bounty of 5s the quarter. In 1791 the corn-law of 1773 was altered, a clamour having been raised respecting its tendency to render England dependent upon foreigners. It was now enacted that the nominal duty of 6d the quarter should be paid only when wheat was at or above 54s the quarter, instead of 48s, as under the former law. The bounty on exportation was continued, but the year following was the last in which the agriculturists of this country found it necessary to resort to foreign markets to obtain relief from an overabundant supply of grain. Although it was not repealed until 1815, yet during this long interval prices never sank so low as to entitle the exporter to claim the bounty. In 1793, '94, '95, the country was visited with a succession of unfavourable harvests, and in 1800 famine was literally at our doors. In June, 1795, the price of wheat rose to 134s 5d the quarter. In 1800 the harvest was estimated to be one-third deficient. At both of these seasons of scarcity very active measures were taken by the government and parliament to ensure a supply of corn. Importation was encouraged by enormous bounties, and in 1795 neutral vessels, laden with corn, were seized, and compelled to sell their cargoes to the government agents. In 1800 some regulations were also established by parliament for ensuring the economical consumption of corn and grain. Bread was not allowed to be sold by bakers until twenty-four hours after it was baked. The distilleries and starch-manufactories were prohibited using grain. The hair-powder tax was imposed. Proclamations were also issued urgently impressing on the public the duty of economy in the use of bread and flour. Substitutes for wheaten bread were recommended. The Board of Agriculture made experiments in bread-making, and produced eighty different kinds, and through its influence the cultivation of the potato was greatly extended. In March, 1801, wheat was 156s 2d the Winchester quarter (or 20s the imperial bushel), but fortunately the new harvest proved tolerably abundant, and by the end of the year the price had fallen to 75s 6d, though this was still nearly double the average price of one of the earlier years of the period (1786), when it was 38s 6d. The import of wheat in 1800 was 1,424,766 quarters, and in 1801, 1,396,350. In 1800 Lord Hawkesbury estimated the quantity of wheat grown in England at 6,800,000 quarters, which, he said, was insufficient for the consump-

* See ante vol. i pp 572 &c

tion of the country, and required, on an average, an importation equal to one twentieth of the consumption. The high prices of these years attracted much additional capital to agriculture. Arthur Young estimated that, in 1795, a sum of twenty millions sterling, above the yearly average of the preceding twelve years, found its way into the pockets of the farmers. In 1800 and 1801 the high prices led to a renewal of the same process, and as rents had not yet been generally raised, the farmers made large profits. More land was put under the plough, and the enclosure of commons also added to the quantity of cultivated soil. In the ten years from 1800 to 1809, 1,550,000 acres of common lands were enclosed. Thus it happened, that when the seasons again became favourable, and prices fell, an outcry was raised against the corn law of 1791, which was altered two years after the close of the present period, when the price at which the nominal duty of 6*s* was payable was raised to 66*s* the quarter. From 1773 to 1804 the scale of protection had ascended from 48*s* first to 54*s* and then to 66*s*. The successive alternation of high and low prices was probably, in the then existing state of agriculture, of greater efficacy in stimulating its powers than a uniform high price would have been. At one period a high rate of profit diverted a fructifying stream of capital to this branch of industry, and at another low prices stimulated industry, and led to the abolition of old, slovenly, and expensive practices.

But of all the elements of agricultural prosperity which were in activity during the present period, undoubtedly the most valuable was that arising from the growth of commerce and manufactures. The increase of the population of England from 1780 to 1801 rather exceeded 1,500,000, and a larger proportion of this additional number than in any former period consisted of non-agricultural consumers. Our rising and thriving manufactures, especially those of cotton, were rapidly creating masses of profitable consumers of agricultural produce. Canals, which were comparatively unknown at the close of the American war, were increasing in number, and, extending to the remoter parts of the country, were the means of bringing its produce into the richest markets. If the population had not been steadily advancing, the tendency to uniformity of price would have been at first only a partial gain, but, as it was, every part of the country was immediately benefited. Agriculture was particularly benefited by the increased demand for animal food from the manufacturing towns and villages. Livestock increased in value, to feed which the most improved practices of modern husbandry were forced into operation. Green crops, clover, artificial grasses, turnips, potatoes, and other roots were substituted for fallows. The land was subjected to a greater variety and a better rotation of crops, and under a less exhausting system of cultivation there was a greater abundance of manure, so that

it was constantly kept in a higher state of fertility, and yielded annually a larger return, than it could have done under the ancient practice of taking successive corn-crops followed by fallows.

In this brief notice of the state of agriculture and the chief causes which led to its improvement in the period now under notice, the Board of Agriculture (established by Sir John Sinclair, and incorporated in August, 1793) must not be forgotten. Its secretary was Arthur Young, whose 'Agricultural Tours,' mentioned in our account of the preceding period, had a powerful effect in directing the public mind to practical inquiries on his favourite subject. The 'Annals of Agriculture' were commenced by him in 1784, and continued to appear till 1808. One of the first proceedings of the Board of Agriculture was to institute a survey of all the English counties on a uniform plan, which brought out, for the information of the class most interested in adopting them, all the improved practices originating in individual enterprise and intelligence, or those peculiar to the district, and which had hitherto been carried on in an isolated manner. The 'Surveys' were first printed for private circulation amongst the most intelligent agriculturists in the kingdom as well as in each particular county, and, after undergoing correction and revision, they were subsequently published under the authority of the Board. As a whole they are very imperfectly and unequally executed, but they were useful in promoting the great work of that day—the development of the agricultural resources of the country. The Board of Agriculture was assisted by an annual grant from parliament, and during the years of scarcity it took upon itself to suggest and, as far as possible, provide remedies against the dearth. The Board collected information, and made reports to the minister on the state of the crops, and the statistics of agriculture which came into its possession were also at times made use of by the government. The Board encouraged experiments in agriculture by prizes to the successful improver on old practices, and the influence which it possessed over the provincial agricultural societies excited and combined the efforts of all in one direction. The two great agricultural fêtes of this period (the 'sheep-shearings' at Holkham and Woburn at which hundreds of the most eminent agriculturists of the kingdom were annually assembled) were also not a little serviceable in stimulating the national taste in favour of agriculture. King George III himself was also strongly attached to the same pursuit, and his extensive farms at Windsor occupied much of the time not devoted to the cares of state. His majesty was so decidedly in favour of working oxen in preference to horses, that not a single horse for tillage was worked upon these farms, but the number of working oxen employed was about two hundred. The economy or advantage of the two practices was the agricultural *questio vesata* of the period, but it has long been determined in favour of the horse.

We have thus briefly adverted to the most pro-

minent circumstances which affected agriculture at the close of the eighteenth century. To have entered into details would have been to write a treatise on husbandry. The instrument most generally defective was probably the plough, and, after all the vicissitudes of the present century, it still remains, in some places, a cumbrous implement,* and, if the form be improved, it is still used as if it had lost none of its ancient clumsiness, and twice as many horses are employed in it as are really necessary. It is surprising that a practice of this nature should have prolonged its existence forty years after the close of the period of which we have been treating. Perhaps no isolated case could, however, now be found quite so bad as the nearly universal practice in reference to ploughing at the close of the last century. Middleton, in his *Middlesex 'Survey,'* says — "In May, 1796 I saw, in one day, two teams with six horses in each, and three men to attend each team, namely, one to hold the plough and two to drive the horses ploughing, with a wide furrow, about three quarters of an acre per day. I have seen a barley soil receive the last ploughing, previous to sowing turnips, with a team of five horses, and two men to attend them, and at the same time a team of six horses in length with three men attending were giving the first ploughing to a fallow." In the *'Farmers' Magazine'* for July, 1800, there is a letter from "a Scots farmer, during a tour through England," in which the Hertfordshire plough is described — "Our old Scottish plough," he says, "is but a child in comparison with this giant. Five horses are usually employed in the draught, and yet, strange to tell, the furrow we saw did not exceed four inches in deepness. I have seen land ploughed full deeper with one horse." In the *'Survey'* of Northumberland, published in 1800, the author has some remarks on the strength of that prejudice which "continues the use of five horses, and heavy, clumsy, unwieldy wheel ploughs, where a single swing plough, and two horses yoked double, and driven by the holder, would do the same quantity of work equally well, and at one third the expense."

The nearer we approach to our own times, the more difficult does it become to present a condensed yet comprehensive view of the progress of that manufacturing industry to which the British empire owes so much of its greatness. Besides other reasons, in the infancy of national manufactures every useful invention presents, owing to its comparative isolation, an object to which the historian may direct his attention, while, under circumstances of more advanced progress, even greater improvements cease to be prominent or striking, simply because they are, as it were, surrounded by others of nearly equal magnitude. In like manner, the first establishment for the introduction of a new

manufacture, and the name of its founder, assume a distinctness and prominence in history which cannot be given to their successors, although they may contribute in a far more important degree to the extension of the national resources. If, therefore, the period now under review should appear deficient of the prominent features which distinguished that immediately preceding it, such as the introduction of navigable canals, the improvement of the steam-engine, and the invention of automatic cotton-spinning, it should be remembered that the absence of such remarkable changes is indicative rather of the extent of the progress already realised, than of any falling-off in the spirit of improvement.

According to the method we followed in the last Book, our review of the productive industry of the British isles, from the close of the American war to the peace of Amiens, will be prefaced by a notice of that class of public improvements which tends to facilitate commercial intercourse. In allusion to these and other measures of kindred character, such as enclosures, draining, paving, and parochial improvements, Chalmers observes that, from the restoration of peace in 1783 till the commencement of the war in 1793, domestic meliorations had been carried on with equal vigour and success, but that during the succeeding war our domestic improvements were pursued with still greater knowledge and more useful efficacy. In illustration of these assertions, he states that the number of acts of parliament relating to roads and bridges, in the eight years from 1785 to 1792, was 302 and in the next period of eight years, from 1793 to 1800, 341. The numbers of acts relating to canals, harbours, &c., in the same periods, were, respectively 64 and 132, of those relating to enclosures, draining, &c., 245 and 589, and of those for paving and other parochial improvements, 139 and 62 — making the total number of acts relating to local improvements 750 and 1124 in the two periods respectively. Thus, during a space of time (1785 to 1800 inclusive) nearly coincident with the period under review, 1874 acts of parliament in all were passed for the promotion of the above important objects, of which 643 related to roads, bridges, &c., 196 to canals, harbours, and similar works, 834 to enclosures, draining, &c., and the remaining 201 to paving and parochial improvements. With such facts before our eyes, we may well join with Chalmers in admiration at the augmented energy of the spirit of domestic improvement, in the midst of an expensive and exciting war. "The world will," he observes, "contemplate this enterprise with wonder. Millions, and tens of millions, have been raised upon the people, for carrying on an interesting war, yet they have found money, as they had skill and industry, to improve 'this island of bliss amid the subject seas.'" "Great Britain," he proceeds, "as it has been more improved during every war, is worth more, at the conclusion of it, than when hostilities began, and this happy isle,

* At the Cambridge meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1861 eighty two differently constructed ploughs were exhibited by our maker.

where the foot of the foe never treads, if it were brought to the hammer, would sell for more than it would have fetched at any former period, in proportion to its additional improvements."*

The wretched condition of many even of the principal roads in England, early in the reign of George III, has been fully noticed in the preceding Book,† and we shall have occasion to observe that, at a period subsequent to that under consideration, right principles of road making did not extend at a rate at all proportionate to the extension of turnpike-roads. There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to prove that very considerable improvement was made in the condition of the principal highways, between the time when their disgraceful state excited the indignation of Arthur Young and the close of the eighteenth century. A convincing proof of this amelioration is afforded by the substitution of mail coaches for messengers on horseback, and in the comparative speed and regularity which, according to the advocates of that important measure, had been previously attained by the ordinary stage-coachs and diligences. The change alluded to was commenced in 1784,‡ the first mail-coach upon Mr Palmer's plan having left London for Bristol on the evening of the 2nd of August in that year. Notwithstanding the existence of opposition which now appears almost incredible, and which checked the progress of the plans introduced for accelerating the speed of the mails, as well as those for improving the internal management of the Post-Office, it appears, by a statement made by Mr Palmer before a parliamentary committee in 1797, that down to that time three hundred and eighty towns, which had previously had but three posts a week, and forty which had had no post at all, were supplied with daily posts, and that the mails were conveyed upon many of the cross post roads in one third or even one-fourth of the time required before the adoption of his improvements. But more direct evidence of the improvement of the highways is not wanting. Adam Walker, in a tour published in 1792, which contains some interesting notices of the manufacturing district of Lancashire, adverts to some of the very roads upon which Young had been so justly severe about twenty years before. He states that, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, a causeway of round pebbles, about two feet wide, was all that man or beast could travel upon through both Cheshire and Lancashire, that as trade increased, and turnpikes became more general, the ruts were filled up with pebbles and cinders, but that, with such repair, the roads were not rendered passable in winter for coaches or chaises "Indictments and lawsuits," he proceeds to say, "at last produced a broad pavement, which would suffer two carriages to pass each other, and this was thought the ultimate perfection that a country without gravel could go to, and the narrow pave-

ment became covered with grass. In this state the roads have continued many years, to the great profit of the coachmaker, and the cure of indigestion but now both the broad and narrow pavements are pulling up, the pebbles breaking into smaller pieces, and their interstices filling up with sand." "So far as this method has proceeded," observes Walker, "the roads are become as good as in any part of England, and, no doubt, the utility will soon become general, enforced by so spirited and liberal a people as inhabit these counties."* The comparative excellence of many of the principal highways of this country is frequently referred to with admiration by M. Faujas Saint-Fond, an intelligent Frenchman who visited Great Britain "for the purpose of examining the state of the arts, the sciences, natural history, and manners," about the time of the commencement of the French revolution. Of the road from London to Stilton he observes, "Nothing can surpass the beauty and convenience of the road during these sixty-three miles it resembles the avenue of a magnificent garden,"† and, excepting in the county of Derby, this traveller scarcely ever complains of the state of the roads. He frequently alludes to heaps of stones laid beside the roads for their repair. It should be observed, however, that the observations of Saint Fond appear to have been chiefly made upon the principal roads, which were probably the best kept. Respecting the roads of Ireland we have little information, but Arthur Young states, as the result of his observations in 1776 and the two following years, that, although the turnpikes were generally left in a state disgraceful to the kingdom, the bye roads were admirable, and could not fail to strike an English traveller exceedingly, on account of their superiority to those of the sister country.‡ He attributes their superior preservation in a great degree to the use of light one horse carts or cars, instead of the heavy team waggons common in England.

The last fifteen years of the eighteenth century produced few improvements worthy of notice in the construction of railroads, which were, however, though very gradually, coming into more general use. The earliest of what may be distinguished as public railways, constructed by joint stock companies for traffic in general merchandise, was that known as the Surrey Iron Railway, which extends from the river Thames, at Wandsworth, to Croydon, but, although the act of parliament authorising its construction received the royal assent May 21, 1801, this road was not opened until 1805. Several of the canal acts passed between 1776 and the close of the century contain provisions for the construction of short railways, either to connect mines, limekilns, quarries, or manufactories with the canals, or as inclined

* Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 266, 266-267.

† Vol. i. pp. 275, 276.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 571, 572.

* Remarks made upon a Tour from London to the Lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland in the summer of 1791, pp. 23, 24.

† Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides, translated from the French vol. i., p. 128.

‡ Tour in Ireland (quarto edition) part ii. p. 39.

§ Local and Personal Acts 41 Geo. III. cap. 23.

planes to connect two portions of canal, in lieu of a series of locks, and some very useful private railways were made during the period under review, for the use of individual commercial establishments.* One of the latter class, that completed in July, 1801, between the slate quarries of Lord Penrhyn, in Caermarthenshire, and Port Penrhyn, the place of shipment, is interesting from the novelty of its construction, the rails being made of an oval section, with the longer axis placed vertically, instead of being of the old flat form now known as *tram plates* or *plate rails*. By this arrangement which was contrived by Mr Benjamin Wyatt, the strength of the iron was applied in a much more advantageous way than formerly, while the rounded surface of the rails kept them free from the lodgment of stones and dirt. The wheels of the carriages, which were of very small dimensions, were grooved to fit the rails, and so great was the saving of labour effected by this railway, that ten horses were able to perform upon it an amount of work which required four hundred on the common road previously used.† Perhaps this is the first road to which the name of *edge-railway* can be properly applied, if we except the primitive wooden railways, which are the only kind mentioned by Saint-Fond as in use at the time of his visit to the neighbourhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne.‡ The ingenious foreigner was much pleased with these roads, which, he states, were often several miles long, and were extended on to wooden platforms projecting over the water at the shipping places at such an elevation as to allow the ships to pass beneath them. The arrangements for emptying the waggons by opening the bottom, and for conducting the coal along inclined shoots immediately into the hold of the vessel, resembled those still in common use. The wooden rails were formed with a rounded upper surface, like a projecting moulding, and the wagon wheels were "made of cast iron, and hollowed in the manner of a metal pulley," that they might fit the rounded surface of the rails. After alluding to the arrangement is mentioned in the last Book,§ by which the force of gravity is made to reduce or even to supersede the labour of horses, Saint-Fond observes, "The great economy produced by these ingenious contrivances, which save the expense of employing a multitude of men and horses, enables the English to sell the coal which they export in such abundance to all our ports, on the ocean and the Mediterranean, at a lower price than it can be afforded from our own [the French] mines, in all cases

where we have to bring it more than three or four miles by land." "Marseilles," he proceeds, "affords an example in point. This town, which consumes immense quantities of combustible matter in its great soap-manufactories, is within four or five leagues of a great number of coal-mines. This coal is indeed of an indifferent quality, but it is, notwithstanding, employed with advantage in the furnaces of soap works. Would any one believe that the excellent coal of England, which lasts double the time and gives double the heat, when sold duty free in the port of Marseilles, is cheaper than the former?" "Such instances as this," adds the enlightened Frenchman, "ought doubtless to give us very important lessons." The only further circumstance requiring to be noticed here, in connexion with the progress of railroads, is the introduction of a more durable mode of construction, by the substitution of square blocks of stone, in lieu of pieces of timber, as *sleepers*, or supports for the rails, an improvement which, according to Day,† was introduced by Mr Barnes, in 1797, in a colliery-railway near Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The period embraced by this Book was one of great activity in the improvement of inland navigation. The important benefits arising from the construction of navigable canals were now no longer problematical, but had become matter of experience, while the incredulity which had opposed itself to the bold ideas of Brindley was silenced by the successful accomplishment of the great works of that engineer, and others whose talents had been called into activity by his example. This altered state of feeling on the part of the public, combined with the general increase of the manufactures and trade of the country, was productive of such activity in this kind of speculation in 1793 and 1794, that, within those two years only, acts of parliament were obtained for thirty-six new schemes for canals, "which," observes Phillips, "with other bills for extending and amending rivers, &c, make forty-seven acts in that period relative to the inland navigation of this country." He adds that the expenditure involved in the undertakings of the above period amounted to the enormous sum of 5,300,000*l*, and that the advantage was increased by the circumstance of this amount being expended at home, and chiefly among the industrious poor.‡

Of the numerous water communications effected during the space of time under consideration, it may suffice to mention a few of the most important. By lines of canal connecting the rivers Thames, Trent, Severn, and Mersey, which, by nearly dividing England into four parts, offered remarkable facilities for such a navigation, the great ports of London, Hull, Bristol, and Liverpool were not only rendered accessible to each other, but also to

* Tredy Id observes in his *Practical Treatise on Railroads* 1825 (p. 29) in his description of the Ca diff and Merthyr railway or tram road "which was formed on account of the deficiency of water in the upper part of the Glamorganshire canal that the act of parliament for this tram road was obtained in 1794 (35 Geo III.) by Messrs Hoynsay Hill and Co., and it appears to have been constructed under the first act ever granted for this species of road. We have however been unable to find such an act either public or private notwithstanding a diligent search.

† *Repository of Arts* second series vol III pp 285-7.

‡ Some writers on the history of railways state that cast iron edge-rails were used by Mr Jessop in 1769, in a railway at Loughborough, but we possess no satisfactory information on the subject.
§ Vol I p 577.

* *Travels* vol I pp 143-6.

† *Practical Treatise on the Construction and Formation of Railways*, second edition 1829 p 25.

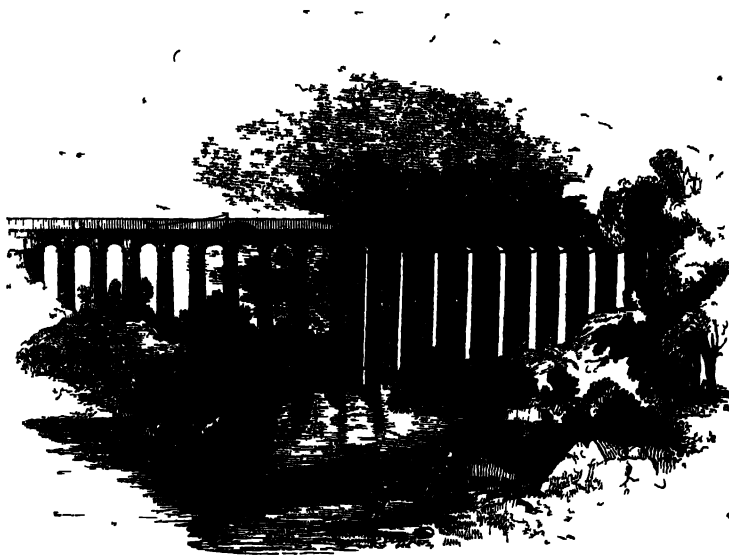
‡ *General History of Inland Navigation*, fourth edition 1823, p 267.

a great number of towns in the interior. In Scotland the completion of the Forth and Clyde canal opened a passage completely across the country, and, by connecting the inland districts with the ocean on either side, conferred an important benefit on its commercial interests. Such a canal had been proposed as early as the time of Charles II, when it was abandoned on account of the expense, which was estimated at 500,000. The scheme was frequently revived between that time and the year 1768, when a company was incorporated for the purpose of executing the work, which was immediately commenced, and carried on with spirit until 1775, when it was suspended owing to the exhaustion of the company's funds. From a memorial presented to the lords of trade in 1779, it appears that the canal had been so far completed as to enable vessels fit to navigate the open seas to proceed from any part of the east side of Britain to Glasgow, but that the company were in debt and were obliged to charge tolls which were found too heavy for bulky goods of small value. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland now joined in a recommendation that the undertaking should be completed by Government, on the ground of its importance to England and Ireland, as well as to Scotland, in reducing both coasting and foreign navigation, and avoiding the necessity of sailing round the northern extremity of Scotland, which was, in time of war, very hazardous at all seasons of the year, and in winter almost impracticable. Government assistance was not, however, granted until 1784, after which the works were resumed, and on the 28th of July, 1790, "the union of the two rivers," says Macpherson, "was celebrated by Mr Spiers, president of the committee of management, and Mr Whitworth, the engineer, accompanied by the committee and the magistrates of Glasgow, by launching a hoghead of the water of the Forth into the Clyde," "a ceremony," observes this writer, "of much more propriety and meaning than the annual marriage of the dukes of Venice with the Adriatic sea." The first sea-vessel passed through the canal in August of the same year, in May, 1791, a vessel called the 'Experiment' sailed from Dundee to Liverpool in four days by taking this course, and in the following year the brig 'George' passed from North Queensferry to Madeira and back again, making use of the canal. The writer we have just quoted observes, in relating these circumstances, that thus "we see the intercourse of distant nations promoted by a canal occupying nearly the same ground on which the barbarous Romans erected their unavailing fence to obstruct the intercourse of brethren."* This canal, in a length of about thirty-five miles, has thirty-nine locks, by means of which it rises to an elevation of about 156 feet from the sea. In one place it crosses the river Kelvin by an aqueduct sixty-five feet above the water-line, or eighty-three feet from the bed of the river to the top of the masonry

Another ship canal, of less than half the length, but capable of receiving much larger vessels, was made a few years later between Gloucester and the river Severn, near Berkeley.

The gigantic works of Telford principally belong to the space of time to be treated of in the next Book, but the Ellesmere canal, one of the first extensive undertakings committed to him, was chiefly executed between 1793 and the close of the present period. This canal consists of a series of navigations, extending collectively to a length of more than one hundred miles, connecting the rivers Severn, Dee, and Mersey, and it passes over a country so uneven as to require the construction of works which, from their magnitude, surpass those of Brindley nearly as much as the latter had surpassed all previous achievements in civil engineering in this country. In the valleys of the Cernog, or Chirk, and of the Dee, especially, aqueducts were erected in the construction of which all existing precedent was boldly departed from. It had been usual in such structures to make the bed for the canal of puddled clay, or clay mixed up with water and fine gravel or sand, and applied in such a manner as to form an impervious lining within the masonry of the bridge, but, in addition to the great expense of such an aqueduct, there was considerable risk of accident in frosty weather, owing to the expansion of the moist puddle. The Chirk aqueduct, being of very large dimensions, would have presented great difficulties but for the happy contrivance of Telford, who made the canal bed of flanged cast-iron plates resting on the masonry. This aqueduct, which was completed about 1801, at a cost of 20,898*l.*, consists of ten arches of forty feet span, and crosses the river at an elevation of seventy feet. The aqueduct bridge across the valley of the Dee, commonly called the Pont-y-Cysyllte, is of still greater extent and elevation, and of simpler construction, consisting of a great trough of cast-iron plates laid on a series of eighteen piers or pillars of masonry, without stone walls on the sides to give the appearance of an ordinary bridge. The piers rise to the height of one hundred and twenty-one feet above low water, and are built solid to the height of seventy feet, above which they are hollow, but strengthened with interior walls. The trough is about one thousand feet long and nearly twelve wide, and it contains a towing-path supported upon cast-iron pillars. At one end of the aqueduct is an embankment of earth fifteen hundred feet long, and in some parts as much as seventy-five feet high. The aqueduct and embankment together cost 47,018*l.*, and their construction occupied about ten years, from 1795 to 1805.*

* The above details are taken from the 'Life of Thomas Telford' written by himself and edited by his friend and executor Mr. Rickman. The Baron Dupin, who gives a minute description of this extraordinary work in his *Commercial Power of Great Britain* mentions it in the following manner in his *Memoirs on the Marine Bridges and High roads of France and England*.—After a long and fatiguing walk, he observes, "I entered the valley on a fine autumnal evening almost at the moment of sunset never did a more magnificent scene burst upon my sight. In the midst of a vigorous vegetation, still retaining all its freshness, columns of smoke and



FOUNTAIN

When Telford first proposed the use of iron for aqueducts, for a comparatively small structure on the Shrewsbury canal, it was feared by many that the effect of changes of temperature in causing expansion and contraction of the material would prove a fatal objection, but experience has fully confirmed his opinion of its fitness. He also introduced cast iron for many other engineering purposes to which it had not previously been applied, as in the framing of lock gates, and in one instance, where the lock was dug in a quicksand, for the construction of the chamber also. In the years 1795 and 1796 he built an iron bridge, of very superior design to that of Colebrook Dale,* over the Severn, at Buildwas. It has a very flat arch of a hundred and thirty feet span, and is especially deserving of notice from the circumstance of the engineer having introduced the principle of trussing, so as to make the structure more nearly resemble a wooden bridge than one of masonry, and this principle has been frequently followed since.

The example of Brindley in tunnelling through a hill too elevated to be passed conveniently by

other means, was boldly followed by his immediate successors in canal making. Several tunnels of much greater length than that of Harecastle hill† were made before the close of the eighteenth century, some of them being from two to three miles long. That at Sapperton, on the Thames and Severn canal, is nearly two miles and a half long, and 250 feet below the summit of the hill. It is large enough for the passage of boats of 70 tons burden, drawing four feet of water. The works, which were executed under the care of Mr Whitworth, one of the principal canal engineers of his time, were visited by George III. and his queen on the 19th of July, 1788, the first boat passed through the tunnel on the 20th of April, 1789; and the canal was opened for use in the following November. The successful accomplishment of such subterraneous works even led to a project, for the execution of which a company was incorporated in 1799, for a dry tunnel, or subaqueous road, beneath the river Thames, between Gravesend and Tilbury; but, although the works were actually begun, they were speedily abandoned, and, though a similar work was commenced much nearer the metropolis in 1804, and slowly proceeded with for some years, it remained for another generation to see the almost insuperable difficulties of such a scheme successfully grappled with by the genius of a Brunel. How little these difficulties were appreciated by the projectors of the Gravesend tunnel

same perpetual eruptions from the chimneys of industry, furnaces, forges, limekilns, and heaps of coal ignited to become by the very operation of ignition a perfect combustible. manufactories, country houses and villages placed in the form of an amphitheatre on the sides of the valley, below a rapid torrent, above the canal bridge placed as if by enchantment on lofty and slender pillars of an elegant and simple construction, and this magnificent work the fruit of the happy and bold efforts of one of my friends. Lost in the contemplation of these beauties of art and nature, which by the fading away of the declining light, and the appearance every moment, I stood as it were in ecstacy, till the close of twilight obliged me to retire and seek an asylum at some miles distance.

* See ante, vol. i. p. 286.

† See ante vol. i. p. 279.

† Phillips's General History of Inland Navigation, fourth edition, pp. 219, 214.

may be conceived from the fact that their proposed capital was only 30,000*l.*, with power to increase it, if necessary, to 50,000*l.* Nothing, however, can give a more striking idea of the dauntless spirit which displayed itself in such works, in this early stage of modern civil engineering, than the collieries of the Duke of Bridgewater, whose canal and earlier works at Worsley have been mentioned in a former chapter *. In 1800 the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce awarded their gold medal to his grace for his "great exertions in inland navigation," and on that occasion the Rev. Francis H. Egerton communicated to the society an interesting description of the subterraneous works at Walkden Moor, between Worsley and Bolton, in Lancashire, from which it appears that the duke's navigation extended, in various directions, to the total length of forty miles upon one level, without a lock, above ground in addition to which there were about twelve miles of tunnelling upon the same level, which, together with eighteen miles of the Grand Trunk Canal, also upon the same level, made a total of seventy miles of navigable canal, available for the conveyance of coals from the mines, without the trouble or delay of a single lock. In addition to the twelve miles of tunnel on the level of the open canal, there were at the time referred to, six miles more upon a higher level, thirty-five yards and a half above the former, yet from thirty-eight to sixty-one yards below the surface of the earth. The whole of these excavations were more than ten feet wide, between eight and nine feet high, and had three feet seven inches depth of water. Until shortly before the date of the paper, the coal collected in the upper level was conveyed to the boats on the lower canal by unloading, and letting it down vertical shafts in tubs, and the boats employed in the upper story of tunnelling had to be hauled up to the surface of the ground at Walkden Moor, whenever they needed repair. These serious inconveniences were remedied by the construction in a place where the strata offered remarkable facilities for the purpose, of a subterraneous inclined plane about a hundred and fifty yards long, descending from the upper to the lower level. A railway was laid on this inclined plane, and the boats to be transferred from one level to the other were floated (at the upper end by means of a lock) on to low carriages or cradles. Being then connected with a rope passing round a roller at the top, the loaded boat, weighing, with its cradle, about twenty-one tons, quickly descended to the lower level, drawing the empty boat, with its cradle, weighing together about nine tons, up the plane, to be floated to the proper point for receiving a fresh supply of coal. Thirty loaded boats were by this means conveniently let down, and as many empty ones were drawn up, within eight hours. This inclined plane was commenced in September, 1795, and finished in October, 1797; and it is stated to have been the contrivance of the

Duke of Bridgewater himself*. In some cases boats were passed from one level to another by similar means, instead of by locks, upon ordinary open canals. Macpherson mentions an instance of this kind, under the year 1788, in a navigable communication between the Donnington Wood Canal and the river Severn, in which the barges were raised, by three inclined planes, to a perpendicular height of four hundred and fifty-five feet, but in this instance the moving-power was supplied by steam-engines, or, as they were then called, fire-engines †.

In concluding this brief notice of the progress of canals, it may be stated that, between 1758 and the close of the present period, about one hundred and sixty-five acts of parliament were passed for making, altering, and amending canals in Great Britain, at an expense, provided by private individuals or companies, of 13,008,199*l.* The navigations thus formed amounted to about 2896½ miles, without including forty-three private canals, of which neither the length nor the cost is stated ‡. It may be readily imagined that many of these undertakings, however beneficial to the country, proved anything but remunerative to their owners, but the brilliant success of others served to encourage new speculations. Under the year 1792, Macpherson mentions that the canal commenced in 1769, between the coal works at Wednesbury and Birmingham, had reduced the price of coal from 13*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* per ton, and that the value of the shares, which were issued at 140*l.*, had risen to 370*l.* in 1782, and in 1792 to 1170*l.* In the latter year, also, the 100 shares in the Birmingham Canal rose to upwards of 1000*l.* §.

A remarkable feature in the history of civil engineering, towards the close of the eighteenth century, was the practical application of the diving bell—an invention of much earlier origin, but which appears to have been first applied in submarine building operations in 1779, when Smeaton employed it in repairing the foundations of Hexham bridge ||. He used it again in 1788, in the much more important works at Ramsgate harbour, and since that time it has been frequently applied with great advantage.

While England is the principal field to be regarded in these notices, symptoms of a like spirit of improvement in other countries claim a brief mention. Macpherson, under the year 1785, observes, that the general spirit of improvement which then manifested itself may perhaps in some degree have been "the effect of the war, which brings people of different nations, of those classes who do not move from home in time of peace, to mix together, whereby they have opportunities of remarking the improvements and advantages unknown, but attainable, in their own countries."

* Transactions of the Society of Arts, xviii. 266, 268.

† Annals of Commerce, i. 179.

‡ Phillips, p. 506.

§ Annals of Commerce, iv. 307.

|| The Report in which Smeaton recommended the use of it is apparently contains an interesting and simple explanation of the principle on which it acts. It is dated September 13, 1779, and is printed in the collected edition of his Reports vol. iii. p. 279.

He mentions, as illustrations of this movement, the commencement, in 1784, of a grand canal, intended to effect a communication between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean Sea, in Spain, which was intended to be 420 miles long, 9 feet deep, and to pass over an elevation of 3000 feet. Political troubles intervened, however, to check all such efforts at improvement in that kingdom. In Russia a canal was made between the Twertz, or Twerza, a branch of the river Volga, and the Mista, or Msta, which, though short in itself, completed, with the help of rivers and lakes, an inland navigation of 1434 miles, between the Caspian and the Baltic Seas. In Denmark, also, a very useful ship canal was cut across the peninsula of Jutland, connecting the Baltic Sea with the ocean.* Several important public works, undertaken in France early in the present period are mentioned by Arthur Young, who published an account of his travels in that country during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, but they appear to have been executed with little discretion. Of the neighbourhood of Narbonne he observes—"The roads here are stupendous works. I passed a hill, cut through to ease a descent, that was all in the solid rock, and cost 90,000 livres (3937/), yet it extends but a few hundred yards. Three leagues and a half from Sejean to Narbonne cost 1,800,000 livres (78,750/)." "These ways," he proceeds, "are superb even to a folly. Enormous sums have been spent to level even gentle slopes. The causeways are raised and walled on each side, forming one solid mass of artificial road, carried across the valleys to the height of six, seven, or eight feet, and never less than fifty wide. There is a bridge of a single arch, and a causeway to it, truly magnificent. We have not an idea of what such a road is in England. The traffic of the way, however, demands no such exertions: one third of the breadth is beaten, one-third rough, and one-third covered with weeds. In thirty-six miles I have met one cabriolet, half-a-dozen carts, and some old women with asses." A little farther on he notices the striking contrast between the splendour of the roads and the poverty of the people—"Women without stockings, and men without shoes, but, if their feet are poorly clad, they have the *superb* consolation of walking upon magnificent causeways. The new road is fifty feet wide, and fifty more dugged away or destroyed to make it."† With so lavish a disregard of expenditure, it can excite little surprise to find, as we do, by the same authority, that the works of the great canal of Picardy were standing still for want of money, and, with so little attention to the real wants of the country, it could hardly be expected that the capital expended upon public works in France should produce either the pecuniary return or the benefit to the commercial interest generally which accompanied those undertaken in Great Britain.

The inventions of Watt having been described

in a previous volume,* it is only necessary in this place to notice a few facts relating to their history down to the close of the century. In the case of the man whose discoveries, as has been observed, "have taught us to wield, almost at will, perhaps the mightiest instrument ever intrusted to the hands of man,"† moral difficulties were found, as they have proved in many other instances, far less easy to overcome than those of a physical nature. It has been mentioned in the former notice, that in 1775 the term of Watt's patent was extended for a period of twenty-five years, notwithstanding the opposition, as he himself states in a letter to his father, of "many of the most powerful people in the House of Commons,"‡ but we find that, after he had gained this victory in parliament, his rivals and opponents did not leave him to reap the fruit of his exertions in peace, but merely changed their mode of attack from time to time, according to circumstances. The miners of Cornwall had no sooner experienced the advantages of the improved steam-engines, than they endeavoured, by the most



WATT.

unworthy devices, to evade the payment of that portion of the saving effected by them for which the patentees had stipulated. On the slightest pretexts some of these men declared their engagements to be dissolved, and thus Messrs Boulton and Watt were continually involved in expensive and annoying legal processes. Arago mentions Roy, Mylne, Herschel, Deluc, Ramsden, Robison, Murdoch, Rennie, Cumming, More, and Southern as men who, under these circumstances, publicly and powerfully defended the rights of persecuted genius. Mild and amiable as Watt was, seven

* Vol. i. pp. 579-582.

† Speech of the Earl of Aberdeen, at the meeting for erecting monuments to Watt, 1884.

‡ M. Arago says in his *Historical Biog. of James Watt* (two vols. from Muirhead's translation published in quarto by Murray). It seemed to me matter of curious inquiry to what class in society belonged the *se* parliamentary personages of whom Watt here speaks and who refused to the man of genius a small portion of the riches which he was about to create. Judge of my astonishment when I found at their head the celebrated Burke. On this M. Arago indulges in some strictures which better information would have shown him to have been uncalled for, for Muirhead states in a note (on p. 76), that "Mr. Burke's opposition is believed to have arisen not from any hostility to Mr. Watt or his patent but simply from a sense of duty in defending what he considered or what were represented to him to be, the claims of a constituent."

* *Annals of Commerce* iv. 30-37.
† *Travels in France*, i. 30-31.

years of litigation occasioned him such deep vexation that he occasionally expressed himself in terms which indicate his sense of the injustice done to him. "We have been so beset with plagiaries," he observes, in a letter to Dr Black, quoted by Arago, "that, if I had not a very good memory of my doing it, their impudent assertions would lead me to doubt whether I was the author of any improvement on the steam-engine, and the ill will of those we have most essentially served, whether such improvements have not been highly prejudicial to the commonwealth." When the opposition on the plea of want of originality or merit was completely silenced, a fresh attack was made upon the rights of the patentees, on the pretence that Watt's written description of his invention, given at the time of obtaining his first patent, was imperfect. As this specification was drawn up when he had no experience beyond that derived from the construction of the model at Kinneil,* it could not be otherwise, if, according to the view which appears to have been taken by the opponents of the patent, the specification was to be considered as a description and explanation of the complete machine. Such, however, as must appear upon careful consideration of the circumstances, is a most incorrect as well as illiberal view of the case. Watt did not pretend to be the inventor of the steam-engine, but of certain improvements in its construction, of which the principal were the closing of the cylinder, so as to prevent the influx of cold air, and the adoption of a separate vessel for condensing the steam, so that the cylinder might not be cooled by that operation. These were improvements of so clear and tangible a character as to be unaffected by a change in the precise form or position of the condenser, or by the introduction of new or modified members in other parts of the machine. The minor alterations suggested by experience should, therefore, be regarded rather as additions to, than as modifications of those to which an exclusive right was granted by his patent, although, from their intimate connection with the more essential features of his machine, the exclusive right to the latter secured a virtual monopoly in the whole. Taking this view of the subject, it can hardly fail to excite surprise to find that, after a lapse of twenty years, "or rather," as Stuart observes, "after a series of experiments in which he had been engaged for twenty years, to develop his ideas, the splendid result of his genius and perseverance—the perfect machine—was raised up in judgment against him, to prove that between the years 1790 and 1800 the engines which were sent from Soho were more perfect than could be fabricated from the description he gave of the one he erected in 1769." "Generous rivals!" he adds, "nay, several of his adversaries confessed that the machine was yet the subject of expensive and elaborate experiments for they had, it seems, seen recent engines with very varied proportions, and they went so far as to acknowledge that some

of the parts which Watt had introduced did not appear to them to be essential to the precise, or effective action of the machinery, yet these parts were pointed out as having no existence in the document of 1769, and, because they had not, Watt, in their opinion, was not entitled to the reward of his admirable invention."† It is lamentable to find among the assailants of the patent the ingenious and worthy Bramah, whose high talents entitle him to honourable mention in this portion of our history, and whose integrity and just appreciation of the beautiful contrivances of Watt render his printed letter to the judge who presided at a trial in which he appeared as a witness a most interesting document in favour of the invention which he attacked solely on the discreditable ground above stated. Though Watt came off victorious, it is probable that the harassing opposition to which he had been so long subjected had some influence in determining him to retire from business on the final expiration of his patent in 1800, when his son and the son of his colleague took the management of the works at Soho. Strange, indeed, it is to turn from the record of such proceedings as the above to the bursts of enthusiastic admiration which, after the death of Watt, seemed to exhaust the powers of language in eulogising the man and his imperishable inventions, and to prompt the most eminent of his countrymen in politics, in literature, and in science to raise statues to his memory—"Not," as eloquently expressed by Lord Brougham upon that erected in Westminster Abbey, "to perpetuate a name which must endure while the peaceful arts flourish, but to show that mankind have learnt to honour those who best deserve their gratitude."

We possess no statistical data to show the progress of the application of the steam-engine to the assistance of manufacturing industry, but it is evident that it was not so rapid as the extent of its powers might lead us to suppose. As will be seen from the account of the progress of the cotton manufacture in a subsequent page, the application of the steam-engine to the direct or immediate propulsion of the machinery of a cotton-mill was commenced in 1785, although it was not until 1789 that one was erected for that purpose in Manchester, where its introduction began a new era in that department of industry. Even down to the time when the inventions of Watt became common property, at the close of the century, their introduction had made comparatively slow progress in districts where, from the cheapness of fuel, economy was not so imperatively called for as in the mining districts of Cornwall, and the imperfect machines of Newcomen and Savary were still generally used. "In London, at the expiration of the patent," observes Stuart, "not more than a power equal to the energy of 650 horses was exerted by Watt's engines; in Manchester about 450 horse-power, and at Leeds about 300 horse-power, and at the same time not more than four

* See ante vol. I. p. 598.

† *Annals of Steam-engines*, pp. 634-635.

steam-engines, of any importance, were at work in the whole continent of America,"* one of which supplied New York with water, and two belonged to the corporation of Philadelphia. In the next five years, according to the same authority, the number of Watt's engines in London was doubled, and a greater number had been made at Soho than in the same space of time before the manufacture was thrown open to competition.

Though the advantages of steam locomotion were not experienced till a subsequent period, the talents of several ingenious men in England, France, and North America were directed towards this object, especially in navigation, towards the latter end of the eighteenth century †. We can here only notice the experiments of Messrs Patrick Miller, James Taylor, and William Symington, by whose joint efforts, more than by any other attempts of so early a date the practicability of steam navigation was established. A full and very interesting account of their experiments, and of the probable share of credit due to each, is contained in a volume recently published by Mr John Scott Russell, ‡ from which it appears that in October, 1788, a small pleasure-boat, in which a steam-engine had been mounted in a temporary manner, was launched upon the lake at Dalswinton, in Dumfries shire, the residence of Mr Miller, and it moved satisfactorily at the rate of five miles an hour, to the no small amusement of the country-people, who assembled from all quarters to witness the wonders of "a boat driven by reek," or smoke. Mr Russell, whose practical knowledge imparts much value to such a statement, expresses his belief "that there has never since that time been constructed a model steam-vessel, on the same scale, that has attained a greater velocity." The second experiment of this scientific triumvirate was made in the following year, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, with a vessel sixty feet long, propelled by an engine made for the purpose at the Carron works, and in this case we are informed, "the vessel was propelled with perfect success, at the rate of nearly seven miles an hour, being about as great a velocity as it has been found possible to obtain by steam-boats on canals, even at the present day" §. That so grand an invention should, after experiments of so satisfactory a character, have lain idle for many years, is a somewhat surprising fact. Mr Miller, whose patriotic spirit and ardent attachment to science were displayed also in other cases, was a man advanced in life, and had retired from business to his country-seat, from the quiet of which he was not likely to be drawn, without the prospect of personal benefit, to wage war with the prejudices which would then have opposed, as they did at a

later period, an attempt to introduce so startling an innovation, and neither Taylor, who was a tutor in his family, near Symington, who was an ingenious mechanic, possessed the wealth and influence necessary for such an undertaking. The project, therefore, remained stationary for more than ten years, when it was revived under the patronage of Lord Dundas, who was an extensive proprietor in the Forth and Clyde Canal, and who employed Symington to construct a tug-boat impelled by steam, as a substitute for the horses employed in towing vessels. This vessel was tried in March, 1802, and acted well, but the invention was once more allowed to fall into obscurity, in consequence of an idea that the agitation of the water by the paddle wheels would injure the banks of the canal. To the above experiments, however, the subsequent successful introduction of steam navigation, both in North America and in Scotland, may be distinctly traced.

In the history of mining there is not much to claim our notice in the present period. The construction of canals, and the general increase of manufacturing industry, greatly increased the consumption of coal, and few things appear to have struck the French traveller Saint-Fond more than the activity of the English in raising and distributing the produce of their collieries, and the national advantages derived from them. He rejects also the idea of any serious harm arising from the extensive use of coal in London, regarding the ventilation produced by so many large fires as compensating for the evils occasioned by the noxious exhalations of burning coal, and he further endeavours to rouse his countrymen to a just sense of the benefits which they might derive from their own deposits of mineral fuel, even though its general use should put the "fashionables of Paris, like those of London, to the trouble of changing their linen twice a-day" **. This writer's account of the waggon-ways laid down for the transport of coal about Newcastle has been noticed in a previous page, and he states that the collieries of that district, besides forming immense magazines of fuel for the rest of England, were also the source of an extensive and profitable foreign commerce. Referring to the advantages of the coal trade as a nursery for the navy, he states that, in time of war, more than a thousand coal-vessels had been armed, and supplied with letters of marque, by which means much harm had been done to the enemy's commerce †. Macpherson gives, on the authority of published letters addressed to Pitt, on the subject of the taxes on coal, a summary of the persons employed in the collieries of Northumberland and Durham, and in the trade connected with them, in the year 1792, from which it appears that the number of men and boys employed in working the coal, conveying it to the river, and loading the keels in which it was conveyed to the ships, in the coal-works of the Tyne alone, was 6704, the keelmen, with their boys and coal-boatmen, amounted to 1547, the seamen on board the coal-ships to

* Anecdotes of Steam Engines p. 440

† An account of many of these early projects may be seen in the articles Steam-Carriage and Steam Vessel, in the Penny Cyclopædia.

‡ On the Nature, Properties and Applications of Steam, and on Steam Navigation. The greater part of this work, but not the history of steam navigation is reprinted from the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

§ Russell p. 184

* Travels, vol. i p. 114

† Ibid. vol. i p. 180

8000, the ~~coal~~-factors, merchants, clerks, lightermen, masters, &c., to 2000, and other persons employed more or less indirectly, including purveyors of provisions and stores for the keels and ships, to 3649 making a total of 21,900. Their families are estimated at 16,575, making a grand total of 38,475 persons supported by the coal works on the Tyne. In those upon the river Wear, about 3000 persons were employed underground, and about 15,000 altogether, which, allowing 11,250 for their families, makes 26,250 persons supported by those collieries. The coal-works in Cumberland and on the Firth of Forth,* according to the same authority, were supposed to employ upwards of 6000 pitmen, labourers, and seamen, whose families are estimated at 4500 persons, so that more than 75,000 persons were supported directly or indirectly by these principal collieries. The capital invested in the coal trade of Northumberland at this time was supposed to be about 3,130,000*l*, of which 1,030,000*l* was allowed for fifty collieries, with their keels, 1,400,000*l* for the shipping, and the remaining 700,000*l* for the capital of the coal buyers and factors in London † It may be observed that the numbers above given are not so large as might be expected from other statements in Macpherson and Anderson, quoted in our notice of the coal trade in the preceding period,‡ but the above is evidently a cautious estimate, and, so far as the number of persons supported by the collieries is concerned, it is probably below the truth. The gradual increase in the consumption of coal is shown by the fact that, according to official documents quoted by Macpherson,§ the average annual importation into London was 774,664 chaldrons in the five years from 1786 to 1790, 789,890 chaldrons in the next period of five years, and 853,129 chaldrons in the five years ending with 1800. The number of voyages made from Newcastle and Sunderland, by vessels in the coal-trade, in the twenty years from 1780 to 1799, was 214,700, of which 59,833 were to London, and the number of vessels employed in the trade from Newcastle and Sunderland to London in May, 1800, was 597, these being, it is stated, generally larger than those employed in the coasting and foreign coal-trade.

Saint-Fond, in his account of the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, makes some remarks on the methods adopted for converting to a profitable use the coal-dust which accumulated in immense quantities at the pits, and for which there was no sufficient demand, notwithstanding its extensive use in glass-houses, lime-kilns, brick kilns, and forges. At Lyege such coal was mixed with clay, and kneaded into balls or lumps, which were used as fuel for domestic purposes, but the high price of

labour and the cheapness of superior coal prevented the extensive imitation of this practice in England. The pulverised coal was therefore employed in a different way, by taking advantage of its agglutinating properties, and converting it into coke, which was used as a fuel for chamber-fires, as well as in the manufacture of iron. Similar means for condensing coal dust were, Saint-Fond states, in use in France before the Revolution, and even some improvements had been there effected upon the English process. The coal thus prepared was called purified or dephlogisticated coal, and was much used in Paris for a time, but it is stated in a note, that since the commencement of the Revolution none of the purified coal had been taken to Paris: the establishments for its preparation had been broken up, and the destruction of the forests was going on without any check: an evil which the intelligent Frenchman deeply deploras.¶ The manufacture of coke and coal tar had been suggested to the English by the German chemist Becher, about the year 1682, but, as we mentioned in the preceding Book,† it was not established on an important scale until shortly before the commencement of the present period. Mr William Pitt, of Penderford, near Wolverhampton, in a communication to the Society of Arts in 1790, alludes to three great establishments then in successful operation under the patent or privilege granted to the Earl of Dundonald in 1785, at Mr Wilkinson's great works at Bradley, at Tipton, and at the Dudley Wood colliery and iron works. "The iron masters," observes Mr Pitt, "furnish the tar-works with raw coal, grates, and receive in return the cokes produced by such coal, and the proprietors of the tar works have the smoke only [or rather the tar made from it] for their labour and interest of capital."‡ The success of this plan led Mr Pitt to devise a method for extracting tar from the smoke of steam engines, and thereby destroying a nuisance which has since occupied the attention of many ingenious men, though with little practical effect.

Notices of the advancing state of British iron-manufactures abound in works which treat on the commerce and industry of the period under review. Lord Sheffield, in his 'Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland,' which were published in 1785, treats of manufactures of steel and iron at considerable length, considering them to be an object of the greatest national importance, although they had, as he observes, "been in a great degree rescued within a few years almost from ruin, by the ingenuity and spirit of a few men, who deserve, at least, as well of their country as any of its most favourite patriots." The history of the progress of the iron manufacture appears somewhat complicated, owing to the error, which Lord Sheffield states that he himself fell into in his work on the commerce of the American States, of considering both pig and bar iron as raw mate-

* Saint-Fond gives an interesting account of the coal works at Calais which were excavated to a considerable distance under the sea, and were kept clear of such water as entered by leakage by means of steam-engines. *Travels* i. 167, 168.

† Article Coal works in the Commercial Gazetteer, appended to Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv.

‡ See vol. i. p. 564.

§ *Annals of Commerce* iv. 511.

• *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 140, 144.

† *Vol. i. p. 268.*

‡ *Transactions of the Society of Arts*, &c. 181, 146.

rials, whereas they are really manufactured articles, and the latter a manufacture far advanced. The smelting of iron ores, and production of pig iron and articles of cast iron, by means of pit coal, was an improvement brought into extensive exercise before the year 1785, as shown in the last Book.* The use of the same fuel for converting pig iron into bar iron of good quality was an object not accomplished on an important scale until somewhat later. Even the former improvement, however, required much time to become general. According to a recently published summary,† founded on official documents, there were, in 1740, when wood charcoal was the only fuel used for the purpose, 59 blast-furnaces for smelting iron ores in Great Britain, and their annual produce was 17,350 tons of cast iron, or, on an average, about 294 tons per annum from each furnace. By the year 1788, there remained only 24 charcoal blast-furnaces producing 13 100 tons of iron annually, or about 546 tons each on an average, this great increase in the quantity produced by each furnace being chiefly attributable to the substitution of cylinder blowing machines, worked with pistons, for the common wooden bellows. At the same time there were 53 blast-furnaces in operation with coke made from pit coal, furnishing 48,800 tons of iron annually, or about 920½ tons each, on an average. This statement makes the total number of furnaces at that time 77, and their gross produce 61 900 tons. By 1796 the wood charcoal process was almost entirely given up, and parliamentary returns show that there were then 121 blast-furnaces, producing at the rate of 124 879 tons, annually which gives an average of 1032 tons yearly from each furnace. In 1802 the number of furnaces was 168, and the produce about 170,000 tons, which gives a somewhat lower average from each. The progress of the application of pit coal to the refining of pig iron, or the manufacture of bar or malleable iron, cannot be shown with equal precision. "This operation," says Dr Ure, "was formerly effected by the agency of wood charcoal, in refineries analogous to those still made use of in France, but, when that kind of fuel began to be scarce in this island, it came to be mixed with coke in various proportions." "The bar iron thus produced," he adds, "was usually hard, and required much time to convert, so that an establishment which could produce twenty tons of bar iron in a week was deemed considerable." The great importance of such improvements as should enable English bar iron to compete successfully with that imported from Russia and Sweden is shown by the statements of several writers. Lord Sheffield, writing at the commencement of the period under review, states that from 50,000 to 60,000 tons of pig iron, and between 20,000 and 30,000 tons of

bar iron, were made annually in Britain, while the demand for the latter was from 70,000 to 80,000 tons, of which between 50,000, and 60,000 tons were imported, the value of which was so much money paid for foreign labour. To add to this evil, the price of foreign iron was rising rapidly, partly owing to the immense destruction of the forests which supplied fuel. He adds that the value of labour would rise with the decrease of vassalage and the increase of civilization, and observes that the surprisingly low price of iron in Russia at the time he wrote "is partly accounted for by this circumstance, that the empress grants a district with the peasantry on it, and, the person to whom it is granted not paying for the latter, as is usual in other countries where negroes are employed the price of their labour is merely the expense of keeping them." While he conceives that recent improvements justified the hope that the better sorts of iron might ere long be successfully manufactured at home, this writer expresses a belief, "that if the duty on the import of foreign iron was removed, many great iron-works would be immediately discontinued." "Works would be neglected," he observes, "which within a few years have cost immense sums, but would become useless and of no value, to the ruin of those men who with great spirit have invested their fortunes in them, under the faith and expectation that the duties on foreign iron would continue." Lord Sheffield, nevertheless, considers that the exertions of the ingenious men then engaged in the business might in a few years enable them to stock the home market, and allow the duty to be taken off foreign iron, because it would no longer be worth while to import it, and he refers to an improved method of making coke bar iron, introduced by Messrs Wright and Jesson, by which the quality had been improved and the quantity increased. This increase appeared likely to continue, "for, as nearly the same number of furnaces are," he observes, "kept up as were during the war, and few cannon are now making, the immense quantity of cast iron which was annually absorbed by these instruments will now be converted into bar iron, and many of the cannon themselves will be literally turned into ploughshares, hoops, and nails." Macpherson, in noticing, under the date 1785, the efforts of Mr Cort to compete with the Swedish bar iron, follows up his remarks on the national importance of the object aimed at by relating that, "in consequence of the scarcity and high price of fuel, and of the high price of labour, some English proprietors of iron works about this time transferred their capitals from England to Russia, where they erected extensive works for rolling and slitting iron, and for tanning sheet iron." "So true is it," he adds, "that heavy taxes, the principal cause of the high price of labour, will devour themselves by diminishing the number of contributors to them. Nor is this the whole of the evil foreigners are

* Vol. I, pp 584-586

† In Dr Ure's Dictionary of Arts Manufactures and Mines

p. 687. The figures do not perfectly agree with some other authorities which make the number of furnaces in 1788 55 and the quantity of iron 58 000 tons

‡ Dr Ure says 907 but as this does not agree with the total, there must be an error somewhere

* Observations on the Manufacture Trade, and Present State of Ireland, 1788 pp 214-218

thereby instructed in the process of manufactures, the superiority of which has made Great Britain the first commercial nation in the world."* Somewhat later, in 1787, the Society of Arts offered a premium for the making of fine bar iron with pit coal, considering, like Lord Sheffield, that the great improvements recently effected by the spirited exertions of British iron manufacturers rendered the accomplishment of the desired object probable †

The precise share of credit due to Cort and other manufacturers in the improvement of the iron manufacture is not very distinctly recorded, nor is it of material consequence. Dr Ure, who states that Great Britain is indebted to Mr Cort for the methods now practised, tells us that he succeeded, after many unsuccessful experiments, "in converting cast iron into bar iron, by exposing it on the hearth of a reverberatory furnace to the flame of pit coal." This method, however did not answer perfectly, the quality of the metal produced by it being very uncertain, and it was improved upon by causing the operation of the reverberatory furnace, which is called *puddling*, to be preceded by a kind of refinery with coke, to prepare the iron for becoming malleable. Among Cort's other improvements, he substituted the use of drawing rollers or cylinders for the extension of bars under the hammer, an improvement of great importance in facilitating the manufacture of wrought iron ‡ Mr Holland, who describes Cort as an iron master in the county of Gloucester, states that, "although he secured his practice by a patent, he was unsuccessful, and ruin overtook him before he could turn to his own advantage that scheme which was presently matured, and became so profitable in the hands of others." "The first individual who succeeded," he adds, "and derived from it a princely fortune, was a resident of South Wales, who had the judgment to perceive and the spirit to patronise the ingenuity of a person who, acting as his engineer, carried toward perfection the art of puddling. The process was quickly introduced into every part of the country where the iron trade was carried on besides, as the invention, by superseding foreign iron, made some noise, and at the same time promised well, many individuals became impressed with the idea not merely that iron was the most valuable of metals, but that its preparation was the direct way to wealth. The infatuation was too powerful to be withstood, the business was rushed into with capitals of from 10,000/ to 100,000/—iron works multiplied rapidly, the quantity produced exceeded the consumption, competition reduced the price below the expense of manufacturing, and not a few adventurers had to tell a tale of disappointment and ruin"§

Of the vast extent of the operations at the principal British iron works some idea may be formed

from the statement of Lord Sheffield,* intended to show how ruinous a proposed tax on coal would have been to the iron manufacture, that one company in Shropshire consumed 500 tons of coal daily, and that many of the manufacturers intended to throw up their works if the tax had been imposed. The 'Statistical Account of Scotland,' published in 1792,† states that about that time the Carron iron works, the establishment of which is noticed in the preceding Book,‡ gave employment to about 1000 workmen, consumed 136 tons of coal daily, and had five blast furnaces, sixteen air furnaces, and three cupola furnaces, and a steam-engine which consumed sixteen tons of coal in twenty-four hours, raised four tons and a half of water at a stroke, and made seven strokes per minute. The population of the parish had risen from 1864, in 1755, to upwards of 4000, in 1790. Saint Fond, who styles this the greatest iron-foundry in Europe, gives a very interesting description of its numerous buildings and powerful machinery. He was particularly struck with the extent and singular appearance of the coking fires, which differed materially from those at Newcastle, in consequence of the coal being in large pieces. "There is," he says, "such a numerous series of these places for making coke to supply so vast a consumption, that the air is heated to a considerable extent and that during the night the sky is entirely illuminated with the flames." "When one observes," he adds, "at a little distance, so many masses of burning coal on one side, and so many volumes of flame darting to a great height above the high furnaces on the other—and at the same time hears the noise of weighty hammers striking upon resounding anvils mingled with the loud roaring of bellows,—one doubts whether he is at the foot of a volcano in actual eruption, or whether he has been transported by some magical effect to the brink of the cavern where Vulcan and his Cyclops are occupied in preparing thunder-bolts"§ The British government alone were no inconsiderable patrons of the iron manufacture, for about 1795 the average quantity of metal purchased by the Board of Ordnance in the form of cannon, mortars, carronades, shot, and shells, taking the account of three years, was estimated at nearly 11,000 tons annually. The East India Company took annually about 5000 or 6000 tons, and armed trading-vessels not belonging to that body were said to purchase about 10,000 tons, thus making a total demand for such articles to the amount of about 26,000 tons annually|| A remarkable instance of the extent of another branch of the manufacture is related by Macpherson under the date 1788, in an order given to the celebrated English manufacturer, Mr Wilkinson, for iron piping to the extent of *forty miles*, to be used for supplying Paris with water. The Society of Arts, in men-

* Annals of Commerce, iv. 83

† Transactions of the Society of Arts vol. v. Preface p. xiii

‡ Dictionary of Arts p. 686

§ Treatise on Manufactures in Metal (in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), vol. i. p. 28.

* Observations p. 218, note

† Quoted in the Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Carron.'

Vol. i. p. 686

‡ Travels, vol. i. pp. 167, 168

|| Holland's Manufactures in Metal, i. 84.

tioning this order, states that the steam-engines required for the water-works were also supplied from England, and designates the whole "the largest and most useful apparatus modern times can boast of." The extended use of cast iron in engineering works has been already noticed in connexion with the labours of Telford, but one other structure, the cast iron bridge over the river Wear, at Sunderland, claims special notice on account of its extraordinary dimensions. The arch, which is a segment of a very large circle, is of 236 feet span, and 94 feet above the level of the water, so that vessels of 300 tons burden can pass under it, by lowering their top-gallant masts. It was projected by, and principally erected with the capital of, Mr Rowland Burdon, who designed it about the year 1790, and obtained an act of parliament for building it two years later, and the total cost of the undertaking, including the purchase of ferries and other incidental expenses, was 41,800/† Iron appears to have been first used for the construction of boats about 1787, by Mr Wilkinson, and shortly afterwards sheet copper was tried for a similar purpose ‡ The manufacture of cast iron pots and pans for culinary and various other purposes, for the method of casting, annealing, and tinning of which a patent had been granted in 1779 to a person named Taylor, of Birmingham,§ had now attained considerable importance. Large pans, or *coppers*, for the use of the sugar manufactories in the West Indies, are among the articles enumerated by Saint-Fond as the productions of the Carron foundry.

Lord Sheffield states that, although the destruction of the woods had almost put an end to the iron works of Ireland, recent improvements in making iron had encouraged their revival. Some steam-engines, he adds, were then erecting, and the Irish manufactures of iron were rapidly increasing. On a subsequent page he says, "It has been generally supposed that Ireland has great disadvantages in working iron mines, when compared with Great Britain, but the reason does not appear, unless it should arise from want of capital in general it may be observed that the private capitals of English manufacturers at present combat the purse of Ireland, in the hands of a bountiful and liberal parliament, but, if Englishmen will employ their capitals in Russia, why should they not employ them in Ireland?"|| In France, also, iron manufactures were making some progress when the Revolution broke out. Saint-Fond, after alluding to the coking establishments of his own country, says, "Thanks to the government and to a rich and enterprising company, an iron-foundry, which will soon rival the best works of that kind in England, is established at Creusot, near Montcenis, in Burgundy, and, though the place in

which it is erected was originally sterile and solitary, it is now covered with habitations. The abundance of coal, the simple mode of preparing it as a substitute for wood, and the models furnished by the ingenious Wilkinson, have performed wonders, and have given birth to an establishment which is truly worthy of a great nation." In a subsequent passage he speaks of the machines for boring cannon in this foundry as little, if at all, inferior to those of Carron. They were impelled by water, which was raised by steam-engines.*

The extent of the iron manufactures of France in 1789 is shown by Chaptal's valuable work on the commerce and manufacturing industry of that country, from which it appears that there were at that time 202 high furnaces and 76 of the kind known as Catalan forges (*forges à la catalane*), for the smelting of iron ore, and 792 refining furnaces. The smelting furnaces produced altogether, in the above year, 61,549,500 kilogrammes, or about 30,295 tons, of pig iron (*font en gueuse*), and 7,579,200 kilogrammes, or about 3730 tons, of cast iron (*fonte moulée*), and the above quantity of pig iron yielded, by refinery, 46,805,900 kilogrammes, or about 23,037 tons, of marketable iron † Brissot, in his treatise upon the commerce of North America, which was published shortly after the close of the war of independence, states that the inhabitants of the United States had attempted to make iron and steel, and that many manufactories had been set up at New York, in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania. In this case the destruction of the forests for fuel was a positive advantage, since it prepared the ground for agricultural operations. "It is impossible," says a writer quoted by Brissot, speaking of New Jersey, "to travel across this province without meeting with some little iron forges. If a proprietor has a great marsh full of wood, and that he wishes to clear it, he begins by making a dyke at one extremity to stop the water of the rivulets which run across it. He fixes in this water the wheels necessary for the manufacture of iron, &c." "And in a small number of years," he adds, "the traveller, who had seen in passing by nothing but a vast pond full of trees thrown down, and had heard the noise of hammers and anvils, sees well-enclosed fields, vast meadows," &c. Brissot considered that, having iron mines, abundance of the best fuel, and English industry to direct their operations, the North Americans would not be long before they might renounce foreign aid in manufactures of iron, perhaps with the exception of nails, which would long be made cheaper in Europe, owing to the low price of labour. They had, however, commenced even this manufacture in one of the States. The following compliment to British manufactures, coming from a Frenchman, is too gratifying to be passed over. After stating that both during the

* *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 176; *Transactions of the Society of Arts* iv. preface v.

† *Fanny's Cyclopædia* art. 'Sunderland'; where, however, by a typographical error the total is given 61,800.

‡ *Maspheiron Annals* iv. 176.

§ *Holland's Manufactures in Metal*, i. 70.

|| *Observations* pp. 257, 258, 259.

* *Travels* i. 154, 155. In a note on the former page Saint-Fond laments that "the worthy men who erected the foundry of Creusot have almost all been condemned to moisten the earth with their blood."

† *Chaptal De l'Industrie Française* tome ii. pp. 158, 159.

war and ~~place~~ the peace some exports of iron had been made from France to the United States, but that they had not succeeded, Brissot adds, "Accustomed, according to the principles of monopolisers, who have hitherto directed our foreign commerce, to furnish our colonies with brittle utensils, and otherwise very imperfect, our merchants were willing to treat the independent Americans like their slaves in their islands, and the Americans refused our merchandise. They said, that we did not even know how to make nails, and, in strict truth, they were right in their assertion. They preferred the iron and steel of England, although the duties on exportation increased their dearness" *.

The importance attained during this period by the manufacture of copper is indicated by the fact that, in the year 1791, the quantity of wrought copper exported from this country amounted to 3082 tons, and the value to 358,844/, in addition to which the exports of brass and plated goods amounted to 2324 tons, valued at 209,769/ thus making the total quantity of exported goods, composed wholly or partially of copper, 5406 tons, amounting in value to 568,613/ †. By referring to the statistics of the Cornish copper mines in the preceding period, ‡ it may be seen how greatly the produce must have increased. From another authority it appears that, from 1796 to 1800, the average annual produce of these mines was 5174 tons of pure copper, and that in the next quinquennial period it was somewhat more §. The mines of Anglesea, and those in other parts of England and Wales, also yielded so plentifully, that this country, instead of being, as formerly, dependent upon foreigners for the greater part of her supplies, became, previously to 1793, one of the principal markets for the supply of copper to others, and this notwithstanding the greatly increased demand at home for maritime purposes ||. What was the gross produce of the British copper-mines we are not informed, but, according to a tabular statement given by M'Culloch, the produce of ore from the Cornish mines, in 1801, was 56,611 tons, which yielded nearly 5268 tons of fine copper. The value of the ore is given as 476,313/ 1s, and the average standard price of copper as 117/ 5s per ton, which, as will be seen by reference to the preceding Book, is considerably higher than at the commencement of the present period. It is stated in Rees's Cyclopædia, that from the time when the price fell, in consequence of the discovery of the Anglesea mines, it never exceeded 84/ per ton until 1791. In the next year it reached 100/ per ton, and in 1799 it rose to 124/. In the early part of the last-mentioned year sixty copper-mines

were at work in Cornwall, but most of them were recently opened, and one half of the number had not begun to yield ore. The mining district of Devonshire was then rising to some importance. The tin-mines of that district had gradually sunk into insignificance, and, although copper had been discovered there, "it is probable," observes the author of the article above referred to, "that before 1800 the mines of Devon, which are mostly situate within a few miles of the town of Tavistock, did not yield more in any one year than about 100 tons of fine copper, and even this was a very recent discovery." After the above date the Devonshire mines increased considerably in productiveness. In 1799 the Birmingham manufacturers of articles in which copper formed a part became so alarmed at the high price of that metal, that they applied to parliament, desiring to have restrictions imposed upon its exportation, and such regulations laid on the trade as would, in effect, have kept the price below a certain maximum rate. Their demand was warmly supported by the premier, and "the contest that ensued between the miners and the manufacturers," to quote the language of the author of the article 'Mining' in Rees's Cyclopædia, "produced many curious documents, which were laid before the committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the subject, and from which we are now enabled to state particulars of the mines of Cornwall more exactly than could have been obtained had not such an occasion called them forth. The matter came fully before parliament, the good sense of which defeated the impolitic wishes of the proposers of the restrictions, and left a ministry unaccustomed to defeat in a minority on the question."

A very full account of the extensive copper works connected with the Parys mountain, near Amlwch, in Anglesea, is contained in the 'Journal of a Tour through North Wales, and part of Shropshire,' published in 1797, by Arthur Aikin, who for many years, at a subsequent period, filled the office of secretary to the Society of Arts. From this work it appears that the poorer ores were smelted at Amlwch, while those of richer quality were sent to furnaces belonging to the same company at Swansea, and at Stanley near Liverpool. The number of smelters employed near the mines was about 90, and of miners about 1200, who worked by the piece, and earned generally from 1s to 1s 8d per diem. The produce was fluctuating, but Aikin says, "The Parys mine has furnished from 5000 to 10,000 tons [of ore] per quarter, exclusive of what is procured from the sulphate of copper in solution, and, as the two mines employ nearly equal numbers of workmen, they probably afford about the same quantity of ore." Among the adjuncts to the copper works were a manufacture of sulphur, which was produced in the operation of roasting the ore, melted, refined, and cast into cones for sale, and a rolling-mill for grinding the materials for fire-bricks. A separate company manufactured green vitriol and

* Commerce of America with Europe translated from the French of Brissot 1794 pp 180-180.

† From a statement in Rees's Cyclopædia art. 'Mining' which supplies also most of the facts here given respecting the history of our mining. With the above statement Rees gives the fractions which we omit.

‡ Vol. I. p. 988.

§ Rees's Cyclopædia, art. 'Copper Statistics of.'

|| M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce art. 'Copper.'

alum at the same place. About thirty years previously there were not more than half a-dozen houses in the whole parish, but the works gave support at this time to a population of 4000 or 5000 persons, of whose character Aikin gives a very gratifying account "I am acquainted," he says, "with no place the manners of which are so unexceptionable (as far, at least, as a stranger is enabled to judge of them) as Amlwch, and the favourable opinion which I was led to entertain of them, on first visiting the town last year, is confirmed by what I have observed at present. Not a single instance have I known of drunkenness, not one quarrel have I witnessed during two very crowded market-days, and one of them a day of unusual indulgence, that I passed at this place, and I believe no grol, or bridewell, or house of confinement exists in the town or neighbourhood. Most of the miners are Methodists, and to the prevalence of this religious sect is chiefly to be attributed the good order that is so conspicuous." In a subsequent part of the same work, Aikin describes the copper and brass works at Holywell, belonging to the Anglesea companies. Here the copper was received from Swansea and Stanley in the form of solid blocks, or pigs, remelted and cast into plates, which were cut into strips by strong shears worked by a water wheel, then extended, and made smooth and of uniform thickness, by rolling between iron cylinders, hardened, heated to redness, suddenly cooled in water, and, if necessary, again rolled out and polished. The sheets of copper thus prepared were applied to many different purposes. "Some," observes Aikin, "are cut out in a circular form, and carried to the *battering mills*, where they are subjected to the rapid action of hammers moved by water, and, as the workman turns the plate round and round under the hammer, it is made to assume the form of a basin of any size or depth. These are afterwards annealed in a furnace heated to a full red heat. Copper pans of very large dimensions are beat out in this manner." Other plates were cut into strips for the manufacture of wire, which is stated to have been one of the most curious and entertaining parts of the business. "But the greater part of the copper sheets," says our author, "are used in this form for sheathing large ships. They are applied only of a single thickness, and joined together by copper bolts. The sheets are of different degrees of thickness the greatest for men-of-war and Indiamen, the least for cutters, or even long boats, which have of late been coppered." "The arts and manufactures also," he adds, "create a large demand for plates and sheets of copper, and not a few are purchased by the East India Company, who export them to China, where they are used to dry tea upon." Besides the manufacture of plates, there was in this establishment a forge or furnace for casting various articles of brass and copper, both for ordinary purposes, "and also for bracelets, and certain pieces in the form of a

horse-shoe," which were exported in vast quantities to Africa, where the former were worn by the natives for ornament, and the latter used as money, under the name of *manillas*. Large copper bolts for ship-building, sometimes as much as eight or ten feet long, were also among the articles fabricated at Holywell. Many of the copper plates exported from this place were beautifully polished in a lathe, and some of the pans, made very broad and shallow, were sent to Africa, to be used in the manufacture of salt from sea water, by evaporation in the sun. All the copper and brass articles were shipped on the Dee, just below the manufactory, and sent to the great warehouses of the company at Liverpool, whence many were distributed to London, America, India, and various other places, and the whole of the moving-power required by the various machines was supplied by the stream from the holy well of St Winifred (whence the town takes its name), to great water wheels of cast iron.*

Considerable changes took place in the British tin-trade towards the close of the eighteenth century, at which time the produce of the mines was gradually increasing, though not to any great extent. The revival of trade, consequent upon the restoration of peace with the North American colonies, occasioned some advance in the price of tin, but this circumstance, by bringing too plentiful a supply into the market, produced after a time a depression of price, which was very severely felt among the Cornish miners.† About the same time, also, the importation of Banca tin, which was first brought to this country in 1787,‡ aided the fall in the price of British tin, and would probably have affected it still more but for the nearly simultaneous opening of a new and most important market in China, by the East India Company,§ the circumstances of which are related in the 'Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,' for the year 1792. The preface to that volume speaks of the event as "the revival of the tin-trade from Great Britain to India and China" and a pamphlet quoted by Anderson|| under the year 1677, which he says was "possibly by Sir Josiah Child," shows that tin was at that time exported by the East India Company. The re-opening of the trade was ef-

* Journal pp 172 180. The town of Holywell derived some importance also from lead mines in the neighbourhood and from various other manufactures which were carried on there by the assistance of its celebrated stream now as much frequented and esteemed as it was formerly for the purposes of manufactory. In the short course of about a mile to the Dee the stream from the sacred spring is he says, made subservient to the purposes of manufactory by turning water mills for corn cotton works forges smelting works, and other machinery so that though its reputed value for the cure of disease is nearly lost its real importance is increased ten fold by the assistance which it gives to manufactory. Aikin entered a lead mine near this place by a canal tunnel 1800 yards long. The veins were rich, and the works gave employment to about sixty miners.

† Rees's Cyclopædia art 'Mining'.
‡ Penny Cyclopædia art 'The Trade in which many of the facts are derived from a paper on the 'Statistics of the Tin in Cornwall, and of the Consumption of Tin in Great Britain' communicated by Mr Joseph Carne to the Journal of the Statistical Society of London vol II part IV.

§ See ante, p. 643.
|| History of Commerce edit of 1787 II 341.

* Journal pp 140 148 149, 149.

fectured by Mr. George Unwin, who, in a letter addressed to the Society in 1791, describes himself as "Supervisor of the Exports of Tin beyond the Cape of Good Hope." He states, in this communication, that his plan had met with the most wonderful success both in India and China, especially in the latter market, where, in the previous year, between 700 and 800 tons of Cornish tin had met with a ready sale, "and produced a balance of about 35 per cent. to pay all charges, with a requisition to this country to increase the quantity for the China market to upwards of 1200 tons." In consequence of this new demand the price of tin in Cornwall rose, according to Unwin's account, from 58s to 72s per cwt., and, he adds, "for these two years past the tin-trade of Cornwall is now in the most flourishing state possible, and every man, woman, and child who can work in tin-works, may find constant employment." "So brisk," he further says, "is the home trade that the East India Company will not be supplied with the quantity recommended to be sent out this season to the China market alone." The precise effect of this new commerce upon the mining interest of Cornwall is shown by a statement appended to his letter, from which it appears that the quantity of block tin made in that county in the year ending Michaelmas, 1789, was about 3000 tons, which, at the market price of 58l. per ton, amounted to 174,050l., while in the next year but one—the twelve months ending Michaelmas, 1791—although the quantity raised was about the same, the balance of price in favour of the county was 33,950l., because 800 tons were purchased for India and China, at the rate of 62l. per ton, producing 49,600l., and the remaining 2200 tons were sold in the European market at the advanced price of 72l. per ton, producing 158,400l. thus making the total value 208,000l. Mr Unwin states that he had laboured indefatigably for nearly three years to bring about this commercial revolution, and the Society of Arts presented their gold medal to him in acknowledgment of their high sense of his public services. In a note dated November, 1791, he says that the Company had contracted for a supply of from 800 to 1200 tons, for the following season, at 71l. per ton, delivered on board their vessels* (in London, it would appear from another authority), but on the renewal of their charter in the following year they agreed to take 800 tons annually at 73l., and offered to purchase half as much more at 68l. 13s. 4d. per ton†. Between 1783 and 1790 the proportion of British tin exported was seven-tenths of the produce of the mines, and in the next ten years it was three-fourths of the whole; after this the proportion of exports to home consumption rapidly diminished, owing to the greatly increased demand

for various domestic manufactures. The average annual consumption in this country from 1783 to 1790 was 926 tons, and from 1791 to 1800 only 754 tons; but it subsequently increased so much that the average for the next decennial period was 1113 tons. As the most accessible portions of ore were those first operated upon by the miners, it became necessary, in order to meet the continued and increasing demand for tin, to go deeper and deeper, and often to work mines under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and danger; sometimes in situations where nothing but the gigantic power of the steam-engine could prevent the works from being overwhelmed by the influx of water either from springs or from the sea.*

According to the statements of Rees, the total quantity of tin raised in Cornwall and Devonshire from 1740 to 1790 was 29,583 tons, or 2958 tons annually, on an average; and the total quantity from 1790 to 1800 was 32,450 tons, which gives an annual average of 3245 tons. The average price per ton in the former period was 68l. 2s. per ton, which makes the entire annual value about 201,289l., and in the latter period 73l. 1s. per ton, making the annual value about 237,047l.† The importance

* As one instance among many which might be referred to of the dauntless ingenuity and perseverance of the Cornish miners in the pursuit of one of the greatest difficulties we may notice a singular tin mine near Penzance known by the name of the "Wherry mine." The following details respecting this curious work are condensed from No. 69 of the *Miner's Magazine*, which work refers to a paper by Mr John Hawkins in one of the early volumes of the Cornwall Geological Society's Transactions. In many other cases the works, as or excavations of mines have been carried to a considerable distance under the sea, although the shafts by which they are approached are on dry land; but in this mine the shaft, as well as the galleries or lateral excavations was situated in the midst of the sea. The first attempt to work the ore at this place where it had been discovered owing, to small vessels being vital upon a rocky shoal which was left exposed at low water were made about the beginning of the eighteenth century, but after excavating to a very small extent the original miners abandoned their work. About 1779 an enterprising miner named Thomas Curtis who had only a capital of ten pounds at command renewed the attempt the difficulties of which may be conceived from the facts that the shoal lay about 130 fathoms from the beach that the rock was covered with water for about ten months in the year that the depth of water on it was as much as 19 feet at spring tide, and that the prevailing winds occasioned a great surf even in summer and in winter; the sea to burst over the rock in such a manner as to render all attempts to carry on mining operations unavailing. Curtis could only work at his excavation, in the first instance, during the short time that the rock was exposed at low water, and even this time was abridged by the necessity of emptying the excavations of water before proceeding to work, but after this summer he had been thus spent in sinking the pump-shaft, he was enabled to construct a turret of timber, twenty feet high and twenty five inches square, over the mouth of the shaft so as to exclude the water from it. This turret was supported by several heavy piles, and its upper extremity a platform was fixed to support a windlass. The sea was not, however, completely excluded by the turret, for it not only made its way into the shaft, but also by crevices in the rock into the lateral workings. Owing to these and other difficulties, the mine could only be worked during the short interval of fair weather in summer, yet the rich quality of the ore rendered the undertaking, highly profitable to Curtis and others who had assisted him with means to carry on his undertaking. In 1789 tin was raised to the value of 30000l. and there was every prospect of the workings being greatly extended. Subsequently, a steam engine was erected on the shore, and the operations of the mine and a wooden bridge was constructed to support the machinery connecting it with the shaft, and to afford ready means of communication with the shore, for the conveyance of the ore. "Thus observes our authority 'did this most singular mine continue to be worked, till it had yielded 70,000l. worth of tin ore, when a period was put to its usefulness, almost as remarkable as the circumstances connected with its origin. An American vessel broke from its anchor in Graves Lake (the name of a small bay or anchorage near Penzance), and striking against the stage constructed out in the sea on the shoal demolished the machinery, filled the mine with water, and thus put an end to the adventure."

† The above statements of annual value are obtained by computation from the price per ton and do not agree with the figures of Rees; but the discrepancies are such as may have been occasioned by clerical or typographical errors in his work.

* Down to this point the account of the tin trade to China is founded upon the papers printed in the *Transactions of the Society of Arts*, vol. x. pp. 249-266, but the subsequent details are from the *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Tin Trade."

† In order to encourage this trade, an Act was passed in 1790 (50 Geo. III. c. 4), exempting the East India Company from the payment of duty on wrought tin exported by them to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

of our manufactures of tin about 1787 is referred to in the proceedings of the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain upon the French treaty. The committee of manufacturers complain of the omission from the treaty of "a class of manufactures formed of a material for which this island was pre-eminently renowned from its first discovery," and they add, "your committee allude to our manufactures of tin, which has of late been worked up into so many new shapes by the invention of English artificers." "This omission," they proceed to observe, "is the more remarkable, because *unwrought tin* is one of the articles admitted from England into France, even by the prohibitory edict of July the 17th, 1785" *.

The manufacture of pewter received some check during the present period, probably less from the advance in the price of tin, which appears to have had some effect, than from the great improvements effected in the manufacture of domestic utensils of earthenware, and their consequent introduction into houses of almost every class. While, however, plates and dishes of pewter were thus gradually falling into disuse, a superior alloy of somewhat similar character, called *Britannia metal*, or sometimes *Prince's metal*, was coming to be extensively applied to the fabrication of almost every kind of article produced by the silversmith for table furniture, an application to which strong inducements were offered by the extreme facility with which it may be converted into any required form by casting, rolling, stamping, or moulding with suitable implements, its moderate price, and its near resemblance to silver in appearance. Mr Holland states that the composition and application of this alloy on a large scale was commenced at Sheffield, which is still the principal seat of the manufacture, about the year 1770, by two individuals named Jessop and Hancock †.

Respecting manufactures of lead we possess no statistical data for the period under consideration, nor is there anything remarkable to state respecting the processes of mining and smelting. Saint Fond mentions the lead works of Tindrum, or Tyndrum, which are on the border of Argyleshire and Perthshire, but he states that they were very negligently managed. A mixture of charcoal and turf was used in smelting the ore, but in what proportion he was not informed. The ingenious Frenchman appears to have found the managers of these works somewhat chary of imparting information, for he observes, in connexion with them, that "the English, as well as the Dutch, are very reserved in explaining their processes, even in the most simple arts, which they always exercise with a kind of mystery." "It is not so," he adds, "in France, there the managers of the most interesting establishments are, in general, very complaisant, and frankly communicate to a stranger all the in-

formation he can desire" *. The manufacture of lead shot was greatly improved by the process patented in 1782 by a plumber of Bristol, named Watts, who mixed a small quantity of arsenic with the lead, in order to make it more solid and more certain to form spherical particles when poured through a cullender or perforated plate, and also introduced the practice of dropping the shot as it is formed, from the top of a high tower, so as to insure the setting of the metal before it reaches the water into which the newly made shot falls. The idea of making shot by thus pouring melted lead from a great elevation is said to have originated in a dream, and the experiment was first tried at the tower of the church of St Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol. Watts secured his invention by patent, and then sold it, it has been stated for 10,000, to parties possessed of sufficient capital to enable them to bring it into profitable operation. The process has long since become public property, and the lofty slender towers erected in several towns for the manufacture of shot form by no means the least remarkable of the many structures called into existence by various branches of manufacturing industry †.

Of the metalline manufactures not already treated of, that of steel claims some notice, especially in connexion with the introduction of *cast steel*, which was first manufactured by a person named Huntsman, of Attercliffe, near Sheffield, in or about the year 1770 ‡. "He pursued the experiment," observes Mr Holland, "with complete success, and was for some time the only noted manufacturer of an article which, bearing his name, is still held in high estimation. His success gave rise to competition, and Mr Booth, of Brush House, established extensive and successful works at Rotherham." "The refining of steel, however," he adds, "has decayed at the latter place, in consequence of the amazing extent to which the art is practised and the business carried on in the neighbouring town of Sheffield." "The superior qualities of cast steel have led to its extensive substitution for bar or shear steel in the manufacture of cutting instruments and various other articles, and, to adopt the language of the writer just quoted, Sheffield "has not only become by far the largest laboratory and emporium in the world for cast steel, but, in consequence of being the seat of the cutlery and edge-tool trades in general, the facilities for experiment and adaptation on the spot

* Travels vol. ii p. 188.

† Mr Holland states that Watts proposed with the view of money which he received for his patent to build a monument at Clifton; but that the situation chosen was a huge rock and the whole was expended in making excavations and in raising immense walls for foundations, which long bore the name of Watts's folly, and upon which walls Tinsley's Place was afterwards erected. — *Manufactures in Metal* iii. 85.

‡ This statement must not be taken too literally for the celebrated words "Indian steel" is a kind of cast steel and Mr Holland even quotes an obscure passage in Aristotle which appears to allude to such a substance. The above date is given on the authority of the *Encyclopædia*, art. Steel. Mr H. Hunt does not give the date but states that Huntsman conceived the idea of reducing steel to a fluid about fifty years since which statement being published in 1831, would make the invention appear still more recent. The subsequent statement respecting Huntsman's improvement are from Holland, vol. i p. 530, 536.

* *Almond's Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes* III. 333, 334.

† *Manufactures in Metal* i. 108.

have enabled the Sheffield steel makers to surpass all others in the perfection to which they have carried this important branch of our national industry." "It is," he adds, "a remarkable fact, that this very town, which was formerly indebted to Styria for the steel used in its manufactures, now exports a material of its own conversion to the Austrian forges, and other places on the continent of Europe."

It is a somewhat curious fact that scarcely anything is known directly respecting the early fabrication of military weapons in England, and that Hutton and Hunter, the historians of the principal seats of the manufacture of cutlery in this country, should have been unable to produce satisfactory evidence of their inhabitants having been, as there is reason to think they probably were, engaged in the manufacture of arms. In Hunter's account of the early manufactures of Sheffield, it is stated that of the manufacture of arms at Sheffield we have no direct information, and that "all the articles enumerated in the ordinances for the government of Hallamshire, and in the later act of incorporation, are instruments of peace." "And yet," it is added, "in an age when there was so large a demand for weapons of that description, which could be conveniently made along with what are known to have been among the manufactures of Sheffield, it is probable enough that her artists might be employed in their fabrication."* About the year 1689 some efforts were made to improve the manufacture of swords for the army, and a company was incorporated for making hollow sword blades in Cumberland and the adjacent counties. This company was empowered to purchase lands, to erect mills, and to bring over and employ a great number of German artificers, but the project failed, and the original patentees sold their rights to a company of London merchants, who, apparently in disregard of the object for which the original association was formed, availed themselves of the powers of the patent to purchase lands out of the forfeited estates in Ireland, to the annual value of 20,000 †. In order to protect the British manufacture of such weapons, the importation of foreign swords from Germany and other countries was prohibited by an act passed in the reign of James II., ‡ under heavy penalties, but the effect of this restriction appears to have been to bring the manufacture into a very low state, since the parsimony of the sword-cutlers led them, when unchecked by foreign competition, to employ inferior materials and workmanship. To so dis-

graceful a state was the home manufacture thus brought, that, about the year 1783, it has been stated that "an English officer would not trust his life to the hazard of the probable failure of his English sword-blade, upon any consideration whatever," and consequently the London sword-sellers petitioned the lords of the treasury for permission to import German swords free of duty, a measure which, by drawing public attention to the subject, led to great improvements. In consequence of this petition, the Earl of Surrey (afterwards the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk) addressed a letter, dated October 1, 1783, to Mr Eyre, of Sheffield, requesting such information from any of the Sheffield manufacturers as might enable him, as he expressed it, "to remove so disgraceful a reflection on English ingenuity" as that implied in the application. Eyre forwarded an extract of this letter to Mr Thomas Gill, an ingenious Birmingham manufacturer, who, in the following December, memorialised the lords of the treasury, stating that he could make swords of as good quality as those of Germany, and requesting a comparative trial. The public trial desired by Gill was delayed by circumstances which it is unnecessary here to enter into, but it was brought about a few years later, owing to the demand for 10,000 horsemen's swords for the East India Company, in 1786. The company divided their orders between English and German manufacturers, and, on the petition of Mr Gill, who made some of the swords, a public examination of their quality was determined on. Every blade was, accordingly, tested by a machine recommended by Matthew Boulton, of Soho, for trying the temper by forcing it into a curve to such an extent as to reduce the length from thirty-six inches to twenty-nine inches and a half, and the result of this severe trial was that 2650 of Gill's swords bore the test, while only four were rejected. Of the German swords the proportionate number rejected was as thirteen to one of those made by Gill, the respective numbers being 1400 received and 28 rejected, while of the swords furnished by other British cutlers only 2700 were received to 1084 rejected, the state of the manufacture being so low that rather more than two-sevenths of the whole number of blades furnished by the ordinary sword-cutlers were unfit to bear the required test. In addition to the above-mentioned trial, Gill proved the excellent quality of his swords by striking them flat-ways upon a slab of cast-iron, and edgewise upon a cylinder of wrought-iron. For the latter purpose a gun-barrel was frequently used, and it is stated that the swords were so tough, though made of cast steel, that, after cutting a gun-barrel asunder, the blade might be wound round the barrel like a riband and afterwards restored to its original straightness, excepting at the point. Such was the celebrity obtained by Mr Gill's swords that even German officers applied to him for them, and he did not confine his attention to the improvement of their more essential qualities, but devoted it also to the

* Hallamshire p. 48.

† Anderson's History of Commerce edit of 1787 p. 1587. It is there further stated that the Irish Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne knowing that the company had purchased these lands at a very low rate would not permit them to take conveyances of lands in their corporate capacity lest they should prove too powerful a body in the kingdom. They were thus compelled to sell off their Irish estates, and thus the corporation was dissolved. Yet, he adds, "a private partnership of then well known bankers in London possessed of their obsolete charter had the appellation of the Fword Blade Company till after the year 1780 though long since broken up."

‡ The act is Geo. II. c. 8, entitled "An Act against the Importation of Gunpowder, Arms, and other Ammunition and Utensils of War."

means of decoration by blueing, gilding, and embossing*.

The manufacture of guns, which has, since become so important a branch of the industry of Birmingham, appears to have been established at that place about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Tradition, according to Hutton, tells that king William III was once lamenting that guns were not manufactured in his own dominions, but that he was obliged to procure them from Holland at a great expense and with greater difficulty. Sir Richard Newdigate, one of the members for the county, being present, told the king that genius resided in Warwickshire, and that he thought his constituents would answer his majesty's wishes "The king," Hutton adds, "was pleased with the remark, and the member posted to Birmingham Upon application to a person in Digbeth, whose name I forget, the pattern was executed with precision, and, when presented to the royal board, gave entire satisfaction. Orders were immediately issued for large numbers, which have been so frequently repeated that they never lost their road, and the ingenious artists have been so amply rewarded that they have rolled in their carriages to this day." "Thus," quaintly observes our author, "the same instrument which is death to one man is genteel life to another"†. The extent of the gun manufacture about the year 1787 is indicated by an account given by Macpherson of the principal articles exported to Africa in that year, from which it appears that the "iron-ware, including guns, cutlasses, &c, supplied to that market amounted to the value of 43,515/. He adds, in a note, that "it was said that the manufacture of Birmingham guns for the African market gives employment to between four and five thousand persons"‡. Saint-Fond, in a note, the object of which is to induce his countrymen to allow the importation of British manufactures on payment of duty, and to apply a portion of such duty to the encouragement of those of France, observes that by such policy, and owing to the intelligence and attention of the minister Benezech, the French had, at Versailles, "a manufactory of fire-arms of a finer finish and more exquisite workmanship, and also at a much cheaper price, than any made in London"§.

The manufacture of locks has long formed an important branch of British industry, the locks of Wolverhampton, at which place the manufacture was formerly carried on almost exclusively, having been in repute two or three centuries ago. Dr Plot, in his 'Natural History of Staffordshire,' published in 1686, notices the pre-eminence of the blacksmiths of Wolverhampton in making locks

for doors. "They make them," he says, "in six, six, eight, or more in a suit, according as the chapman bespeaks them, whereof the keys shall neither of them open each other's lock, yet one master-key shall open them all, so that, these locks being set upon the doors of a house, and the inferior keys kept by distinct servants, though neither of them can come at each other's charge, yet the master can come at them all." Nor was this all that was accomplished by the ingenuity of the locksmiths, for we are informed that the master could, by a peculiar or extraordinary turn of his key, render the lock incapable of being opened by that in the possession of the servant, and that they could construct locks which would show how often they had been opened and shut, even to 300, 500, or 1000 times. Others were made with chimes to play at any hour to which they might be set. "And these locks," he adds, "they make either with brass or iron boxes so curiously polished and the keys so finely wrought, that 'tis not reasonable to think they were ever exceeded, unless by Tubal-Cain, the inspired artificer in brass and iron."¶ Ingenious as were these and many later contrivances, they were completely eclipsed, in point of security, by the celebrated lock patented about the year 1784 by Joseph Bramah, the inventor of many other highly ingenious and valuable machines. The principle of security adopted in this lock appears, from a paper read in 1827 by Mr Angier to the Royal Institution,† to have been known to the ancient Egyptians at least four thousand years since; but it does not appear to have been known in England, or even in Europe, until re-invented about 1774 by Mr Burrton, whose patent lock, in addition to the ordinary security afforded by wards, or obstacles so placed as to interfere with the passage of any but the proper key, had two or more tumblers, or pieces of metal so disposed as to prevent the bolt from moving unless while they are held away from it by the action of the key. Bramah, by a different application of the same principle, and without the use of wards, which, from circumstances which it is unnecessary here to explain, cannot in any case afford perfect security, was enabled to construct locks which baffled the ingenuity of the most ingenious pickers, and which might be infinitely varied, so as to prevent the possibility of unlocking by any but the proper key‡. These contrivances may be fairly consi-

* Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 276.

† An abstract is given in the Quarterly Journal of Literature, Science, and Art vol. 1 p. 219.

‡ By the use of twelve tumblers in a lock of this construction the apparent is may be so varied that by simply changing their places, without any alteration in their form or size the same lock may be made to require 49 001 500 different keys, or that number of locks may be made precisely alike in external appearance and in the form and size of their component parts, yet so essentially different that the key made for one would not open any of the others. The addition of a thirteenth tumbler increases the number of changes to 6 227 019 200, and even higher numbers might be obtained if necessary. I add upon to which differences in the size and form of the parts afford the power of producing a suite variety. Smart, in a note on pp. 401 402 of his amusing Anecdotes of Steam-engines, states that the report that one of these locks had been readily opened, before a committee of the House of Commons by means of a common quill, was a gross misrepresentation of the fact, the quill having, in reality, been previously cut into the required shape from the true key, as

* The above particulars are derived from a paper entitled Resollecions of the late Thomas Gill, in the Technological Repository edited by his son, vol. xi p. 12 &c.

† History of Birmingham edit. of 1781, pt. 78 p. 9.

‡ Annals of Commerce, ii. 134. At the same time the exports of wrought brass to Africa amounted to 17 9884, those of wrought copper to 18 9891, of foreign bar iron to 10 8477, of lead shot to 14084, and of gunpowder to 57 9221. See also ante, p. 639.

§ Travels, vol. i p. 99 note.

dered as marking an era in a not unimportant branch of our manufactures in metal, and as having led to an almost endless variety of ingenious inventions in the same department.

Considering the apparently trivial character of the article, the history of the buckle manufacture is somewhat curious. Buckles are enumerated in the authorities quoted in the preceding Book * as forming an important item in the manufactures of Sheffield and Birmingham, and the manner in which they are noticed by Hutton indicates the extent of the manufacture about 1781. "This offspring of fancy," he observes, "like the clouds, is ever changing, the fashion of to day is thrown into the casting-pot to-morrow. The buckle seems to have undergone every figure, size, and shape of geometrical invention." He adds that the large square buckle was the *ton* of 1781, and that the ladies adopted the reigning taste, and he says, in allusion to this monotony, "It is difficult to discover their beautiful little feet, covered with an enormous shield of buckle, and we wonder to see the active motion under the massive load: thus the British fair support the manufactures of Birmingham, and thus they kill by weight of metal."† In a recent edition of Hutton's work, with additions, some particulars of the buckle manufacture are given from a communication by Mr James Luckcock to the 'Birmingham Chronicle,' of February 14, 1824, from which it appears that the business received an impulse about 1778 owing to the introduction of a new mode of plating, and that about 1788 there were from 4000 to 5000 persons engaged in the production of shoe buckles in Birmingham and its neighbourhood. From calculations founded upon the supposition that 4000 were thus employed, Mr Luckcock, who had been some years in the trade and may therefore be deemed competent to supply the data for such a calculation, computes that the quantity made annually during the most prosperous period of the shoe buckle trade was about 2,496,000 pairs, which he supposes to have sold, on an average, at 2s. 6d. per pair‡. Changes of fashion soon afterwards produced most disastrous consequences to the large class of industrious artisans thus employed. In 1791 the buckle manufacturers of Birmingham, Walsall, and Wolverhampton sent a deputation to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) with a petition stating the distressed situation of thousands of persons who had been engaged in various departments of the buckle manufacture, in consequence of the then prevalent fashion of wearing shoe-strings. The Prince, sympathising with them, not only resolved to wear buckles himself, but also ordered his household to do the same,

but neither his example nor his influence were sufficient to stem the tide of fashion, and in a few years the use of shoe buckles was discontinued, excepting among the aged *. The importance of the manufacture of shoe buckles and chapes at Walsall is also mentioned in Shaw's 'History and Antiquities of Staffordshire,' where it is stated that saddlers' ironmongery, and nails were also much made in the neighbourhood. These staple manufactures, it is added, suffered much depression during the American war of independence. They were again flourishing during the peace, but declined on the renewal of war. The decline of the buckle trade, however, which is said to have been formerly the chief support of the town, is attributed to other causes, among which were the high price of copper, brass, and tin, and the disuse of buckles in the army. Many of the workmen had, it is stated, been compelled to learn new trades†. During the palmy days of this manufacture, the village of Bolsover, in Derbyshire, now remembered chiefly for the remains of its castle, was celebrated for the production of superior steel buckles, respecting the excellent temper of which it is still traditionally reported in the neighbourhood, that, though the wheel of a loaded cart should pass over a Bolsover buckle, it would not, in consequence of its elasticity, suffer any permanent alteration of shape‡. Respecting a kindred manufacture, Macpherson relates, under the year 1796, that, the makers of metal buttons having represented that their manufacture had for many years been a great and, until recently, an increasing branch of trade in this kingdom, but that it had fallen off considerably, and was in danger of being lost to the country in consequence of fraudulent practices, such as the stamping of inferior buttons in such a manner as to make them appear like those of better quality, an act§ was passed to regulate the manufacture and to prescribe the quantities of gold to be put on to gilt, double-gilt, and treble-gilt buttons respectively||. Referring to the somewhat disparaging manner in which some travellers, and even Englishmen, had alluded to such apparently trivial manufactures as the above, Saint-Fond observes, that at Birmingham the traveller might have "a comprehensive view of a most active and varied industry exercised in the different arts of utility, of pleasure, and of luxury," and notices the manufactories constantly occupied at that place in the making of copper sheathing, those of plate tin and plate iron, which, he says, rendered France tributary to England, and "that varied and extensive hardware manufacture which employs to so much advantage more than 30,000 hands, and compels all Europe and a part of the new world to supply themselves with these articles here, where everything is made in greater perfection, with more economy, and in greater abundance

equipment which was only made to show the perfection of the workmanship and the very small force required to overcome the resistance, when properly applied." "It has been subsequently stated," he adds, "that one of these locks had been in use for many years and had been opened and locked not less than 400,000 times and apparently was as perfect as when it was first constructed."

* Vol. I. p. 207.

† History of Birmingham, edit. of 1781, p. 78.

‡ History of Birmingham, Gurney's edit. 1826, p. 176-178.

• Holland's Manufactures in Metal II. 222-223.

† Vol. II. pp. 73-76.

‡ Holland's Manufactures in Metal II. 222.

§ 26 Geo. III. c. 60.

|| Annals of Commerce, i. 73.

than in any other country" "The population of Birmingham," he further states, "increased so much during the American war, that at least three hundred new houses were, during that period, added annually to the town," and this rate of increase, he adds, was doubled on the conclusion of peace.*

The art of coining, though almost universally practised among civilized nations, remained in a singularly imperfect state until the ingenuity of the proprietors of the Soho works was directed to its improvement, but it was raised by Boulton to a state of perfection which left very little for subsequent mechanicians to accomplish. The first coining-mill impelled by the power of steam was erected at Soho about the year 1788,† when a medal about the size of a guinea was struck as a specimen. The boundless power attainable by the use of the steam-engine and the extreme accuracy of the coining machinery not only rendered it easy to strike the coins with greater precision than before, but also reduced the cost of the operation. A still more important advantage consisted in the almost insuperable difficulties placed in the way of the forger by the greater perfection with which the genuine coins were struck, an advantage which, as tending to diminish crime, led the enthusiastic Dr Darwin to say that, "if a civic crown was given in Rome for preserving the life of one citizen, Mr Boulton should be covered with garlands of oak."‡ We have mentioned in a preceding page the new coinage of copper, consisting of twopenny pieces (which being found inconvenient were subsequently withdrawn from circulation), pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, executed by Boulton and Watt in 1797.§ Of this coinage many pieces, some of which are dated 1799, yet remain in circulation, being distinguished from the copper money of later date by their greater size and weight. Before this, contract silver money had been coined at Soho for Sierra Leone and the African Company, and copper money for the East India Company and the Bermudas, and in 1799, in consequence of an application from the Emperor of Russia for the machinery of a mint, Boulton was authorised by an act of parliament ¶ to export all the apparatus necessary for such an establishment, and to send workmen with it to Russia. From an account of the Soho works published in Shaw's 'History and Antiquities of Staffordshire,'¶ it appears that the coining machinery in operation at the close of the eighteenth century had eight presses or stamping machines, each of which was capable of striking from 70 to 84 pieces of the size of a guinea per minute, so that from 30,000 to 40,000 coins might be produced in an hour, and in addition to the actual coining apparatus the

machinery was made to perform every operation pertaining to it, such as the rolling of the metal into sheets of the required thickness, fine-rolling to render the surface perfectly smooth, cutting out the blanks or circular pieces of metal of the size required for coins, and shaking them in bags to rub off the rough edges. Nor has the utility of such apparatus been confined to the fabrication of money and medals: the application of similar machinery to the production of numberless articles of metal, for the purposes of utility and ornament, has been one of the most important improvements to which the country owes its pre-eminence in metalline manufactures. In France the use of this invaluable machine appears to have been placed under oppressive restrictions. Briot, who attempted to introduce it in lieu of the old process of striking the die with a hammer, in the seventeenth century, had been compelled by persecution to leave his native country, and had consequently brought his inventions to England, where they were more favourably received,* and Brissot states that another Frenchman named Warin had experienced the like persecution for a similar attempt. He also alludes to the more recent improvements of M. Droz as having met with a like reception.†

In the Preface to the fourth volume of the 'Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,' published about 1785, allusion is made to "the great exportation of clocks and other similar machines to Turkey and the East Indies, and even to Germany," as affording a reason for the encouragement given by the society to improvements in that department of mechanical ingenuity; and the high reputation of British clocks and watches is alluded to by Brissot, who considered that the United States would probably require many watches from Europe, and asks his countrymen whether they shall remain behind the English and Swiss in clockwork. Parris, he states, had produced some distinguished artists in that line. France possessed at that time a Swiss, M. Brequet, whose talents are said to have been equal, if not superior to those of the most celebrated English watchmakers. "Let government consult him," says Brissot, "and he will soon indicate certain means whereby France may have a national manufacture of clock and watch work." He adds that Brequet had "presented to the ministry a profound memorial upon this subject."‡ Additional duties were laid upon articles of gold and silver plate, by an act passed in 1797,§ and in the following year the watchmakers appealed to parliament, setting forth the injury thus inflicted on them. The new duties upon watch-cases, they stated, put it entirely out of their power, notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of their workmanship, to compete with foreign watchmakers, who had their cases so very much cheaper. "They, moreover, complained,"

* Travels II. 379-381.

† In the life of Boulton, in the Penny Cyclopædia this date is given 1788; probably by a typographical error; and that date was in advertently given in the notes of Soho, ante, vol. I. p. 339.

‡ Botanic Garden, part I., note on line 361.

§ See ante, p. 657.

¶ See Geo. III. c. 96.

¶ Vol. II. pp. 116-119. published in 1801.

* See Port. Hist. of England, iii. 354.

† Commerce of America with Europe, note p. 159.

‡ Ibid. pp. 164-165.

§ 37 Geo. III. c. 98.

says Macpherson, "that, while their export trade was thus stimulated by the additional duty, their home trade also was reduced almost to nothing in consequence of another act imposing duties on all persons using watches and clocks, together with the operation of a more recent act for the duplication and triplication of those duties, which had obliged many of their customers to give up the use of clocks and watches altogether, in consequence of which many of the workmen employed in the very numerous departments of their business, together with their families, were reduced to the necessity of applying to their parishes for subsistence." To show the great decrease in their business since the imposition of the additional duties, they submitted a statement of the number of gold and silver watch-cases marked at Goldsmiths' Hall, in London, from 1791 to 1797, from which it appears that in the five years from 1791 to 1795 337 828 silver and 15,223 gold cases were thus marked, giving an annual average of 67,565 of silver, and 3044 of gold. The number of silver cases in the last of these five years was 76 159, and in the following year, 1796, it was 92 828½, while the number of gold cases was 3341. In the next year, 1797, the numbers were respectively 67,464 and 1692, while the returns for the several quarters show still more decidedly the operation of the oppressive duty on plate, which came into operation on the 5th of July, 1797. Of silver cases the numbers for the first, second, third, and fourth quarters of that year were 19,857, 20,424½, 16,522½, and 10 660, respectively, and of gold cases the numbers for the same periods were 617, 515, 404, and 156, respectively. In consideration of the grievances thus complained of, an act* was passed in 1798 to exempt gold and silver watch-cases not only from the duties imposed by the act 37 Geo III c 90, but also from those imposed by the act 24 Geo III c 53 and also to grant a drawback on the exportation of such cases prior to March, 1799. At a later period of the session, in an act† for altering the duties on windows, the obnoxious duty on the use of clocks and watches, which had remained in force only about three quarters of a year, was repealed, and on the representation that the allowance of a drawback was ineffectual, because the charges incurred in obtaining it were so high, that no ordinary exportation of watches (seeing that they were never ordered in large quantities at once) could support the expense, watchmakers were further allowed, in common with goldsmiths, the liberty of making watch-cases of gold of inferior standard, such as was used by foreign watchmakers. All articles of such inferior gold, having only 18 carats fine gold to 6 carats alloy, instead of 22 carats fine to 2 alloy, were to be stamped with a crown and the figures 18, instead of the lion, which distinguished the usual standard. Macpherson observes, in a note

appended to the statements referred to above, that there was, he believed, no account kept of the metal and other cases for watches, but he conceives that, if they were all brought together, they would justify a conjecture that the value of the watches and marine chronometers made in London and its neighbourhood, independent of clocks, was upwards of 1,000,000*l* a year, "nor," he adds, "can that sum be thought too great, when it is recollected that the watchmakers of London make watches not only for all the British dominions, but also for all the civilized part of the world."*

Perhaps this may be the most fitting place for resuming the narrative of the progress of improvements in marine chronometers, commenced at the close of the chapter on national industry in the preceding Book †. The inventions of Harrison, of which an account is there given, so materially altered the circumstances of the case they were intended to meet, that in the year 1774 a new act‡ was passed, repealing all previous acts of parliament for providing rewards for the discovery of the longitude, and substituting others guarded by very stringent regulations. This act contemplated future improvements by means of more exact time-keepers, and also by the formation of superior astronomical tables but its conditions are such as to favour the rumour that some of the parties engaged in drawing up the bill were determined to exclude timekeepers from all participation in the benefits held out, by laying down conditions which would be almost utterly impracticable, and which led a parliamentary committee, who reported on the subject in 1793, to state that, if they were enforced to the full extent of which they were capable, it was to be feared that few artists would "engage in an undertaking so discouraging and precarious or quit the certain gains of their profession for the hope of rewards, which must at last depend for their attainment on the discretion of those by whom they are to be dispensed." The requirements of this act, with reference to timekeepers, were, that two of the same construction should be tried together—first, for twelve months, at the Royal Observatory, secondly, in two voyages round the island of Great Britain, in contrary directions, and in such other voyages to different climates as the commissioners should think fit to direct and appoint, and, finally, that, after their return from such voyages, they should be again deposited at the Royal Observatory for any re-

* Annals of Commerce iv 441 442 446 447

† Vol 1 pp 601 613 It is there stated in accordance with the accounts of Harrison in the Penny Cyclopædia and some other works that the last moiety of his long delayed reward was paid in 1781 but it appears from an item in a list of stipends granted by parliament in 1773 printed in the Annual Register for that year that the last portion of the reward amounting to £570*l* was not paid until the 14th of June in that year which was about forty five years after the commencement of his experiments and more than eleven years after according to the plain terms of the act offering the reward he accomplished the required object. A much fuller account of Harrison's inventions and of the proceedings relating to them, is given in a paper on the Marine Chronometer in the Companion to the Almanac for 1848 which may also be referred to for further particulars respecting the subsequent history of that invaluable machine the modern portions of which has almost entirely superseded the necessity of astronomical observation for determining the longitude

‡ 14 Geo III c 46

* 26 Geo III c 24.

† 26 Geo III c 46.

‡ By act 26 Geo III c 46

quired period not exceeding twelve months. The rewards held out were 5000*l* for a time-keeper that should keep the longitude within one degree of a great circle, or sixty geographical miles, 7500*l* for one that would keep the longitude within two-thirds of that distance; 10,000*l* for one that would keep the longitude within half a degree, or thirty geographical miles, the above degrees of accuracy to be maintained in all voyages for the space of six months. Before the passing of this act, Thomas Mudge, an ingenious watch-maker, had retired from his ordinary business to devote himself wholly to the improvement of marine time-keepers, or, as they are now most commonly called, *chronometers*. Having completed one machine in 1774, he submitted it to the commissioners of longitude, who voted 500*l* to encourage him to make a second, in order that the two might be tried according to the new act. In 1777 Mudge completed two new chronometers resembling the first in principle, and they were placed in the hands of the astronomer royal, Dr Nevil Maskelyne, who, at the close of the trial, in 1790, reported unfavourably of their performance. Mudge therefore petitioned parliament, who appointed a committee in 1793 to investigate his case, and the result of the committee's report was, that he received 2500*l* in addition to the 500*l* voted to him some years previously. During a parliamentary investigation of Harrison's case, in 1767, Mudge had stated in evidence that the recent success of that artist had led to experiments for the improvement of marine watches in France, and also had expressed a doubt whether a sufficient number of timekeepers upon Harrison's plan could be made in order to bring them into common use, because, he said, "in the present state of mechanism in this kingdom, there is a great scarcity of good workmen in the watch-making business." That the attention excited by Harrison's efforts had the effect of leading many other ingenious men to devote their talents to the same object is evident from the statement made by Dr Maskelyne in 1792, in one of the pamphlets called forth by the controversy on Mudge's case, that he had received chronometers for trial at the Observatory from Harrison, Kendal, Arnold, Mudge, Coombe, Earnshaw, and Brooksbanks, and that considerable numbers of time pieces of this character had been made by some makers may be presumed from the statement of Mr Josiah Emery before the parliamentary committee of 1793, that he had made upwards of thirty, at prices ranging from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas. Mudge died in 1794, shortly after receiving his reward, but his son endeavoured to establish a manufacture of marine time-keepers. Of the improvements introduced by Mudge, Arnold, and other labourers in this department of mechanical science, it is unnecessary here to speak more particularly, but with reference to the production of marine time-keepers on a sufficiently extensive scale to be important as a branch of

national industry, it may be stated, on the authority of a gentleman well acquainted with the subject, that Arnold, who died soon after the close of the present period, "was, without doubt, the first who introduced the manufacture of chronometers in this country, and that Earnshaw and all the other makers rose on his base."^{*}

Of the excellence of various other kinds of scientific apparatus, as constructed by English artists during the period under review, many proofs might be collected. "In England," observes Saint-Fond, "the makers of instruments used in the sciences enjoy merited consideration. They are, in general, men of great information, and they spare neither time nor expense to carry their workmanship to the highest degree of perfection." "The demands of the navy," he adds, "and the great number of persons whose wealth enables them to pay well for the best constructed instruments, are among the causes which have concurred to form artists of high reputation, and who have served as instructors to others." Of Ramsden he speaks very highly, as one who possessed "all the modesty and simplicity of manners of a man of great talents," and he mentions several other artists of eminence in the same line. His interesting work also contains notices of the noble telescopes of Herschel, and, in reference to their extraordinary reflectors, he states that Herschel assured him "that he had made more than one hundred and forty mirrors with his own hands, before he reached that degree of perfection to which he at last brought them,"—a circumstance strikingly illustrative of the difficulties with which the followers of science were surrounded before such mechanical processes attained their present state of comparative perfection.[†]

The progress of improvement in the manufacture of pottery has been so fully detailed in the preceding Book,[‡] that it is unnecessary, at present, to revert to it at any length. There is, however, one important branch of that manufacture which, from its connection with other branches of industry, deserves notice, and which formed one of the many useful objects promoted by the patriotic efforts of the Society of Arts during the earlier and more active portion of their career. This is the manu-

^{*} From a MS communication with which the writer has been favoured from Mr E J Dent the gentleman above alluded to it appears that the original time pieces of Harrison are preserved at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. They were a few years since, for it to be in a very illiquid condition from a great exposure, on which Messrs Arnold (son of the above) and Dent obtained permission to repair them at their own expense. Respecting the first of these machines which is an exceedingly curious piece of mechanism Mr Dent remarks that "this never to be suspected piece of antiquity was left to perish in a store room at the Royal Observatory and from exposure to the atmosphere the brass had become so brittle that in many parts it would not allow of being taken in pieces. So admirable was its workmanship that although with the exception of the two pin wheels all the wheels and their axes were of wood—being simply flat discs with wooden teeth, friction was so perfectly guarded against that on the removal of part of the escapement the train of wheels commenced running with great velocity though they had not revolved in all probability for a century." For.

[†] Travels vol 1 pp 62 & 67. Though belonging more properly to the history of science we cannot refrain from drawing attention to Saint-Fond's pleasing account of the astronomical labours of Herschel and of the interesting co-operation of his sister, Miss Caroline Herschel, in his astronomical pursuits.

[‡] Vol 1 p 589 592

facture of crucibles and earthen retorts for the use of chemists, assayers, and melters of metals—a class of utensils which were formerly imported from abroad, but which have since become a considerable branch of British manufacture. The Society state, about the year 1782, that, having bestowed some rewards to promote the discovery of suitable materials for making such vessels in this country, they were pleased to find that a manufactory for them had been established at Chelsea, where they were made not only for home consumption, but also, to a considerable extent, for exportation. They further state, “that those kind of crucibles, or melting-pots, called black lead or blue pots, which are the only sorts made use of in Cornwall for assaying tin ores, were not to be obtained from any part of Europe, except a small place called Hafner’s Zül (i.e. Pottery’s Place), or Passau, near Regensburg [Ratisbon] in Germany, where the only manufactures of this kind were carried on.” “This inconvenience,” they add, “laid the tin-smelters of Cornwall very frequently under great difficulties, not only with regard to the advanced price in time of war, but, for want of an importation of the pots, a stop has often been put to many of their works.” Similar pots were, at the time when the Society commenced the publication of their ‘Transactions,’ made at Chelsea, and it appeared from certificates from some of the most respectable assay-masters in Cornwall that they answered every purpose. Many of the principal refiners, and the workmen of the mint, it is stated, used no other than pots of British manufacture.* Of British porcelain, as the subject must be taken up in the next Book, it is unnecessary at present to say anything, except to notice the statement made by the merchants of Liverpool in 1792, when they were endeavouring to obtain some participation in the advantages of East Indian commerce, that the monopoly of the East India Company had more than once destroyed the manufacture of porcelain, the commanding capital of the company having put it in their power, by sacrificing their profits on articles with which any of the manufactures of this country came in competition, to crush such manufactures in their infancy. Macpherson, however, in a note on this passage, observes that the British porcelain had nevertheless stood its ground, and attained such superior elegance that it was shipped for America, where the Chinese porcelain could be had much cheaper than in this country, and that it was even carried to China itself†. The great success of Wedgwood in the manufacture of stoneware soon excited the ingenuity of foreign manufacturers. Saint-Fond, after observing that France possesses all the materials requisite to imitate to perfection the English stoneware, alludes to a manufactory at Montereau, the productions of which, though not equal to those of England, were susceptible of much improvement, especially by the use of pit-coal. Some citizens of Geneva, he adds,

who commenced their labours with more intelligence and greater means, had accomplished their object after repeated experiments. They wished to transport their establishment to the department of Isère, but their applications to the French government had been unsuccessful. A manufacturer named Olivier, at Paris, had pretty well imitated the best productions of Wedgwood, but Saint-Fond states that the condition of the public finances had not allowed of giving him the encouragement he merited*.

The proprietors of the British plate-glass works, near St Helen’s, Lancashire, petitioned parliament in 1785, complaining that, although they had expended 100,000*l*. on their undertaking and had succeeded in making glass in all respects equal to that of France, they had not, in consequence of the pressure of taxation, and from various circumstances incidental to a new manufacture, been able to declare any dividend. The French manufacture, they stated, was not only entirely exempt from taxation, but was also encouraged by many privileges, while they had even to pay duty upon their waste glass, and had done so to the amount of 7000*l*.†. In 1767 their position was somewhat improved by an act‡ imposing additional duties on the importation of various kinds of French glass, and making several alterations in the mode of levying duties upon British glass, and in 1769 the company set up a steam-engine, capable of performing the work of 160 men, for grinding and polishing their plates. Macpherson, in the ‘Commercial Gazetteer’ appended to his ‘Annals of Commerce,’ states that plates were then (about 1805) made by this company 133 inches by 72, 139 inches by 60, and 144 inches by 54, and that there was also, at the same place, a manufacture of window-glass and of small plates, formed by blowing §. Saint-Fond notices with admiration the glass works of Parker, where, he says, visitors would “see to what varied extent that substance, pure as the clearest spring-water, and more delightful to the eye than crystal, may be fashioned, in the hands of skilful artists, into cups, vases, basins, and bottles of every form.” And he alludes also to the glass-houses at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where similar articles were made||. He adds that the English glass-works had been imi-

* Travels i. 98 99 note
† Annals of Commerce ii. 69 70

‡ 27 Geo. III. c. 38

§ For a notice of the foundation of the plate glass-works at St Helen’s or Prescott see ante vol. i. p. 593

|| Travels i. 100, 101 135 146. In connexion with the last mentioned establishment Saint-Fond commends the prudence of the English in erecting their manufactories in a very plain and simple style. “This modest simplicity,” he observes, “is of great advantage to the country. It encourages active and industrious men to embark in trade who would otherwise be unwilling to form large establishments being alarmed by the expenses which extensive works require when constructed on a magnificent scale. It is,” he adds, “a taste for pomp and grandeur which almost always ruins the manufactures of France, and prevents those new ones which we want from being established. Men are afraid to involve themselves in ruinous expenses for mere warehouses and workshops. It must be acknowledged that the English and Dutch are much more prudent and exhibit examples in this way which we ought to imitate. Architecture is a great establishment of this kind. It had been well for many a disappointed capitalist if this commendable economy had been more universally regarded in more recent instances.”

* Transactions i. 16 18

† Annals of Commerce ii. 341.

tated successfully in France, the first attempts at such improved manufacture having been made in the park at St Cloud, at the instigation and under the auspices of Marie Antoinette. That manufactory was subsequently removed to Creuzot, near Montcenis, in Burgundy, where it received the name of the queen's manufactory. "It is," he says, "formed on the most extensive scale, very excellent glass works are made there, and it has already given rise to similar manufactories at Paris and other places." Brissot also makes honourable mention of the superiority of English glass wares, which, he says, formed a great object of exportation. "America," he observes, "ought to prefer English glass to ours [the French], because we ourselves prefer it to that of our own manufactory, common bottles excepted, which we make better, and which are of a finer glass than that of the English." The alarming consumption of wood fuel, so often referred to by this writer, as well as by Saint Fond, is urged as a reason for discouraging the glass manufacture in France, because, observes Brissot, "our own consumption of glass-ware, much greater than that of the English, may already be too considerable if it be compared with the means to which the ever-growing scarcity of combustibles reduces us. He therefore deems it far better to allow the importation of foreign glass into France, and he encourages the Americans to attempt the manufacture on as large a scale as possible, on account of their immense forests."

In reference to the progress of that important branch of national industry which, perhaps more than any other, distinguished the preceding period—the cotton manufacture—Macpherson observes, under the date of 1785, "The rapid increase in the number of spinning engines, which took place in consequence of the expiration of Arkwright's patent,† forms a new era, not only in manufactures and commerce, but also in the dress of both sexes. The common use of silk, if it were only to be worn while it retains its lustre, is proper only for ladies of ample fortune and yet women of almost all ranks affected to wear it, and many in the lower classes of the middle ranks of society distressed their husbands, parents, and brothers, to procure that expensive finery. Neither was a handsome cotton gown attainable by women in humble circumstances, and thence the cottons were mixed with linen yarn to reduce their price." "But now," he proceeds, "cotton yarn is cheaper than linen-yarn, cotton goods are very much used in

place of cambrics, lawns, and other expensive fabrics of flax, and they have almost totally superseded the silks. Women of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, are clothed in British manufactures of cotton, from the muslin cap on the crown of the head to the cotton stocking under the sole of the foot. The ingenuity of the calico-printers has kept pace with the ingenuity of the weavers and others concerned in the preceding stages of the manufacture, and produced patterns of printed goods, which for elegance of drawing exceed everything that ever was imported, and for durability of colour generally stand the washing so well as to appear fresh and new every time they are washed, and give an air of neatness and cleanliness to the wearer beyond the elegance of silk in the first freshness of its transitory lustre. But even the most elegant prints are excelled by the superior beauty and virgin purity of the muslins, the growth and the manufacture of the British dominions." "With the gentlemen," he adds, "cotton stuffs for waistcoats have almost superseded woollen cloths, and silk stuffs, I believe, entirely, and they have the advantage, like the ladies' gowns, of having a new and fresh appearance every time they are washed. Cotton stockings have also become very general for summer wear, and have gained ground very much upon silk stockings, which are too thin for our climate, and too expensive for common wear for people of middling circumstances."* If such a statement could be made at the commencement of the nineteenth century (Macpherson's 'Annals' were published in 1803), how much more forcibly would the present extent of the various branches of the cotton manufacture, to say nothing of the other almost innumerable departments of industry which have been affected by it, illustrate the importance of the great movement in which Arkwright bore so distinguished a part. Viewing this movement as intimately connected with the rise and growth of the factory system generally, as well as of the staple manufacture of the country, it may perhaps be safely pronounced the greatest that ever took place in the productive industry of the British or any other nation. Of its effect upon the habits and social position of the manufacturing population, perhaps no better illustration could be selected than that quoted by Baines† from a work written by William Radcliffe, a man practically acquainted with the subject on which he wrote, upon the 'Origin of the new system of Manufacture, commonly entitled Powerloom Weaving,' as "a strongly drawn picture of the cottage of the domestic manufacturer before spinning machinery was invented," and "a familiar, striking, and just history, illustrated by a single specimen, of the growth of the great manufacturing villages and towns which are now thickly spread over the cotton districts of Lancashire and Cheshire." Radcliffe's narrative refers to the

* Commerce of America with Europe pp 147 151. In a previous section of this work (p 104) on the common use in France Brissot remarks that the Americans prefer a general the worn will be carried to them in bottles because they believe it less subject to be come sharp or so change on the way. And he proceeds to say On the first view it seems advantageous to France to furnish its wines with this envelope because it is a new opening for its glass ware but if it be reflected what a prodigious quantity of common silles glass manufacture require to the sensible destruction of forces it appears imprudent to encourage a commerce which cannot but be a general tripudium.

† For the history of the introduction of Arkwright's machinery of the opposition he encountered and of the final success of his opponents in overcoming his exclusive privileges as a patentee see ante vol. I. p. 584 59.

* Annals of Commerce iv 61.

† History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain pp 287 288. The extracted passages are from pp 59 66 of Radcliffe's work.

parish of Mellor, fourteen miles from Manchester, where, in 1770, the land was occupied by between fifty and sixty farmers, whose rents, to the best of his recollection, did not exceed 10s. per acre. Of these there were but six or seven who raised their rent directly from the produce of their farms, while all the rest obtained the means of paying it partly in some branch of trade, such as spinning and weaving woollen, linen, or cotton. The cottagers were employed entirely in this manner, except for a few weeks in the harvest. "Being," says Radcliffe, "one of those cottagers, and intimately acquainted with all the rest, as well as every farmer, I am better able to relate particularly how the change from the old system of hand-labour to the new one of machinery operated in raising the price of land. Cottage rents at that time, with convenient loom shop, and a small garden attached, were from one and a half to two guineas per annum. The father of a family would earn from eight shillings to half-a guinea at his loom, and his sons, if he had one, two, or three alongside of him, six or eight shillings each per week, but the great sheet anchor of all cottages and small farms was the labour attached to the hand wheel, and when it is considered that it required six to eight hands to prepare and spin yarn, of any of the three materials I have mentioned, sufficient for the consumption of one weaver, this shows clearly the inexhaustible source there was for labour for every person from the age of seven to eighty years (who retained their sight and could move their hands), to earn their bread, say one to three shillings per week, without going to the parish." "From the year 1770 to 1788," he proceeds to observe, "a complete change had gradually been effected in the spinning of yarns, that of wool had disappeared altogether, and that of linen was also nearly gone, cotton, cotton, cotton, was become the almost universal material for employment, the hand wheels were all thrown into lumber rooms, the yarn was all spun upon common jennies, the carding for all numbers up to 40 hanks in the pound was done on carding engines, but the finer numbers (of 60 to 80 were still carded by hand, it being a general opinion at that time that machine carding would never answer for fine numbers. In weaving, no great alteration had taken place during these eighteen years, save the introduction of the fly-shuttle, a change in the woollen-loom to fustians and calico, and the linen nearly gone, except the few fabrics in which there was a mixture of cotton. To the best of my recollection there was no increase of looms during this period, but rather a decrease." The next fifteen years, from 1788 to 1803, Radcliffe calls the golden age of this great trade. "Water-twist and common jenny yarns had," he says, "been freely used in Bolton, &c. for some years prior to 1788, but it was the introduction of mule yarns about this time, along with the other yarns, all assimilating together and producing every description of clothing, from the finest book-

mulin, lace, stocking, &c., to the heaviest fustian, that gave such a preponderating wealth through the loom." The families of cottagers and small farmers who had long been partially engaged in the various branches of the manufacture, profited, with others, by this extension of the trade, for the new branches of employment, and the increasing demand for every kind of fabric produced by the loom, put all hands in request, of every age and description. "The fabrics made from wool and linen vanished, while the old loom-shops being insufficient, every lumber-room, even old barns, cart-houses, and out buildings of every description, were repaired, windows broken through the old blank walls, and all fitted up for loom-shops. This source of making room being at length exhausted, new weavers cottages, with loom-shops, rose up in every direction, all immediately filled, and, when in full work, the weekly circulation of money, as the price of labour only, rose to five times the amount ever before experienced in this district, every family bringing home weekly 40, 60, 80, 100, or even 120 shillings per week." "It may," remarks Radcliffe, "be easily conceived that this sudden increase of the circulating medium would, in a few years, not only show itself in affording all the necessaries and comforts of life these families might require, but also be felt by those who, abstractedly speaking, might be considered disinterested spectators. But in reality they were not so, for all felt it, and that in the most agreeable way, too, for this money in its peregrinations left something in the pockets of every stone mason, carpenter, slater, plasterer, joiner, &c., as well as the corn dealer, cheesemonger, butcher, and shopkeepers of every description. The farmers participated as much as any class, by the prices they obtained for their corn, butter, eggs, fowls with every other article the soil or farm yard could produce, all of which advanced at length to nearly three times the former price. Nor was the portion of this wealth inconsiderable that found its way into the coffers of the Cheshire squires who had estates in this district, the rents of their farms being doubled, and in many instances trebled." The prosperity of the cotton-manufacturing districts about the year 1791 is also referred to with admiration by an intelligent British tourist, whose work has been quoted on a previous page, and who says, "To see barren hills and valleys laugh and sing under the influence of an auspicious trade must give the benevolent heart the most agreeable sensations. Villages swarming with strong, healthy, and beautiful children, well fed, though they may at this time of the year (Walker's tour was made in the summer) despise shoes and stockings, is another instance, for these may be considered as the offspring of trade. Handsome country-houses on every hill, elegantly furnished, and surrounded by as elegant pleasure-grounds,—and a great part of the old town (of Manchester) pulled down to make room for spacious and ornamental mansions—these are they

blessings, O Commerce!—these are thy rewards. O Industry!"* Manchester had, he states, doubled in size, and more than doubled in population, within the preceding thirty years; and from another authority it appears that the population of Lancashire, which was only 166,200 in 1700, and 297,400 in 1750, had risen to 672,565 in 1801;† this rapid rate of increase being mainly attributable to the manufactures of that district. Walker also notices the substitution of cotton-manufactures for those of earlier date in the country "The silk-mills of Knutsford, Macclesfield, &c." he observes, "are principally converted into cotton-mills; that material having taken the lead of silk in the fashion of the present time." The activity of the cotton-trade appears indeed to have been so great as to lead Walker to fear that the market would be overstocked; for he proceeds "It is impossible so many mills should find employment for any length of time, for there is scarcely a stream that will turn a wheel through the north of England that has not a cotton-mill upon it. At present they are fully employed, and long may they continue so!—but this I much fear"‡

From statistical data given by Macpherson, on the authority of a pamphlet published in 1798, entitled 'An Important Crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufactory in Great Britain explained,' it appears that there were at that time 119 cotton-mills in England, 4 in Wales, 19 in Scotland, and 1 in the Isle of Man, making 143 in the whole, the estimated cost of their erection being 715,000*l*. Of these Lancashire contained 41, Derbyshire, 22, Nottinghamshire, 17, Yorkshire, 11, Cheshire, 8, Staffordshire, 7, Westmoreland, 5, Berkshire, 2, and the rest of England, 6. Lanarkshire had 4, Renfrewshire, 4, Perthshire, 3, Edinburghshire, 2, and the rest of Scotland, 6. In addition to the above there were 550 mule-jennies of 90 spindles each, and 20,700 hand-jennies of 80 spindles each, for spinning yarn for the shoot or web, the cost of which, with their auxiliary machinery, and the buildings containing them, was estimated to be about 285,000*l*, which, with the cost of the mills, as stated above, makes a capital of about 1,000,000*l* invested in such mechanism §. Of these 143 cot-

ton mills it is stated in another work,* apparently on the same authority, that nearly two-thirds had been erected within the preceding five years. In 1785, on the trial concerning the validity of the patent of Arkwright, it was stated by Mr Bearcroft, the counsel engaged against him, that 30,000 persons were employed in establishments set up in defiance of the patent, and that near 300,000*l*. had been expended upon the buildings and machinery of such mills †

The great establishments of the Messrs Arkwright and Strutt, at Belper, Cromford, and Mil-



MR STRUTT

ford, places previously of the most trifling importance, were planted there in consequence of the facilities afforded by those situations for obtaining water power in abundance;‡ and in many other instances the same reason led to the establishment of cotton factories on sites so secluded as to render it necessary to procure working hands from a distance. Mr Kennedy, in a paper 'On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade,' published in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester,§ states that Watt's engine began to be understood and introduced in that part of the kingdom about 1790, in consequence of which new life was imparted to the cotton trade. "water falls became of less value; and, instead of carrying the people to the power, it was found preferable to place the power among the people, wherever it was most wanted." From notices collected by Mr Barnes and Dr Ure, it appears that the first steam-engine constructed by Boulton and Watt to impart direct rotatory motion to the mechanism of a cotton-mill, without the intervention of a water-wheel, was that erected in 1785 at the works of Messrs Robinson, at Papplewick, Nottinghamshire. In 1787 they erected one engine for Messrs. Pula, cotton-spinners, at War-

* Walker's Remarks made in a Tour from London to the Lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland p. 33-34

† Baines's History of the Cotton Manufactory p. 340

‡ Baines's p. 84-85

§ Annual of Commerce iv. 123. Mr. Holmes shows in his 'History of the Cotton Manufactory,' p. 216-219 that some of the statements which have been frequently reprinted in works on the progress of British manufactures on the authority of the above mentioned pamphlet are very erroneous. But he considers that the account of the number of mills probably approached to correctness. The author of this pamphlet, which Baines styles "an ephemeral brochure—a mere budget of blunders and prejudices" states the value of the manufactures of cotton, in material and labour to have been only 200,000*l* in 1780, and to have risen to 7,000,000*l* in 1787, thus making out an increase of more than thirty-seven fold in the value of the manufactured articles while B. lines affirms that the increase in the quantity of raw material consumed was certainly not seven-fold. There appears to be a great error in each part of the estimate for the official return of exports of cotton goods in 1786 amounts to 280,750*l* and in the same year Fosterlyvert estimated the whole value of the goods manufactured in England at 600,000*l*. Assuming that the proportion exported continued about the same in 1787 when the official value of the exports was 1,001,437*l* the total value of the manufactures for that year would be 1,304,871*l*. Even on this calculation, the increase in twenty years would be less than half-fold a reality which, as Baines observes, is sufficiently striking without the aid of exaggeration.

* Continuation of Anderson's History of Commerce, iv. 684.

† Baines's History of the Cotton Manufactory p. 184

‡ The first cotton mill at Belper, which was built about the year 1776 by Jedediah Strutt, had three water-wheels of extraordinary dimensions. Two of them were made chiefly of iron 31 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 15 feet long or wide, and the third which was intended for use during floods, was 16 feet in diameter, and more than 40 feet long.—Donner's New Historical and Descriptive View of Derbyshire.

§ Vol. iii, Second Series.

ington, and three others in Nottingham. It was not, however, till 1789 "that the calico trade of Manchester," according to Dr Ure's account, "gave birth to a factory moved by steam, when Mr Drinkwater mounted a handsome mill with one of Watt's engines."* "In 1790," he proceeds to say, "Sir Richard Arkwright followed his example, in a mill erected at Nottingham. The same year a second engine, for cotton-spinning, was fitted up in Manchester for Mr Simpson, and also at Papplewick for Messrs Robinson." "It ought to be mentioned," he adds, "that Sir Richard had tried steam-power at an earlier period, but, out of an ill-judged economy, he had adopted Newcomen's machines, rendered rotatory by a heavy fly-wheel, but, seeing his error, he replaced them by engines of Watt's construction." In Scotland, the first steam-engine for spinning cotton was put up at Springfield, Glasgow, in January, 1792, by Messrs Scott, Stevenson, and Co.†

Instances might be multiplied, were it necessary, of the extensive and profitable character of the new establishments called into existence by the introduction of cotton-spinning by machinery, in various parts of Great Britain. To allude to one only, that of the first Sir Robert Peel, son of the Mr Peel whose experiments in calico-printing are mentioned in the preceding Book,‡ in this case



SIR ROBERT PEELE

we find a person of comparatively humble origin rising, by means of the cotton manufacture, to so elevated a position in the commercial world, that when, in 1798, parliament empowered the government to raise voluntary contributions towards the expenses of the war, he and his partner, Mr Yates, paid into the exchequer 10,000*l.*, as the quota for their calico and print works at Bury, in Lancashire. Macpherson, in narrating this circumstance, asks triumphantly if there is any other country on the face of the globe that can produce a manufacturer

* An atmospheric pumping engine had been set up a few years previously to raise water for turning a wheel at the mill of Messrs Arkwright, Simpson, and Whiteburgh at Shude Hill, Manchester. Mr Baimes says (p. 286) that this engine was erected in 1782. But Dr Ure, who designates the establishment "the oldest mill in Manchester," states that it was erected about the year 1780. — *Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, i. 278.

† Ure, vol. i. p. 274, Baimes, pp. 226, 486.

‡ Vol. i. p. 600.

who can spare such a sum? Yet many were found in England capable of performing similar acts of liberality, although, as the donation of a single firm, the above sum appears to have stood unrivalled. In a contemporary memoir of Sir Robert Peel it is said to have been "very well known that, had a disposition proportionally liberal shown itself in other individuals of the community, equally competent," the sum subscribed by the Peel family would, as originally intended, have been *forty-five thousand pounds**. From this memoir it appears that about the same time Mr Peel placed himself at the head of a corps of volunteers formed at Bury, consisting of six companies, most of the members of which were his own artificers. He also established extensive works at Tamworth, and in the adjacent village of Fazeley, for carrying on every stage of the cotton manufacture, including spinning, weaving, bleaching, and calico-printing.†

One of the interesting features of the history of the cotton manufacture in the period under review is the establishment, on the east bank of the Clyde, of the manufacturing village of New Lanark, which commenced about the year 1785, with the erection, by Mr David Dale, a public spirited citizen of Glasgow, of four cotton-mills, impelled by water-power, in which, besides other spinning machinery, mule-jennies were first set to work by inanimate power, about the year 1790, by the ingenuity of Mr William Kellie. In 1793, the number of persons employed in and in connection with these works was 1639, about one-half of whom were under 13 years of age. To accommodate those employed in the mills, Mr Dale built the village of New Lanark, where he employed three schoolmasters for the instruction of the young labourers, and of the children too young for work, and he bestowed the most praiseworthy and paternal attention on the health, education, and morals of those in his employment. In 1799 he sold these extensive works to a company of gentlemen from Manchester.‡ Similar exertions for the benefit of the juvenile portion of factory operatives were made in England by Mr Peel and others of the more enlightened manufacturers, but in too many cases very different treatment was experienced by children employed in such works, many hundreds of which were sent from workhouses in London and elsewhere. Walker, who expresses a doubt as to the propriety of such infant labour, mentions in his "Tour" a cotton-factory at Caton, in the valley of the Lune, whither many young children were sent from the workhouses of the metropolis. The improvements in the spinning of fine yarns, suitable for the manufacture of muslin, gave an impulse, about 1785, to the manufactures of Paisley, where

* Public Characters of 1803-1804, p. 16.

† Macpherson, in a note appended to his mention of Mr Peel's munificent donation (Annals, iv. 440) states that he gave employment and comfortable subsistence to 8000 men, women, boys, and girls; but from the manner in which this statement is alluded to in p. 79 of the same volume it would appear to apply to the year 1786. The memoir above quoted in the "Public Characters" (p. 21 note) states that Sir Robert Peel employed not less than 15,000 persons.

‡ Annals of Commerce, Appendix, No. IV., art. "Lanark," Baimes, p. 308.

that department of the cotton trade was carried on to a considerable extent shortly after that date.* At Perth, also, machines for carding and spinning cotton were introduced during this period. Saint-Fond states that the first of them were in the manufactory of an individual who had caused them to be constructed at Manchester, and he adds that, owing to the jealousy of the manufacturers of that place, the machines had to be conveyed out of the town during the night. In a subsequent chapter of his work, Saint-Fond tells us that, notwithstanding the desire of his kind conductors to oblige him, every attempt to obtain admission to the Manchester cotton mills was vain. The vigilance of the manufacturers was at this time redoubled, on account of a suspicion that a French colonel, who had visited the town shortly before wanted to procure plans of their machinery to carry to France. "Since that period," he says, "no strangers, not even the most respectable citizens of the town, were permitted to enter the works."†

The gross errors which have been detected in many of the early statistical accounts, relative to these as well as to other manufactures, render it very difficult to make any satisfactory statement as to the rate of progress made by them in any particular period, but some data extracted from Mr. Baines's valuable work may suffice to indicate the extent of the extraordinary impetus given to the cotton manufacture by the invalidation of Arkwright's patent, and the invention of the mule-jenny and other machines employed in its various branches. "Nothing like it," observes this writer, "has been known in any other great branch of industry. Capital and labour rushed to this manufacture in a torrent, attracted by the unequalled profits which it yielded. Numerous water mills were erected, and filled with water frames, and jennies and mules were made and set to work with almost incredible rapidity. The increase of weavers kept pace with the increase of spinners, and all classes of workmen in this trade received extravagantly high wages,—such as were necessary to draw from other trades the amount of labour for which the cotton trade offered profitable employment, but such as it was impossible to maintain for any lengthened period." The imports of cotton wool in the five years from 1771 to 1775 had been, on an average, 4,764,589 lbs annually, in the next quinquennial period the average had risen to 6,766,613 lbs, and in the next, to 11,328,989 lbs, the amounts for the respective years of this latter period fluctuating between 5,198,778 lbs in 1781 and 18,400,384 lbs in 1785. In the next period of similar extent the annual average was 25,443,270 lbs, the least importation being in 1786, when it amounted to 19,475,020 lbs, and the greatest, amounting to 32,576,023 lbs, in 1789. From tables in another part of Mr. Baines's work, founded on official documents, it appears that the average importation from 1791 to 1795 was

26,683,001 lbs, that of the highest year, 1792, being 34,907,497 lbs, and that of the lowest year, 1793, being 19,040,929 lbs, and that in the next five years, from 1796 to 1800, the average had risen to 37,350,275 lbs, the lowest year being 1797, when the importation was 23,354,371 lbs, and the highest 1800, when it amounted to 56,010,732 lbs. In order to ascertain the precise quantity retained for home consumption, or rather for home manufacture, the exports of cotton wool, which were very variable, but always of comparatively trifling extent, should be deducted from the above quantities. These appear, from the same authority, to have averaged 260,946 lbs per annum from 1781 to 1785, 678,334 lbs from 1786 to 1790, 1,112,832 lbs from 1791 to 1795, and 1,433,268 lbs from 1796 to 1800. The average for the last of these periods was, however, swelled greatly by the exportation of 1800, which amounted to 4,416,610 lbs, an amount greater than that of any subsequent year down to 1810. From the above and some other data given in his work, Mr. Baines infers that, within the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, the quantity of cotton-wool imported had little more than *doubled*, while within the last twenty years of the century it multiplied more than *eight fold*, making the rate of progression ten times as great in the latter period as in the former. He also gives, in a subsequent chapter, a table showing the rate of increase in the import of cotton wool in each decennial period from 1741 to 1831, from which it appears, to adopt his own words, that, while "from 1697 to 1741 the increase was trifling, between 1741 and 1751 the manufacture, though still insignificant in extent, made a considerable spring; during the next twenty years the increase was moderate, from 1771 to 1781, owing to the invention of the jenny and the water-frame, a rapid increase took place, in the ten years from 1781 to 1791, being those which immediately followed the invention of the mule and the expiration of Arkwright's patent, the rate of advancement was prodigiously accelerated, being nearly 320 per cent, and from that time to the present, and especially since the close of the war, the increase, though considerably modified, has been rapid and steady far beyond all precedent in any other manufacture." For comparison with the above statements, Mr. Baines presents a series of facts relative to the exportation of cotton goods, which exhibit a similarly rapid rate of increase. "Less than a century ago," he observes, writing about the year 1835, "the cotton exports of the country were so insignificant, that they are not mentioned by any writer of that period in treating of the commerce between England and foreign countries. Even half a century since they were as yet a small branch of trade compared with the woollen; but about that period they increased with unparalleled rapidity, and at the beginning of the present century they nearly overtook the woollen exports in amount." In 1697 the official value of British cotton goods of all sorts exported

* Appendix to And not a History of Commerce iv 706
† Travels, vol ii. p. 183 281

from this country was only 5915^l, in 1701 it amounted to 23,253^l, but in 1710, 1720, 1730, and 1740, the amounts were, respectively, 5698^l, 16,208^l, 13,524^l, and 20,709^l. In 1751 the cotton goods exported rose to 45,986^l, and in the three years 1764, 1765, and 1766, they averaged 223,153^l per annum. In 1780 they were 355,060^l, in 1785, 864,710^l, and in the five years from 1786 to 1790, during which the increase was tolerably steady, the annual average was 1,232,529^l. From 1791 to 1795 the annual exports averaged 2,088,525^l in official value, and in the next corresponding period, 1796 to 1800, the average was 4,073,382^l annually, the amount for the last year of that period being 5,406,501^l, and those for the succeeding years maintaining a steady, though for some time not a very rapid increase. Thus, Mr Baines observes, in continuation of his similar estimate of the increase in the importation of raw cotton, "within the first fifty years (of the eighteenth century) the value of the cotton exports nearly doubled, within the last twenty it multiplied fifteen and a half fold. The rate of progression, therefore, was nearly twenty times as great in the latter period as in the former." "Such," he adds, "are the effects of machinery."

In connexion with the above statistics we may advert for a moment to the sources of the rapidly increasing supplies of cotton wool. Mr Baines states that, in the infancy of the cotton manufacture, England obtained her supply of the raw material from the Mediterranean and the Levant, but that in the eighteenth century the largest supplies came from the West Indies and South America, and Dr Ure says that, prior to the year 1794, almost all the cotton-wool consumed in the British manufactures was obtained from the West Indies and Guiana, with the exception of a little from India and the Levant for the fustian trade, and a still smaller quantity from the Brazils and the Isle of Bourbon for the finer muslin yarns. Brazilian cotton was, according to Mr Baines, first imported in 1781, in a very dirty state, but it was soon found to be superior in fineness and staple even to that of Demerara, and consequently there arose a considerable demand for it, at a higher price than most other kinds; and the cotton of the Isle of Bourbon, which was recovered by way of Ostend, and was considered of the finest quality then known, is said to have sold at from 7s 6d. to 10s per lb in the year 1786†. From an approximate statement,

given by Dr Ure, of the imports of cotton-wool from various parts of the world in 1787, it appears that of 22,800,000 lbs (a quantity somewhat smaller than that assigned to the same year in the returns from which the preceding statistical particulars are derived), about 6,800,000 lbs were brought from the British West Indies, about 6,000,000 lbs from the French and Spanish colonies, 1,700,000 lbs from the Dutch colonies, 2,500,000 lbs from those belonging to Portugal, 100,000 lbs from the Isle of Bourbon, and 5,700,000 lbs from Smyrna and Turkey. Considering the immense extent since attained by the cotton wool trade of the United States, it is curious to read the statement quoted by Mr Baines, from Smithers's 'History of Liverpool' that "in 1784 an American vessel arrived at Liverpool, having on board eight bags of cotton, which were seized by the custom house officers, under an impression that cotton was not the produce of the United States." By the year 1801 the exports of cotton from the United States exceeded 20,000,000 lbs*. It may be added, although, as before stated, from a somewhat questionable authority, the pamphlet published in 1788, under the title of 'An Important Crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufacture in Great Britain explained,' that the cotton imported in 1787, which is there estimated at 22,600,000 lbs, or very little over what appears, by the official returns, to have been retained for home consumption in that year, was worked up in about the following proportions—11,600,000 lbs in calicoes and muslins, 6,000,000 lbs in fustians, 2,000,000 lbs in cotton goods having an admixture of silk or linen, 1,500,000 lbs in hosiery, and 1,500,000 lbs in candlewicks. On the last item Mr Baines† observes that the quantity set down for candlewicks alone is nearly as great as the whole importation at the commencement of the century, and he adds that, if the estimate even approaches to correctness, it leads to the inference that a considerable proportion even of the small imports from 1700 to 1750 may have been used for candlewicks, and for other minor purposes.

Of the improvements effected during this period in the mechanism employed in the cotton manufacture it is unnecessary to say, much, most of them being of a character which, however important in economising labour and improving the quality of the goods produced, are not sufficiently prominent to claim notice in a brief account intended for the general reader. Of the manner in which many of these improvements were effected an idea may be conveyed by quoting the words of Mr Kennedy respecting the progressive improvement and extension of the mule jenny, originally contrived by Crompton‡: "The art of spinning on Crompton's machine," he observes, "was tolerably well known, from the circumstance of the high

* Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture, pp. 214-216 and 247-250. Many of the above figures are obtained by computation from the tables given in this work, which are all stated to be founded on official documents. An official return of the imports of various articles used in British manufactures, which is printed by Macpherson (Annals iv 470) does not in the item of cotton wool perfectly agree with the figures in Baines, but the variation one of trifling importance.

† The price of other kinds of cotton wool from the West Indies in ending Surinam and Berbice in the same year, ranged from 1s 10d to 2s 6d per lb exclusive of duty according to a table quoted by Baines (p. 218) from Tooth's work on High and Low Prices. Baines states, on the authority of Bryan Edwards, that the finest grained and most perfectly cleaned cotton brought to the English market about 1780, was from the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demerara, and Surinam, and of the Island of Ceylon.

* Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture pp. 201-203. Ure's Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i pp. 144, 145.

† P. 216 note.

‡ See vol. i p. 597.



Figure 1

Figure 1

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wages that could be obtained by those working on it, above the ordinary wages of other artisans, such as shoemakers, joiners, hatmakers, &c., who on that account left their previous employment, and to them might be applied the fable of the town in a state of siege, for if, in the course of their working the machine, there was any little thing out of gear, each workman endeavoured to fill up the deficiency with some expedient suggested by his former trade the smith suggested a piece of iron, the shoemaker a welt of leather, &c., all which had a good effect in improving the machine. Each put what he thought best to the experiment, and that which was good was retained."* Even the construction of a *self-acting mule*, or one requiring no manual aid beyond that of the children required to join the broken threads, an object which has only been successfully accomplished within these few years, was attempted before the close of the eighteenth century. The earliest machine of this nature was invented by the late William Strutt, F.R.S., son of Jedediah Strutt, before the year 1790, according to a memoir by his son, the present Edward Strutt, M.P., but the inferior workmanship of that time appears to have prevented the successful application of the improvement. Mr Kelly, of the Lanark mills, whose application of water-power to the working of ordinary mules has been alluded to in a previous page, also constructed a self-acting mule about 1792†. Of the effect of successive improvements in spinning-machinery, and the competition of a rapidly extending manufacture, in reducing the price of yarn, an idea may be formed from a tabular view given by Baines of the price of cotton-yarn, No 100, in 1786 and succeeding years, which shows that the quality of yarn which brought 38s per lb in 1786 was reduced to 29s 9d per lb in 1791, to 19s in 1796, and to 8s 9d in 1801‡.

The spirit of improvement which had revolutionised the art of spinning was next directed to that of weaving, but with less striking success, many years having elapsed after the introduction of power-looms before they obtained very extensive employment. Mr Baines refers to a loom worked by water-power, which was contrived by M De Genne as early as the seventeenth century, and which, from the description in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1678,§ appears to have aimed at accomplishing the advantages realized by the modern power-loom. It does not appear ever to have come into use, and a weaving factory which was erected at Manchester, in 1765, by Mr. Gartside, and probably, according to Baines, filled with swivel-looms of the construction invented by M. Vauconson, failed to produce any advantage, because a man was required to superintend each

loom.* The first practically useful power-loom, or machine for automatic weaving, appears to have been that of the Rev Dr Edmund Cartwright, who, being at Matlock, in Derbyshire, in the summer of 1784, fell into the company of some Manchester gentlemen, whose conversation turned



DR. CARTWRIGHT

upon Arkwright's spinning-machinery. One of the company observed that, on the expiration of Arkwright's patent, so many mills would be set up and so much cotton would be spun, that hands would never be found to weave it, to which Cartwright replied, that Arkwright must then set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill. In the conversation occasioned by this remark, the Manchester gentlemen declared such a contrivance to be impracticable, and adduced arguments in support of their opinion which Cartwright, who had never seen a person weave, and was totally ignorant of the subject, was unable either to answer or to understand. He nevertheless controverted the idea of automatic weaving being impracticable; and, having thus had his attention directed to the subject, he soon afterwards constructed a loom for the purpose, with which a coarse piece of cloth was produced. In a letter to Mr Bannatyne,† from which the above details are taken, Dr Cartwright thus speaks of his first machine "As I had never before turned my thoughts to anything mechanical, either in theory or practice, nor had ever seen a loom at work or knew anything of its construction, you will readily suppose that my first loom was a rude piece of machinery. The warp was placed perpendicularly, the reed fell with the weight of at least half a hundredweight, and the springs which threw the shuttle were strong enough to have thrown a Congreve rocket. In short, it required the strength of two powerful men to work the machine at a slow rate and only for a short time. Concerning, in my great simplicity, that I had accomplished all that was required, I then secured what I thought a most valuable property by a patent, 4th of April, 1785. This being done,

* Memoir of Crompton in Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester vol v. Second Series pp 330, 336

† Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture 203 206

‡ Id. p 257

§ No 149 pp 1007 1009 The account is extracted from the Journal des Savans

* History of the Cotton Manufacture 228, 229
† Published in the Encyclopædia Britannica 21 Cotton Man-
ufacture

I then condescended to see how other people wove, and you will guess my astonishment when I compared their easy modes of operation with mine. Availing myself, however, of what I then saw, I made a loom in its general principles nearly as they are now made, but it was not till the year 1787 that I completed my invention, when I took out my last weaving patent, August 1st of that year.* In consequence of this invention, Dr Cartwright endeavoured to establish a manufactory with power-loom^s at Doncaster, where he then resided, but this attempt proved unsuccessful. About 1790, according to Baines's narrative, Messrs Grimshaw, of Gorton, having obtained a licence from Cartwright, erected a weaving factory at Knott Mills, Manchester, and expended much money in attempts to improve the power-loom, but their efforts were stopped by their factory being burnt down. A contemporary memoir of Dr Cartwright, in the 'Public Characters' of 1800-1801, states that the licence or contract was for 500 looms, and that the mill built for their reception was on a larger scale than any other manufacturing mill at that time in existence. This authority adds, that, "as soon as it was understood what the mill was designed for, anonymous letters were written to the proprietors threatening its destruction, which, indeed, took place in less than a month after the looms were set to work." Returning to Baines's narrative of the early progress of power loom weaving, we find that in 1794 a power loom was invented by Mr Bell of Glasgow, which, like its predecessors, was soon abandoned, and that in 1796 Mr Robert Miller, of Glasgow, patented a similar machine, which was, in 1801, adopted by a spirited individual named Monteith, who fitted up a mill with 200 looms at Pollokshaws, near Glasgow, but it is added that several years elapsed before the business was made to answer.* Macpherson notices another labourer in the same field, Stephen Dolignon, whose loom, which was adapted for working by any inanimate power, possessed what he styles "an instinctive capacity of knowing when any thread of the warp or weft is broken," and accordingly stopping of itself until the damage was repaired. "Six of these looms," he says, "may, with ease, be attended by a girl of fifteen years of age, or an infirm or aged person of either sex." Dolignon died in 1797, soon after completing his invention, which consequently fell into disregard. Macpherson, however, dwells with admiration upon its powers, and pleads for it as an advantage which it possessed over most machinery for the abridgment of labour, that its general use could give no alarm to the people engaged in the manual fabrication of the goods which might be made by it, because a weaver who had been accustomed to work upon one loom might, at the expense of the machinery was moderate, set up and superintend six looms to be worked by weights or other means, so as immediately to furnish six times the former quantity

of cloth at one-half the cost of weaving, and yet to earn three times as much as by the common loom. "Thus," he adds, "the use of this machinery, instead of threatening them with loss of employment, may, in the very first instance, be a blessing, and a fund of wealth to the British operative weavers, who need only such assistance to counteract the enormous expense of living to enable them to become the *manufacturers for the whole world*!"† It may be here mentioned that the want of efficient mechanism for dressing the yarn was one of the principal obstacles to the success of the early power looms, the interruptions occasioned by performing that operation by hand seriously retarding the action of a machine impelled by a constant unvarying force, although of comparatively little consequence in the case of the common hand-loom.

In connection with improvements in the art of weaving we may advert to the patriotic efforts of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce "to encourage the making in the loom an imitation of that species of needlework long known by the name of Marseilles Quilting," an object which, when first proposed, was generally regarded as visionary and impossible. The Society nevertheless offered premiums for its accomplishment, and in the first volume of their 'Transactions,' published in 1783, they report that the manufacture was thoroughly established, and applied to linen, woollen, cotton, and silk. "Here are," they observe, "few persons of any rank, condition, or sex in the kingdom (and, we may add, within the extent of British commerce, so greatly is it exported) who do not use it in some part of their clothing, so that we may safely say, if the whole fund and revenue of the Society had been given to obtain this one article of trade, the national gain in return should be considered as very cheaply purchased."‡

Great progress was made during the period embraced in this Book in the weaving of muslins, which had been attempted at Paisley as early as the year 1700, but soon discontinued in consequence of the extensive importation of such articles from India. Dr Ure, after noticing this circumstance, observes that "the germ, after lying dormant for eighty years, rapidly expanded into a flourishing business, showing a singular aptitude in the people of that town for this elegant branch of the cotton-trade."§ He further states that muslins were manufactured at Zurich and St Gall, in Switzerland, long before they were made (to any important extent) in this country. When, however, British mule-jennies were brought into action, they speedily enabled England to outstrip all foreign competitors in that fabric. Baines states that the manufacture of muslin was attempted both in Lancashire and at Glasgow about the year 1780,§ with weft spun by the jenny, but

* Annals of Commerce iv 401

† P. 26 87

‡ Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, i 291

§ Macpherson says under the date 1785, that "the manufacture of muslins in England was begun in the year 1781, and was rapidly

that the attempt failed, owing to the coarseness of the yarn. "Even with Indian weft," he adds, "muslins could not be made to compete with those of the East. But when the mule was brought into general use, in 1785, both weft and warp were produced in this country sufficiently fine for muslins, and so quickly did the weaver avail himself of the improvement in the yarn, that no less than 500,000 pieces of muslin were manufactured in Great Britain in the year 1787." Dr Ure states that the muslin trade received a great stimulus at Stockport about the year 1790, owing to the efforts of the late Samuel Oldknow, who took new ground by copying fabrics imported from India, whence this country was at that time supplied with all the finer fabrics. "He was," says Dr Ure, "very successful in carrying on the ingenious processes which he had devised, but, the French revolution creating a panic and general stagnation for a time, he abandoned this branch of the trade, and betook himself to his large water-mill at Mellor, which was built in the year 1790." It is added that, on Oldknow returning from the manufacture of fine muslin, Messrs Horrocks, who had just established themselves at Preston as mule-spinners, took it up, became extensive manufacturers of cloth similar to that made by Oldknow, and supplied the same market, London. On the subsiding of the panic caused by the French revolution, a market sprang up on the Continent for yarns of all kinds, but principally for muslin yarns up to the highest numbers or finest qualities that could be produced. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' states that muslin began to be made nearly at the same time at Bolton, Glasgow, and Paisley, each place adopting the peculiar description of fabric which resembled most those goods which it had been accustomed to manufacture, a judicious arrangement which enabled each place to maintain a superiority in one particular article. In a report made in the year 1793 by a select committee of directors of the East India Company upon the British cotton manufacture, it is said that "every ship offers British muslins for sale equal in appearance and of more elegant patterns than those of India, for one-fourth, or perhaps more than one-third, less in price." a testimony to the excellence of British manufactures which carries more weight than almost any other that could be adduced.*

Respecting the rise of another branch of the British cotton-manufacture, that of lace, Dr Ure states that the first machine for making lace with a stocking-frame was constructed in 1777, and that its invention had been claimed both for Mr Robert Frost and for a poor workman of Nottingham named Holmes. He adds that this was, ere long superseded by the point net machine, the ingenious invention of Mr John Lindley, senior,

increasing. In the year 1783 he adds "there were above a thousand looms set up in Glasgow for that most beneficial article to which the skill and labour of the mechanic raise the raw material to twenty times its value it as of when imported.—*Annals of Commerce* 11. 8

* *Recess II story of the Cotton Manufacture* pp 324, 335, & Ure's *Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain* p 79

on whose death a patent was obtained for an improvement on the same principle, by Mr Taylor, of Chapelbar, and that a further improvement on the machine was effected by Mr Hiram Flint. Upon this account Messrs Boden and Morley, lace manufacturers at Derby, remark, in a communication to Dr Ure, that various kinds of net-work were made from the stocking frame prior to the date above given, none of which, however, much resembled lace-net, until the invention of a fabric called square net, for which Frost had a patent. "This," they add, "was soon superseded by the invention of point net the most perfect description of net-work ever produced from the stocking-frame," which is generally supposed to have been invented by Holmes. "This invention, however," they say, "only went to show that by a new and particular mode of arrangement of the loop upon the stocking-frame a beautiful kind of net-work could be made, but how this was to be accomplished with facility was still wanting. This was effected by the addition or appendage to the stocking-frame called the point-net machine, and which appears to have been the result of the united ingenuity of several individuals. Two persons of the names of Flint and Morris are supposed to have assisted, but what share they had in it is difficult to determine." Dr Ure observes that "at the beginning of the present century nearly the whole of machine-made lace was produced from these point net machines—mechanisms probably more delicate than any other ever used for manufacturing purposes, either in this country or elsewhere." There were, he says further, not less than 1000 such machines then in active work.*

In the last Book mention was made of the repeal, in 1774, of an act which had prohibited the printing of British calicoes, and the imposition of a duty of 3d per square yard upon them. By three several additions of five per cent upon the amount of duties charged upon exciseable articles, the last of which was made in 1782, fifteen per cent was added to this duty, and in 1784, when other new taxes were imposed by Mr Pitt, an act was passed laying a further duty of 1d. per yard on both cotton and mixed goods, bleached as well as printed, if under 3s per yard in value, and 2d per yard if above that value, and charging the additional fifteen per cent upon this extra tax as well as upon the original 3d per yard. This act also compelled bleachers to take out licences, which were taxed "These impositions," says

* *Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain* 11. 348, 349, 350, 411. A somewhat different account is given in Mr M Culloch's *Dictionary of Commerce* art. Lace, on the authority of a work on Hosiery and Lace by Gravesend Henson. He states that a frame work knitter of Nottingham named Hammond, about the year 1768 was the first who made lace by machine, by the use of a loom having struck him while he knitted at a broad lace on his wife's cap, that he could fabricate a similar article by means of his stocking frame. Mr M Culloch further states that the first net machine was introduced at Nottingham about the same period by A. L. and Harvey of London, and was called a point machine. For many years, a single press point net in imitation of the Brussels ground, that in 1770, the warp frame was introduced, which is still in use for making warp lace, and that in 1799, after many attempts, the better net machine was invented, although it was not completely successful until it was improved by Mr Haskins several years later.

† 84 Geo III c 40 (second session)

Baines, "excited great alarm and discontent throughout Lancashire and all the cotton-manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, petitions to the House of Commons and memorials to the Lords of the Treasury were sent up, representing that these new duties would crush the rising manufacture, and render the English altogether unable to compete with Indian goods brought from a country producing the raw material and every article used in the manufacture, and where labour was exceedingly cheap. Deputations were also sent from Manchester, Bolton, and other places, to remonstrate with the minister, the manufacturers were heard by counsel at the bar of the House, in the session of 1785, and much evidence was given, and so forcible were the representations made, that Mr Pitt reluctantly consented to bring in a short bill* repealing all the new duties imposed by the bill of the preceding year on the linen and cotton manufactures. The repeal was celebrated as a jubilee in Lancashire, and when Mr Thomas Walker and Mr Richardson, who had been especially active in the application to government, returned from London, they were honoured with a triumphal entrance into Manchester, being met by a procession which extended nearly from that town to Stockport (about seven miles) and which is celebrated as one of the most joyous and splendid processions ever seen in Lancashire. The inhabitants of Manchester and Bolton presented silver cups to these gentlemen, with inscriptions acknowledging their valuable exertions"†. The necessities of government, however, were so pressing that heavy duties were again imposed upon printed, though not upon bleached goods, by another act‡ passed at a later period in the same session, which rendered all such goods, if formed wholly or partially of cotton, liable to a duty of 2d per yard in addition to the 3d imposed by the act of 1774, if the value exceeded 1s 8d, and was under 3s per yard, or to a duty of 4d per yard if the value exceeded the latter amount. Thus, with the additional fifteen per cent above mentioned, the total duty on the former class of goods was 5½d, and that on the latter class something less than 6½d per yard. On the consolidation of the customs and excise duties in 1767 all these duties were abolished, and cotton, linen, or mixed goods of every kind were subjected to a duty of 3½d per square yard when printed or dyed, the whole of which was to be returned on such goods as might be exported. Foreign calicoes or muslins printed in this country were to be liable to double the above duty.

In order to encourage the foreign trade in British cotton goods an act was passed in 1763§ to allow bounties upon their exportation; and by another act|| of the same session drawbacks were allowed upon soap, starch, and other necessary

articles used in dressing or finishing any goods made of flax or cotton (with the exception of linens, which previously had a similar privilege), the high duties upon such articles having proved a serious obstruction to the growth of those manufactures. These acts, being for limited periods, were repeatedly renewed before the close of the century. The high duties charged on the importation of foreign muslins, calicoes, and nankeens having been found to encourage smuggling, were, in 1783, commuted into a duty of eighteen per cent upon their selling value, of which ten per cent was to be returned on exportation*. A few years later, owing partly to the great increase of the home manufacture, and partly to the accumulation of an unusually large stock of goods in the warehouses of the East India Company, a competition arose between the British and foreign fabrics which greatly depressed the prices of both, and so alarmed the manufacturers of this country, that they presented a memorial to the Board of Trade charging the company with having purposely augmented the quantity of their imports, and lowered their prices, in order to ruin them and to destroy British industry that they might favour their own subjects in Hindostan, and increase their commerce. The substance of this memorial was communicated to the East India Company, whose answer convinced the Lords of the Privy Council that the imposition of such restrictions as the manufacturers called for upon their sales of foreign cotton goods would be prejudicial to the home manufacture, would throw their trade into the hands of foreigners, and would lead to very extensive smuggling for home consumption. "And, indeed," observes Macpherson, "when we consider that all East Indian goods are sold by public sale, it is evident that the demand must entirely regulate the price, which is fixed by the buyers themselves, for no one can suppose that the Company refused to take as good a price as they could get." "Neither," he adds, "was the glut of goods, which now came into the market and pressed so hard upon the manufacturers at the time, permanently hurtful to them, but rather highly beneficial, for it called into employment a vast number of hawkers of muslins, &c, who, by dint of low prices, diffused a taste for those goods in the remotest villages of the kingdom, where they had scarcely ever been seen before, and thereby paved the way to a greatly extended demand for the productions of the British as well as the Indian looms, by which the regular sales of both are augmented at least a hundred-fold"†. Notwithstanding the able defence offered by the East India Company on this occasion, the rates of duty upon imported cotton goods were repeatedly raised between 1787 and the close of this period. From a statement given by Baines on government authority it appears, that in 1787 white calicoes were charged 5s. 3d per piece (a piece being ten yards long when not more than a

* 25 Geo III c 24.

† History of the Cotton Manufacture, 279, 280.

‡ 26 Geo III c 28.

§ 23 Geo III c 21.

|| 24 Geo III c 77.

* 28 Geo III c 74.

† Annals of Commerce iv 134.

yard and a quarter wide, and six yards long when above that width), and 16/ 10s per cent on the value, and East India muslins and nankeens were charged 18/ per cent, *ad valorem*. These rates were gradually increased until, in 1802, they amounted to 6s 8d per piece, and 27/ 1s 11/ per cent *ad valorem*, in the former, and 30/ 15s 9d per cent *ad valorem*, in the latter case. Dyed East India goods were totally prohibited.*

Having, in a previous page, given an estimate of the number of establishments engaged in the cotton-manufacture about 1787, shortly after the commencement of the period embraced in this Book, it would have been desirable, for the sake of comparison, to present a similar statement for the close of the century. For this, however there do not appear to be sufficient data, and Macpherson, after giving some conjectural estimates of the extent of the manufacture, under the year 1800, confesses himself obliged to adopt the opinion expressed to him by a gentleman who was at the head of some of the greatest manufacturing establishments in the kingdom, that the object was beyond the reach of individual investigation. For Scotland, as being a much narrower field than the whole island of Great Britain, such data could be more readily obtained, and he therefore gives, on the authority of Brown's 'History of Glasgow,' an estimate, made in 1796, of the Scottish cotton-manufactures, which he deems a near approximation to the truth, and from which it appears that the number of water mills was then increased to 39, more than double the number reported nine or ten years previously. These mills worked 124,800 spindles, and their cost, including both machinery and spindles, may have averaged 10,000/ each, making 390,000/ in the whole. There were also 1200 common jennies of 84 spindles each, which, at 6/ pe jenny, would cost 7200/, and 600 mule jennies of 144 spindles each, the cost of which is given as 30/ each, or 18,000/ in the whole thus making a grand total of 312,000 spindles, "working," it is stated, "by day and night," and a total capital in machinery and buildings, including 75,000/ for the buildings containing the jennies, cf 490,200/. The number of people employed, of both sexes, is estimated at 25,000, the greater part of whom were under fifteen years of age. In addition to these spinners, there were in Scotland, it is stated, 38,815 weavers employed in the cotton-manufacture, 12,938 women employed in winding warp and weft, and, supposing one third of the muslin produced to be adorned with tambouring or needle-work, 105,000 women and girls, mostly the latter, employed in that department, thus making a grand total of 181,753 persons deriving subsistence immediately from the cotton manufacture in Scotland. Macpherson adds that it had increased very much between 1796 and 1800†

The origin of the cotton manufacture in Ireland

is very briefly noticed in the preceding Book,* where it is shown that it had existed for a very few years only before the commencement of this period. Lord Sheffield, however, in 1785, observes, that, though the manufacture could hardly be said to have been above four or five years in Ireland, it seemed "already to have taken root, and to be well established." "It is computed," he adds, "that near 30,000 people are employed in it if it be true, its progress indeed has been rapid, but it cannot be supposed that the fabrics of Manchester are yet materially rivalled, except it should be in the home consumption of Ireland." Those fabrics which were composed of a mixture of linen and cotton were said to be made better in Ireland than in England. The cotton manufacture was, in this early stage, liberally encouraged by the Irish government, and it was consequently established in several parts of the kingdom at once. One person in Dublin had, within three years, made 95 carding-machines, 394 jennies for 70 threads each, and more than 50 jennies for spinning wool. "The principal establishment of this manufacture," observes Lord Sheffield, "is at the new town called Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, on the borders of the box of Allen, now a considerable place (a note adds that it had about 3000 inhabitants), but where there was only one small cottage four years ago." This establishment owed its foundation to the public spirit of Captain Brooke. Several other factories are mentioned by the same writer, who notices a disadvantage which they laboured under from the dissolute and unsteady character of many of the Englishmen employed in teaching or superintending the workpeople, most of whom were induced to go to Ireland on account of debts contracted at home. He also alludes to the growing evils of infant labour, observing that many children, as young as five or six years, were employed at wages varying from sixpence to thirteen pence per week, and that they were sometimes employed all night. "The machinerv," he adds, "moves smoother if kept constantly at work it therefore goes day and night, and consequently requires constant attendance."† Dr Ure states that in 1800, only twenty three years from the commencement of the enterprise by Joy and MacCabe,‡ "it appeared in evidence before parliament that the cotton manufacture which they had introduced, gave employment to 13,500 working people, and, including all manner of persons occupied in various ways, to 37,000, within a circuit of only ten miles, but comprehending within its bounds the towns of Belfast and Lisburn." Nor were these advances confined to the department of spinning,

* Vol i p p 598 599

† Observations on the Manufactures, Trade and Present State of Ireland 1785 pp 198 200

‡ The first of these persons is the Robert Joy mentoned in 1 598 of our first volume and MacCabe was one of his partners. It does not appear from Dr Ure's statement at what precise time they succeeded in establishing the cotton manufacture at Belfast, but from the above remark it would seem to have been about 1777. From the passage quoted in vol i it appears that Joy conceived his plan some years earlier. The above details are from the first volume of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain p 247

* Baines pp 324 325

† Annuals of Commerce iv 598 599

the manufacture of cottons, dimities, and Marseilles-quilting having been introduced and encouraged by *Joy* and the other projectors, who assisted and succeeded him, and it is stated that in less than ten years from their first introduction into the country, several thousand looms were employed in the manufacture of cotton in the towns of Belfast, Lisburn, and Hill-borough.

An account of the rise and progress of the cotton manufacture in North America, in a work recently published by Mr James Montgomery,* states that as early as the year 1787 a society was formed in Philadelphia "for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," by which some progress was made, though with very rude machinery in the manufacture of various linen and cotton goods. Shortly before this society was formed, two mechanics named Bari, from Scotland, had been employed by Mr Orr, of East Bridgewater, in the state of Massachusetts, to make machinery for carding, spinning, and roving, and in 1786 they received a public reward for their exertions. Another machine was made in 1787, for the same gentleman, by an English midshipman named Somers, and these machines, the first it is believed, that were ever made in the United States for the manufacture of cotton, were publicly exhibited and explained by Mr Orr. The first important company for the manufacture of cotton goods was formed at Beverley, Massachusetts, in 1787, but "the difficulties under which they laboured, the extraordinary loss of materials in the instruction of their servants and workmen, the high prices of machines unknown to their mechanics, and both intricate and difficult in their construction, together with other incidents which usually attend a new business, were such, that the company were put to the necessity of applying to the state legislature for assistance, to save them from being compelled to abandon the enterprise altogether." In their petition, dated June 2, 1790, they stated that their expenditure had already amounted to nearly 4000*l*, and that a further outlay was necessary, to enable them to meet which the sum of 1000*l* was granted by the state. Cotton-spinning was commenced in Rhode Island in 1788, but some of the first machines, which were made from information derived, through Mr Orr, from emigrants, were so imperfect that an attempt to drive them by means of a water-wheel failed. While these and other efforts were making under every disadvantage arising from inexperience, and the rudeness of the mechanism employed, England was enjoying all the benefits occasioned by the extensive use of Arkwright's and Crompton's beautiful machines, which the jealous vigilance of the British government endeavoured to retain for the

sole use of this country. Every effort to obtain models or drawings of the machinery used in England proved, for a considerable time, utterly vain, and the difficulties of those who were striving to establish the cotton-manufacture in the United States were increased by circumstances which, by embarrassing the British manufacturers, led to the exportation of great quantities of their goods at reduced prices. Many of these were sent to the United States, where agents were appointed to manage the sales, and, in order to encourage the trade, long credits, sometimes extending to eighteen months, were given. Such were the circumstances of the cotton-manufacture in the United States in 1790, when the main difficulty was removed by Mr Samuel Slater, who has, Montgomery observes, been justly called the Father of the Cotton Manufacture of America. Slater was a native of Belper, in Derbyshire, and was brought up in the establishment of Mr Jedediah Strutt, at Milford. After the expiration of the term of his apprenticeship, he was for some time employed by Mr Strutt in superintending new works which he was erecting. Having heard rumours of the anxiety of the American government for information respecting British cotton machinery, he formed the determination of emigrating to the States where he hoped to bring his practical knowledge and experience into profitable exercise. He continued for some time with Mr Strutt after forming this determination, in order to prepare himself for his difficult undertaking, it being necessary that he should, without the aid of any patterns or drawings which would have been discovered by the vigilance of the custom house officers, "be fully qualified to superintend the building and arrangement of the mills, the construction of the machinery, and to direct the details of the manufacture without the aid of a single individual." He went to New York towards the close of the year 1789, but he soon left that city for Providence, in Rhode Island, where he entered into engagements with Messrs Almy and Brown, who had been connected with some of the earlier experiments which have been alluded to. Having constructed the first machinery for carding and spinning cotton upon Arkwright's principle, almost entirely with his own hands, he set it in operation about the close of the year 1790, at the village of Pawtucket, near Providence, the machinery, which had 72 spindles, being worked by the water wheel of an old fulling-mill. In 1793 Messrs Almy, Brown, and Slater built a small mill at Pawtucket, and they subsequently extended their operations as their prospects improved. Montgomery observes that "Mr Slater laboured under every disadvantage in the construction of his machinery, for, although he had perfect confidence in his own remembrance of every part and pattern, and in his ability to perfect the work according to his agreement, yet he found it difficult to get mechanics who could make anything like his models." His greatest difficulty

* The work is entitled *A Practical Detail of the Cotton Manufacture of the United States of America, and the state of the cotton manufacture of that country contrasted and compared with that of Great Britain*. and it was published at Glasgow in 1840. The author who has published other works on cotton spinning left Scotland in 1838 and became superintendent of factories at Saco in the state of Maine. He refers to White's *Memoir of Slater* as his principal authority for his historical details.

was to get card-sheets suitable for his machinery, but his perseverance overcame that and all other difficulties, "and his case," it is observed in the work from which these facts are obtained, "furnishes another bright example of the never-failing success which always attends patience and perseverance in the pursuit of any laudable object." Another important point in the history of the cotton manufacture in America is the invention, in 1793, of an ingenious machine called the *saw gin*, for separating cotton-wool from the seeds which are enveloped in it as it grows. Before the invention of this machine "the wool of the green-seeded cotton could not be separated from the seed," observes Dr Ure, "unless with a degree of labour very discouraging to the growth of that hardy and productive article." Mr Eli Whitney directed his attention to the contrivance of a machine for effecting this object, and succeeded in producing one which would separate more cotton from the seed in one day by the labour of one man than could be done by the previous methods in a month. "The construction of this instrument," according to the authority just quoted, "was an event of such consequence as to excite an universal interest in the State of Georgia, where Mr Whitney then lived in narrow circumstances, under the roof of an hospitable friend. Neither the sentiments of justice nor the fear of the law could restrain the eager crowds from breaking into his workshop by night, and carrying off his wonder-working tool." In this dishonourable way the public acquired possession of the invention before it was completed to the satisfaction of Whitney, and before he could obtain the protection of a patent, which, however, he immediately procured. The numerous surreptitious machines which were made with such slight variations as might afford a colourable plea for depriving him of his patent right involved him in vexatious and almost ruinous litigation, but at length, in 1801, the Legislature of South Carolina purchased a licence for the use of the machine in that State for the sum of 5000 dollars, and in the next year a similar arrangement was made for North Carolina, where a tax of 2s 6d per saw was laid upon the machines for a period of five years, for the benefit of the patentee. Much, however, of the money thus raised in the Carolinas was expended in fruitless litigation with the piratical invaders of his privilege in Georgia, so that this ingenious inventor, whose machine is said to have raised the value of land in the Southern States from fifty to one hundred per cent., was in the end most inadequately rewarded †.

Lord Sheffield, writing about the commencement of the year 1785, observes that France was then taking every step to rival and surpass our cotton-manufactures. "The French," he says, "have got our spinning machines for cotton, and, if they have as much of the spirit of manufacture and steadiness, they will be able from the lower price

of labour to undersell us." He adds that Rouen had been greatly injured by the superiority of Manchester goods, but that it was beginning to revive. "Two mills on Arkwright's principle," he states, "are now erecting in the neighbourhood of Rouen; they have already most of his machinery, and, lest capital should be wanting, government supplies to a considerable amount, and Mr Holker,* whose abilities this country so foolishly lost, is at the head of the manufacture with a considerable pension from the court of Versailles." † Spinning-machines were also, according to the same authority, set up in the neighbourhood of Lyons, and Saint-Fond, writing before the close of the century, states that such were erected in several departments, where they were constantly employed. Dr Ure gives, in the brief notice of the French cotton-manufacture in the preface to his 'Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain,' an account of the quantity of cotton-wool consumed in France in 1798 and several succeeding years, from which it appears that in the five years from 1798 to 1802 the quantity averaged 12,228,900 lbs. In 1798 it was 15,000,000 lbs., and in 1800 only 6,726,000 lbs. After many unsuccessful attempts, a spinning mill, the first set up in Saxony, was erected in 1799 at Schemnitz, by Messrs Barnard and Brothers, aided by an English mechanic ‡.

Respecting the linen manufacture very little need be said in this Book. The various acts enumerated in a previous page § for granting bounties on the exportation of cotton goods, for allowing drawbacks on articles used in their manufacture, and for imposing duties upon them, all apply in a similar manner to fabrics of linen, and these are all that need be noticed in the legislative history of the manufacture. The introduction of automatic machinery in almost every branch of the cotton-manufacture naturally led to experiments for the purpose of obtaining similar advantages in the production of other textile fabrics. The mechanical difficulties attending the spinning of flax by machinery were not, however, successfully met by any contrivance invented during this period. Saint-Fond, in his account of the manufactures of Perth, notices the perfection of the weaving process, to insure which he states that the manufacturers made use of a kind of small microscope for examining every piece of cloth. The wholesale dealers, as well as the manufacturers, made use of this instrument, which they seem to have desired to keep secret. Saint-Fond, however, pro-

* This is supposed to be the person to whom Saint-Fond refers as an intelligent Englishman who introduced cotton machinery into France and disputed the merit of the invention with Arkwright (Travels, vol. ii. p. 261, 262, note). Dr Ure states that the first attempt to introduce it in France on the factory construction was a male introduced thither from England in the year 1787, by M. de Lamoignon, minister of state. This machine he adds, and others made in its situation, were set to work at Rouen, Paris, St. Quentin, Lille, Arras, and also at Montpellier, which was the ancient seat of the household cotton trade. He further states that soon after it is permitted to be made to give in water twist at Louviers—Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. Preface, p. xxvii.

† Observations on the Manufactures of the Past and Present State of Ireland, pp. 203, 204, note.

‡ Ure, Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, i. Preface, xxxiv.

§ P. 699.

† Monist. mss. pp. 141, 152.

‡ Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, I. 136, 138.

cured *wool*, which he took to France, where they were soon multiplied. He notices an extraordinary loom for weaving very large bed-sheets in one piece, and speaks of the excellent quality of the table linen made at this place, of which he was glad to take some specimens to France by way of models or patterns for their imitation. In continuation of the statements in the preceding Book,* it may be stated that the quantity of linen-cloth stamped for sale in Scotland, as shown by a table in Macpherson,† advanced moderately and with tolerable regularity from 17,275,075 yards in 1785 to 24,235,633 yards in 1800, the value increasing in the same time from 835,081/ to 1,047,598/. This is, it should be remembered, exclusive of the quantity made in families for domestic use, which Macpherson conceives must have amounted to several millions of yards annually. Lord Sheffield laments that the quantity of linen made in England and Ireland was not ascertained and made public, as was done with regard to that made in Scotland, and the absence of such data compelled Macpherson to rest his estimate of the English linen manufacture upon mere conjecture. The former authority, in 1785 states that this branch of English manufacture was said to be nearly equal to that of both Ireland and Scotland, but Macpherson, under the year 1800, remarks that, as it was an object of subordinate importance, the annual amount was probably rather under 1,000,000/ or less than that of Scotland alone. In the account of the linen manufacture given in Lord Sheffield's work on Irish manufactures and trade it is observed that, not a great many years before it was published, linen yarn was sent from the British dominions to be wove in Holland. "It was," says his lordship, "common to send cloth to be bleached there, and it is not long since the better sort of the people of this island wore Dutch Holland for shirts: this is now nearly at an end, yet the value of foreign linens, exclusive of Irish, imported into England, exceeds that of any other foreign manufacture." The value of the imports of foreign linens was computed to be, at the time Lord Sheffield wrote, about 1,000,000/, that of the imports from Ireland, on an average of four years ending March, 1788, was nearly 1,500,000/, and the amount brought from Scotland was supposed to be near 500,000/. Of these quantities there were re-exported to the value of 400,000/ annually, one-half of which was said to consist of foreign goods‡.

In the history of the still highly important wool-lin manufacture, the first circumstance to be noticed in this period is the deterioration which appears to have taken place in the quality of British wool. Macpherson, in some remarks upon this subject under the year 1790, after quoting many authorities, to which it is unnecessary to refer more particularly, to show the pre-eminence formerly ac-

corded to English wool, adds, "As it thus plainly appears that Spanish wool has not attained the superiority over other European wools till lately,* and that British wool was universally esteemed the very best in Europe as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, it may be asked, what has now become of the breed of the sheep which produced wool of such superior quality?" The answer, he holds, must be that they have degenerated, a circumstance which, according to the opinion of some who had studied the subject, was in some degree occasioned by the enactment of laws to prevent the exportation of wool—laws intended to benefit the manufacturer, but which had had the effect of turning the attention of farmers rather to increasing the weight of the carcase than to improving or maintaining the quality of the fleece, and had therefore led to the degeneracy of British wool, and the importation of foreign wool of finer quality. The subject was warmly taken up about this time by the Bath Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, by whom the respective merits of various breeds of sheep were compared, with a view to selecting the most advantageous. The Highland Society also directed their attention to the improvement of the fine wool produced by the ancient British breed of sheep, which remained common in the Shetland islands, where, however from ignorance or carelessness, the value of the finest wool was destroyed by mixing it with that of inferior quality. So deficient were the possessors of this *most precious wool*, as the best quality of that produced by Shetland sheep is styled, that, according to the report of a committee of the Highland Society, quoted by Macpherson, they worked up the finest along with the coarse wool of inferior sheep in knitting stockings, which they sold at from 3/ to 3s a-pair, while stockings composed entirely of the finest wool sold as high as two guineas a pair, whence it frequently happened that some of them contained as much fine wool as was worth more in a raw state than the price of the manufactured stockings†. The extreme jealousy felt on the subject of the exportation of wool is curiously illustrated by an act‡ passed in 1789, in consequence of the clamour of the wool-manufacturers, who alleged that not less than 13,000 packs of wool were clandestinely exported every year to the Continent, and demanded more rigorous laws against the smuggling of that article. Macpherson states§ that Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Arthur Young proved that the exportation was much less than the manufacturers asserted, but the latter parties gained their object, and the most stringent regulations, enforced by penalties and imprisonment, were enacted against exportation. Even the carriage of wool, not only from one British port to another, but

* In a note on the above passage, it is observed that the Spaniards ascribed the improvement of their wool to a stock of rams obtained from the Arabs by Cardinal Ximenes, early in the sixteenth century.

† *Annals of Commerce* ii. 204 206

‡ 28 Geo. III. c. 38

§ *Annals of Commerce* ii. 172

* Vol. i. p. 595

† *Annals of Commerce* i. 557

‡ *Observations* pp. 80 81

also from place to place upon the land, was guarded by a multitude of restrictions, and the operation of sheep shearing was not to be carried on at any place within five miles of the sea, excepting under the superintendence of a revenue officer. On the other hand, the importation of Spanish wool was encouraged by an act of 1799,* permitting its importation from any place *à l'étranger*, in vessels belonging to any neutral country, notwithstanding the provisions of a previous act for preventing trade and intercourse with countries in a state of hostility with Britain, in consequence of which act a supply of Spanish wool was maintained, chiefly from Hamburg. From a return presented to parliament in the above year, it appears that the average imports of Spanish wool, in four quinquennial periods ending respectively on the 5th of January, 1776, 1787, 1792, and 1799, had been 1,578,605 lbs., 1,975,327 lbs., 3,174,429 lbs., and 3,800,583 lbs. annually. This extensive demand for Spanish wool led to attempts to naturalize the Merino sheep from which it was obtained in this country, and also to improve the British breeds by crossing them with the Merino. The king had, for several years, kept a flock of these sheep with great care, and with such success as to obtain a considerable quantity of wool equal in quality to any imported Spanish wool. The manufacturers, however, apprehending that the Merino wool must necessarily degenerate in this country, were unwilling to offer an adequate price for it, in consequence of which the king was obliged, for some years, to have it manufactured into cloth at his own expense, and in 1796 and the succeeding years the wool was offered for sale at any price which the manufacturers would give, in order that their prejudices might be removed by practical experience of its superiority. His majesty also presented one hundred Merino rams, and many ewes, to different persons, and, to render the introduction of this valuable breed of sheep still more general, he ordered many to be publicly sold. Macpherson, after relating these circumstances, states that the introduction of the Spanish breed of sheep had been an object of the attention of the government of France for about thirty years at the close of the eighteenth century, and that the sheep and wool were annually sold by auction †.

In the mechanical processes of the woollen manufacture, the principal improvement that calls for notice under this period is the invention, by Mr (afterwards Dr.) Cartwright, whose experiments in power-loom weaving have been noticed elsewhere, of machinery for combing wool, for which he obtained three patents in the years 1790 and 1792. By this invention one man and five or six children, attending the machine, were enabled to do as much work as thirty men could do in the old way, and in a memorial read to the Society of Arts in 1800 the inventor stated that his machinery had already effected a saving of 40,000† a year to the manu-

facturers, which would probably ere long be greatly increased*. Macpherson also mentions machinery for the same purpose, to be worked by water, patented by Mr William Toplis, in 1794, by which the work was performed in a superior manner, and the interest of the manufacture was greatly promoted. The introduction of such machinery was warmly opposed by the wool-combers, whose opposition, however, proved fruitless, but, in 1795 an Act† was passed to relieve them, by allowing them to take up and exercise any other trade, without any obstruction from a statute of the time of Elizabeth, which prohibited the exercise of certain occupations to persons who had not been regularly apprenticed to them. Cartwright's invention for a long time failed to bring a suitable return to him, as his machinery was by some pirated and worked in secret, and by others openly imitated, and even patented, with mere variations, but in the spring of 1800 his patent right was established by a decision of the Court of Common Pleas, which awarded him damages from a party that had infringed it, to the amount of 1000£. The seventh volume of the 'Transactions' of the Society of Arts contains several letters respecting attempts making about the year 1787 to spin wool much finer than was commonly done, but the experiments appear to have been upon the smallest scale.

An interesting account of the Welsh woollen manufacture towards the close of this period is given, on the authority of a friend well acquainted with the subject, in Aikin's 'Journal of a Tour through North Wales and part of Shropshire, &c.' from which it appears that the articles manufactured were webs, flannels, stockings, wigs, gloves, and socks. The webs called *strong cloth*, or *high-country cloth*, were made in Merionethshire, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Dolgellu or Dolgellau and Machynlleth, at which latter place, the writer remarks, 'a manufactory on a small scale has lately been established, a circumstance only worth notice as marking the commencement of a change in preparing the wool, which will probably soon become general.' "Almost every little farmer," he adds, "makes webs, and few cottages in these parts are without a loom, all kinds of wool are used indiscriminately, and a considerable quantity of refuse from the wool-staplers and skinners is collected from all quarters for this purpose." *Small cloth*, or *low country cloth* was made in Denbighshire, solely within the parish of the Glynn, a large tract of country including Llangollen and Corwen. It appears to have remained a purely domestic manufacture, for we are informed that there was no established factory for it. Flannels, however, constituted the most important

* As we find no notice of this memorial in the Society's Transactions the above and most of the other statements on this subject of wool combing are taken from Macpherson vol iv pp 391 399 and 300. The remaining particulars are from the memoir of Cartwright in the Public Characters of 1800 1801 11 414 415.

† 35 Geo III c 174.
2 Ed 58 64. This too it should be remembered was published in 1797.

* 35 Geo III c 98

† Annals of Commerce 11 524 525

of the Welsh manufactures. They were chiefly produced in Montgomeryshire, but not confined to that county, being made in various places within a circle of about twenty miles round Welshpool. In this, as in other departments of the woollen manufacture, the factory system had made so little progress, that there was but one flannel manufactory of any note in Wales. This establishment, which had existed about seven years, was at Dolobran, near Pool, and was said to be a parish concern. There were a few other infant factories at Newtown, Machynlleth, and other places, but they were of little importance. In Shropshire, where also the flannel manufacture was carried on, the greater wealth of those engaged in it had led to the more general introduction of machinery instead of manual labour. "Several individuals in Shrewsbury and its neighbourhood," observes our authority, "employ themselves successfully in this business, but by far the greatest undertaking of the kind is a factory about four or five miles from Shrewsbury, at a place called the Isle, belonging to Messrs Cooke and Mason, and erected three years ago." The machinery was impelled by water-power derived from the river Severn. It is remarked that the increasing demand for Welsh woollens, and the competition existing among the drapers of Shrewsbury, placed the Welsh manufacturers in a very advantageous position, since they had been enabled to raise the prices of their goods, for which they could always command ready money, while they were in a great measure saved from the trouble and expense of distributing them to the English markets. The scanty population of the manufacturing districts, and the possession of numerous streams admirably adapted for impelling the machinery of water-mills, are urged as indicative of the advantages to be derived from the use of mechanical in aid of manual labour, and in conclusion it is observed—"With the general adoption of machines the manufacturers will become large capitalists, as is already the case in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the influx of money will enable the farmers to improve their breed of sheep and bestow some culture on the extensive mountainous tracts that, as yet, have been committed to the care of nature alone. The present infant factories contain the rudiments of future prosperity, one successful effort will produce many other vigorous exertions, the manufacturers, become rich, will not abandon to the English drapers the advantages of preparing their rough goods for the foreign and domestic markets, nor to the London and Liverpool merchants the profits of exporting them, and, though one attempt to erect Barmouth into a magazine for supplying foreign markets with Welsh manufactures has failed, a second may succeed, and thus the whole profits of an extensive national concern will circulate through, and invigorate, every part of the province where it originates."

The manufacture of woollen cloths in the West Riding of Yorkshire, as shown by a table given

by Macpherson,* went on steadily increasing from 1785 to the close of the century, the quantity milled at the fulling-mills in that district having been, in 1785, 157,275 pieces, containing 4,844,855 yards of broad, and 116,036 pieces, containing 3,409,178 yards of narrow cloth, in 1790, 172,588 pieces, or 5,151,677 yards of broad, and 140,407 pieces, or 4,82,122 yards of narrow cloth, in 1795, 250,993 pieces, or 7,759,907 yards of broad, and 155,087 pieces, or 5,172,111 yards of narrow cloth, and in 1800, 285,851 pieces, containing 9,263,966 yards of broad, and 169,262 pieces, containing 6,014,420 yards of narrow cloth. Kerseymeres, which had become an article of considerable importance, are not included in the account from which the preceding figures are obtained. Since there do not exist any regular official accounts of other branches of the woollen manufacture, the various estimates which have been made respecting it necessarily rest in some degree upon conjugal data, and must therefore be received with caution. Macpherson appends to the statement just quoted some calculations founded upon evidence laid before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1800, from which it would appear that 72,734 packs of wool, of 240 lbs each, of the average value of 11/ per pack, or 800 074/ in the whole, had been in the preceding year manufactured in the above district into 272,735 pieces of broad cloth, of the value of 3,795 157/, an estimate which makes the average value more than 13/ 18s per piece, which Macpherson thinks must be too high, unless the proportion of fine goods was greater than can be reasonably supposed, while the narrow cloth manufacture had consumed 30,028 packs, averaging 14/ each, making the total value of the raw material used in this branch 420,392/, and the value of the cloth produced was 1,061,008/, or 6/ per piece on an average,—the number of pieces produced being 180,166†. Thus the total value of the broad and narrow cloth was 4,876,165/, while that of the blankets and other goods, apparently including kerseymeres, was supposed to exceed 1,600,000/, and that of the stuffs and worsted goods was estimated at 1,400,000/, making the whole woollen manufacture of the West Riding of Yorkshire amount to 7,876 165/. Some of the same parties who furnished the data for the above calculations estimated the annual quantity of wool produced in the kingdom at 600,000 packs, which, at the medium value of 11/ per pack, would amount to 6,600,000/. The increase of value given by the manufacture varied from two to nine fold, but, assuming the average increase to have been three-fold, the total value of the woollen

* Annals of Commerce vol. 1. 525.

† As the number of yards of broad cloth was 8,654,888, and of narrow cloth 6,377,716 average price per yard for the former appears to have been about 8s 7d and for the latter rather more than 8s 4d prices which may appear too low but which are corroborated by the evidence of Mr. Goss a manufacturer and merchant of Leeds who stated on the above occasion that the average price of the broad cloth exported to Ireland was about 6s 8d per yard and of the narrow cloth about 8s 4d per yard. The width of the former was from 48 to 68 inches and of the latter from 27 to 33 inches.

manufactures of the kingdom would have been about 19,800,000/. One manufacturer stated, on this occasion, that the introduction of machinery had so greatly abridged labour in the various processes which precede weaving, that thirty-five persons were able to perform in 1800 as much work as would in 1785 have required 1634 persons, or, in other words, that by the mechanism introduced within the preceding fifteen years one person could perform more than *forty* six could have done previously. The capital invested in machinery and buildings appropriated to the woollen manufacture was, by the same authorities, estimated at about 6,000,000/ and the total number of persons employed in it, of all ages and of both sexes, was supposed to be about 3,000,000, but the latter of these calculations, at least, was probably much too high. Macpherson states that other estimates made the number of persons employed only 1,000,000, or 1,500,000*. The foreign demand for British woollen manufactures increased on the whole, though it suffered considerable fluctuations, during this period. According to an official return of exports of woollen goods for the ten years from 1790 to 1799, the value in the first of those years was 5,190,637/, and in the last 6,876,939/, but in 1793 it was as low as 3,806,536/†. Of the quantity just mentioned as exported in 1799, goods to the value of 2,803,490/ were sent to the United States, 916,190/ to Ireland, 668,161/ to the East Indies, 569,788/ to Portugal and Madeira, 552,726/ to the West Indies, 427,053/ to Germany, 324,739/ to the British colonies in North America, 259,683/ to Africa, and smaller quantities to various other places‡. Macpherson states that the foreign demand for British woollen goods had, by the end of the century, extended beyond the power of the country to supply it, and that many more orders had been sent to the manufacturers than they could find wool to execute, and he ascribes the increased demand partly to the failure of some manufactures on the continent, in consequence of the convulsions of war, and partly to the augmentation of the military establishments of every country in Europe. The deficiency of wool he conceives to arise from the increase of inclosures for the growth of corn to supply an increased population, and to meet the unprecedented consumption in the army and navy §.

The first circumstance to be noticed in the history of the silk manufacture during the period embraced in this Book is the change effected in the supply of raw silk by the agency of the East India Company. Mr Robert Wissett, a gentleman in the Company's service, to whose exertions

this change was mainly to be attributed, observes, in a letter to the Society of Arts, in 1795, that, although the British silk manufactures had been established in full vigour for more than a century, our sole dependence for the raw material had, till within the last twenty years, been entirely placed upon foreign powers, "and indeed," he says, "notwithstanding the great exertions that have been recently made by the East India Company, it will be seen that, even at the present period, we are obliged to have recourse to Italy and other parts of the continent for not less than 800,000 lbs weight of this commodity, at an expense of upwards of 1,000,000/ sterling per annum, one-half of which is imported in a thrown state that is, having undergone the preparatory operation of twisting, to render it more fit for the use of the weaver in the article of warp." Mr Wissett had satisfied himself that the culture of silk in Bengal might be considerably extended, and also that Bengal raw silk might be advantageously thrown in this country, so as to supersede the necessity for a considerable portion of that imported from Italy, he had therefore recommended the subject to the attention of his employers, and the experiments made down to the date of his letter had, he states, fully established the practicability of the measure*. In order to illustrate this point it may be well to state, on the authority of Mr. Porter's treatise on the Silk Manufacture, that the production of raw silk in Bengal, for the purpose of exportation, was of very trifling amount until the middle of the eighteenth century, and that the quality of the silk so produced was, in a great measure, owing to the imperfect manner in which it was wound, so inferior, that it obtained a price equal to only one-third or one-half the price of Italian silk. The total quantity received from India and China in 1750 was only 43,876 lbs, but soon after that period the East India Company endeavoured to increase the production, and in 1772, in order to improve the quality of Bengal silk, and to render it acceptable to the English manufacturer, they sent out proper machinery for winding silk upon the Italian system, and competent persons to superintend the operation. Owing to unfavourable circumstances, no material advantage was derived from this measure for the first few years, but the importation from Bengal, which in 1773 was only 145,777 lbs, rose to 515,913 lbs in 1776, and averaged 560,283 lbs in the ten years from 1776 to 1785†. The amount produced by the sale of this silk was, in the ten years 3,449,757/, but there was a loss upon the sale every year, which, in the whole of that period, amounted to 884,744/. In the next seven years, 1786 to 1792, the average annual quantity fell to 319,832 lbs, but the trade was conducted with

* Annals of Commerce, i. 526.

† The value in above appears to be the official value which it should be borne in mind, is calculated at a fixed rate, irrespective of the real selling price. It is returned for the tariff information only, as to the increase or decrease of quantities exported.

‡ In Adam Walker's notice of the woollen manufactures of Scotland in the Tour frequently quoted in this chapter the weaving of blankets for the North American Indians is mentioned. They, as well as some other fibres, were made from the same wool procured from the neighbouring mountains.—Rem: his made upon a Tour, &c. p. 113.

§ Annals of Commerce, i. 489, 526, 527.

* Transcript of a letter to the Society of Arts, xiv. 387-389.

† Macpherson in notice, p. 13, states in his Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. pt. 290, 291 states that there was in the silk trade a great pound of twenty-four ounces and a small pound of sixteen ounces; but that in the table which is given from which the figures in the text are taken, all the quantities are given in pounds of sixteen ounces.

some profit, the sum cleared by the Company being £17,450/ out of a total receipt of 1,755,08½. It happened unfortunately for the silk trade, that, about the same time that the natives of Bengal were extending their mulberry plantations for the rearing of silk-worms, and adopting the Italian mode of filature to improve the quality of their silks, the astonishing increase of the British cotton manufacture occasioned such a falling off in the demand for silk goods, that, in the year 1793, about 18,000 persons in and near Spitalfields were deprived of their accustomed employment,* and the silk-throwing or twisting-mills in this country were rendered in a great measure useless. Down to that time the English throwing mills had been chiefly employed in the production of the simpler kinds of silk called *singles* and *tram*, the former of which is simply raw silk twisted to give it firmness, while the latter is a compound thread formed of two or more threads of raw silk twisted together, and commonly used for the web or shoot of woven goods, and the quantity of *organzine*, or silk thread suitable for the warp, made in this country was not more than about 50,000 lbs annually, or less than one-eighth of the quantity imported, which came chiefly from Italy, although in the years 1779 to 1783 it was, for the most part, brought by a circuitous route, so that it appears in the Custom house accounts as from Ostend, Flan ders, &c. All these circumstances combined led to the accumulation, in the warehouses of the East India Company, of a great quantity of Bengal silk, and determined the directors to devise measures for bringing it into more general use, by having a portion of it converted into organzine in this country, a scheme which the English throwers were willing to encourage, because it promised them more regular employment. The merchants interested in the importation of Italian organzine raised a great clamour against what they styled "the attempt of the East India Company to become manufacturers in Great Britain," but, though for a time they succeeded in inducing some of the manufacturers to join in their opposition, it soon became evident that the result of the measures must be beneficial in rendering us independent of foreigners for supplies of organzine, and in providing increased employment for native capital and labour. After a sufficient trial, some of the principal silk manufacturers addressed a letter to the directors of the East India Company, in February, 1796, requesting them to persevere in throwing their silk, as a measure which would lower the price of the raw material, and protect them against the fluctuations of price which were so frequent and distressing in their trade. The result of this important step was a great extension of the silk trade of the company, and a considerable improvement in the quality of their imports, and Mac-

pherson observes, that "every pound of silk imported from Bengal may be esteemed, in respect to the balance of trade, and considering Bengal a British territory, a saving of 20s., and every pound of silk organized in this country, as a further saving of 7s. to the British dominions."† The change actually effected in the supply of raw silk was not, however, so great as might be expected within this period, for it appears, by a parliamentary return made in 1799, that in the several periods of five years each, ending respectively on the 5th of January, 1776, 1787, 1792, and 1799, the average annual imports of thrown silk were 361,359 lbs., 369,303 lbs., 398,519 lbs., and 342,201 lbs., while the imports of raw silk from Bengal were 182,581 lbs., 486,848 lbs., 350,003 lbs., and 291,647 lbs. respectively. In the same periods the imports from China were 160,265 lbs., 189,835 lbs., 190,452 lbs., and 93,198 lbs., and those from Italy and Turkey were 197,621 lbs., 167,285 lbs., 242,729 lbs., and 135,789 lbs. respectively. The continued dependence of this country upon Italy for organized silk is also indicated by the repeated renewal of an act originally passed in 1795,‡ to allow its importation by any person, and in any vessels belonging to friendly states. No *tram* silk was to be admitted under the provisions of this act, nor any organzine above a certain size, and the thrown silks of Turkey, Persia, the East Indies, and China were also excluded. Many other acts were passed during this period with reference to the silk manufacture, chiefly for the purpose of more rigidly enforcing the exclusion of foreign manufactured silks, and encouraging the home manufacture. Whatever might have been the effect, for a time, of the exclusive system which was so long persisted in, in fostering the silk manufacture of this country, the advantages expected from it were, as observed by Mr McCulloch, "effectually countervailed by the turbulent proceedings of the workmen, who succeeded, in 1773, in obtaining from the legislature an act which, by itself, was quite sufficient to have destroyed even a prosperous trade." This act, which is commonly called the Spitalfields Act, empowered the weavers of Middlesex to demand a certain rate of wages, to be determined by the magistrates at quarter sessions, without regard to the power of the masters to pay it, "and," to adopt the language of the writer just quoted, "while both masters and men were restricted from giving or receiving more or less than the fixed price, the manufacturers were liable in heavy penalties if they employed weavers out of the district." Mr McCulloch adds "The monopoly which the manufacturers had hitherto enjoyed, though incomplete, had had sufficient influence to render inventions and discoveries of comparatively rare occur-

* It is stated that 4000 looms were standing idle which gave employment when in full work to the above number of persons more than half of whom were women and children. Many of these being accustomed to similar employment, could easily turn their hands to throwing silk.—Macpherson *Annals* iv 290 note

† Porter's *Treatise on the Origin, Progressive Improvement and Present State of the Silk Manufacture in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia* pp 70-72 Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* iv 290 291 and 270 and History of the European Commerce with India pp 222 223
‡ 25 Geo III c 100
‡ 18 Geo III c 68

rence in the silk trade, but the Spitalfields Act extinguished every germ of improvement. Parliament, in its wisdom, having seen fit to enact that a manufacturer should be obliged to pay as much for work done by the best machinery as if it were done by hand, it would have been folly to have thought of attempting anything new." While, however, this act proved ruinous to the parties for whose protection it was enacted, and continued in force for about half a century, by driving the most valuable branches of the manufacture from Spitalfields to places where the rate of wages was determined by competition, its operation was beneficial to other manufacturing districts, and contributed to the growing prosperity of Macclesfield, Manchester, Norwich, Paisley, &c.* In 1792 an act† was passed, to extend the provisions of this mischievous statute to fabrics of silk mixed with other materials, as well as to goods consisting wholly of silk. The injurious effects of this attempt to compel the payment of an unnatural rate of wages were not immediately evident, but they appeared in full force during the competition between silk and cotton goods at the commencement of this period. The great number of hands thrown out of employment about 1793 has been already alluded to, and, although the manufacture experienced some revival before the close of the century, the weavers of Spitalfields have since suffered even more severely from the same cause.

In Lord Sheffield's account of the manufactures of Ireland at the commencement of this period, it is observed that the Irish silk manufactures were by no means to be despised, and the case of Paisley is referred to, to show that "a rich country in possession of a manufacture, of skill, and of industry cannot always maintain herself against a poor country." It had not it is stated, appeared probable twenty-five years previously that Paisley could ever arrive at any formidable competition with Spitalfields, yet, about 1785, gauzes were made at Paisley to the annual value of near 400,000/, while very few were made at Spitalfields, and, as Paisley afforded her gauzes cheaper than any other part of the world, France and the whole of Europe were supplied from that place. According to Lord Sheffield, many of the silk manufactures of Ireland were excellent, her white damasks and lutestrings were very good, her silk pocket-handkerchiefs, "at least as good as any," her mixed fabrics were beautiful, her colours superior to those of England, and her tabinets and poplins were well known and admired every where. It was computed that there were 1500 silk manufacturers in Dublin, but, though the manufacture was increasing, the importation of manufactured silks, chiefly from Britain, was also on the increase‡.

Among the numerous indications of advance in the skill of our manufacturers of textile fabrics is

a communication to the Society of Arts in 1791, respecting a manufacture then recently introduced by Mr Philip James Knights, of Norwich, in imitation of East India shawl-counterpanes. "He has," observes a correspondent of the Society, "brought the manufacture to so great perfection in shawls, waistcoat shapes, &c., that they can hardly be distinguished from Indian, though they can be afforded at one-twentieth part of the price usually given for the same articles that are brought from India." A counterpane was laid before the Society woven in one piece, four yards square, while nothing of equal fineness had been previously made in this country more than a yard and a half wide. Though it might be sold for 20/, it is described as equal in beauty, and superior in strength, to India counterpanes which sold as high as two hundred guineas. The principal consumption of this cloth was for ladies' train-dresses, and for long scarfs in imitation of those of India, which were sold at from 60/ to 80/, while those made by Mr Knights were sold for as many shillings*.

The stocking manufacture is one of the many branches of industry which experienced great change and extension through the introduction of Arkwright's cotton machinery. In a notice of the manufactures of Nottingham, the principal seat of the hosiery trade, in the 'Commercial Gazetteer,' appended to his 'Annals of Commerce,' Macpherson observes that thread-stockings, which were formerly in great demand, especially for the West Indies, had been quite neglected since cotton yarn had been brought to a moderate price. The stocking manufacture was spread over the adjacent country, and into the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester, but most of the finer silk and cotton goods were made at Nottingham. The manufacture was, as it still remains, in a great measure a domestic one, the master manufacturers giving out yarn, whether of wool, cotton, or silk, to the workmen, and receiving back the finished work, weight for weight, which they kept in the rough until orders arrived from their customers. At Aberdeen, according to the same authority, knitted stockings were manufactured to the value of more than 100,000/ annually, of which about two thirds were exported to Holland and Germany, and the remainder were sent to England, Portugal, and America. At Banff, also, stockings were made to a considerable extent. Formerly the principal manufacture of the town was thread for stockings, which was sent to Nottingham and Leicester to be manufactured, but, since the decline of that branch of trade, the Messrs Robinson, of Banff, had patented an improved stocking-frame, and had introduced the manufacture in silk, cotton, and worsted, in addition to the spinning and throwing formerly carried on there. They employed 560 persons, and supplied chiefly the London market.

The passing of certain acts of parliament affecting the arts of bleaching and calico printing has been mentioned in our notice of the legislative

* Dictionary of Commerce art. 'Silk'

† 3 Geo III c. 44.

‡ Observations on the Manufact res. &c. of Ireland pp. 194, 196.

* Transactions of the Society of Arts n. 350-359.

history of the cotton manufacture during this period, but we have still to notice a few other particulars respecting those arts. In bleaching, a change was effected by the application of chemical science, so great as to be comparable only to the revolution produced about the same time in other departments of manufacturing industry by the application of mechanical science. As performed in the middle of the eighteenth century, down to which time the process had undergone little change, the operation of bleaching occupied six or eight months, and consisted in alternately steeping the cloth in alkaline ley, washing it clean, and spreading it upon grass for several weeks at a time. The art was, moreover, so imperfectly understood in this country, that nearly all the linens manufactured in Scotland were sent to Holland to be bleached in the fields in the neighbourhood of Haarlem. The application of diluted sulphuric acid, in lieu of the weaker acid of sour milk, in a part of the process, saved so much time as to reduce the whole operation of bleaching from eight months to four, the sulphuric acid being as effectual in one day as the sour milk in six or eight weeks. This improvement was introduced by Dr Home, of Edinburgh, about the middle of the century. It was, however, eclipsed a few years later by the application of *chlorine* or *oxymuriatic acid*. This acid, which was originally called *dephlogisticated marine acid*, was discovered about 1774, by Scheele, a celebrated Swedish chemist, who observed its property of destroying vegetable colours from its effect upon the cork of a phial in which some was kept. Berthollet, in France, conceived the idea of applying it to the art of bleaching, and, after making some successful experiments, he read a paper on the subject before the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, in the year 1785. In the following year Watt visited France on business connected with the application of the steam-engine to hydraulic works and on his return he introduced the new process with some improvements of his own at the bleach works of his father-in-law, Mr Macgregor, near Glasgow. About the same time Mr Thomas Henry of Manchester, guided solely by Berthollet's paper, which was published in the 'Journal de Physique,' was actively engaged on the same subject. These gentlemen appear to have unreservedly communicated to each other the progress of their experiments, and to them may be attributed the introduction into the neighbourhood of Glasgow by the one, and into Lancashire by the other, of a process by which, it has been remarked, "bleaching is as well performed in a few hours, and in the

space of a hundred yards square, as on the old process would have occupied weeks of exposure upon a hundred acres of land."* Without this wonderful saving of time and capital, observes Mr Baines, the quantity of cotton goods now manufactured could scarcely have been bleached. Mr Tennant, of Glasgow, as well as Mr Henry, employed lime with the oxymuriatic acid, to remove its noxious smell, and took out two patents, in 1798 and 1799, for improvements connected with the process. The first of these was set aside in 1802, but the second was not contested, and, under it, Mr Tennant established an extensive manufacture of chloride of lime, now commonly called bleaching-powder.

Improvements in the art of dyeing, and in the modes of obtaining a supply of materials, occupied much of the attention of the early members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, who, prior to the publication of their first volume of 'Transactions,' in 1783, had expended upwards of 1500*l*. in promoting the culture and preparation of madder in this kingdom, the foreign growers and importers having, on the supposition that it could not be produced in England, raised that necessary article to an exorbitant price. English madder was, in consequence of these exertions, produced of quality equal to the foreign, and, though experience has shown that it cannot be cultivated so cheaply as to compete with the foreign, the effect of the experiment was to reduce the price of that procured from Holland and other countries, the growers having been convinced that we could raise any quantity, and of the best kind, whenever the price should rise to an amount sufficient to engage the attention of British husbandmen, and thus an important saving was effected for those engaged in dyeing and calico printing. The dyeing or colouring of leather in the Oriental manner was an object promoted by the Society, who reported at the same time that a manufacture of considerable extent was established in England, where coloured leathers were prepared superior to those imported, and that considerable quantities had been exported to foreign markets. The art of dyeing cottons of the colour known as Turkey red had been, they further state, formerly unknown in these kingdoms, but, by the attention of manufacturers to the premiums offered for its discovery, it could then (in 1783) be done of as beautiful and lasting a colour as that imported

* Arago states in his Eloge of Watt that Berthollet persevered in refusing to become a partner with Watt in the undertaking on which standing his sole business and the only certainty of his living large profits. This observation is true, but Mr Watt's note on p. 116 no doubt is the point at which it would strike abstract men of science such as Berthollet and Arago, but in the manufacturing country we well know that the novelty and ingenuity of a process are not themselves sufficient to insure a beneficial result, and indeed in the case of the very process in question it happened that the first manufacturers who attempted to carry it into effect on a large scale, were ruined by it.

* Penny Cyclopædia, art. Bleaching from which, and from Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture pp. 246-249, the materials of the above notice are chiefly derived. Mr Baines carries on an illustration of the facility of the modern process that it is decided that a fleisher in Lancashire received 1400 pieces of muslin on a Tuesday which on the Thursday immediately following were returned to the manufacturers at the distance of sixteen miles and were packed up and sent off on that very day to a foreign market. It has been narrated to the writer as an amusing fact that a celebrated Scotch clergyman, Mr Living, took an opportunity during the infancy of the modern system to remove some of the secret from the bleach ground of one of his humble countrywomen and having bleached it by the new chemical process returned it to her like any other of the goods. The consternation of the good wife on discovering the supposed loss of her cloth was thus out of all proportion to the real loss, as she was thus out of all proportionally short a time as to leave her no explanation of the mysterious disappearance of the cloth.

from the Levant* Macpherson, however, gives a somewhat different account, for he states that the art of producing that beautiful colour upon cotton was introduced in 1785 in Glasgow, by Mr Charles Mackintosh, by means of an artist from Rouen "It was soon," he says, "brought to such perfection, that cotton pulicate handkerchiefs were dyed with colours equal in beauty and fastness to those of India, and in five or six years thereafter 1500 looms were employed in that one article" He adds, that, though Glasgow claimed the honour of being the first place in Great Britain to acquire the art, it was disputed by Manchester in favour of the Messrs Borell, who obtained a premium of 2500/ from parliament as the introducers of the art, and also that it is certain that Mr Wilson, an eminent dyer of that town, obtained from the Greek dyers of Smyrna the secret of this curious dye, which he applied chiefly upon velvets and velvetees, but Macpherson did not know when Wilson began to practise the art †

The old method of calico-printing, which is still continued for certain descriptions of work, was by means of engraved blocks of sycamore, which, being only about ten inches long and five wide, had to be applied many times in order to print a piece of cloth. The back of the block was furnished with a handle by which it was applied alternately to a piece of woollen cloth saturated with the colour, and to the calico to be printed, and the necessary degree of pressure was applied by striking it with a mallet. One colour only was printed at once, and when others were necessary to complete the pattern, the operation was repeated with different blocks. "In order to produce more delicate patterns than could be engraved on wood," Mr Baines states that "copper plates were introduced in the neighbourhood of London, and the cloth was thus printed from flat plates with the kind of press used in copper plate printing" "Each of these modes" he adds, "was tedious, as no more of the cloth could be printed at once than was covered with the wooden block or copper-plate, and a single piece of calico, twenty-eight yards in length, required the application of the block 448 times" The important invention now to be noticed is the printing from copper cylinders, several feet long (according to the width of the cloth to be printed), and three or four inches in diameter, engraved with a pattern along their whole length, and round the whole of their circumference. This method, as the writer quoted above justly observes, "bears nearly the same relation in point of despatch to block-printing by hand as throstle or mule-spinning bears to spinning by the one thread wheel" The engraved cylinder is mounted horizontally in a machine which contains apparatus for charging it with colour, and for conducting the calico or muslin to be printed over its surface to receive the impres-

sion, and then over heated boxes by which it is dried, so that by one continuous operation a piece of cloth may be printed and dried in one or two minutes. Further than this, two, three, four, or even five cylinders may be mounted in the same machine, each bearing a certain part of the pattern to be produced, and printing the cloth successively in as many different colours, so that one passage through the machine may produce the same effect as 448, 596, 1344, 1792, or 2240 applications of the hand-blocks, according as one, two, three, four, or five cylinders may be employed, and one cylinder printing machine, attended by a man and a boy, is capable of producing as much work as could be turned out by one hundred printers, with as many boys to assist them, on the old plan. Mr Baines states that, in consequence of the great facilities thus afforded, three-fourths of the prints executed in this country are printed by the cylinder machine. "This great invention," he adds, "is said to have been made by a Scotchman of the name of Bell, and it was first successfully applied in Lancashire, about the year 1785, at Mosney, near Preston, by the house of Liversay, Hargreaves, Hall, and Co, celebrated for the extent of their concerns, and the magnitude of their failure in 1788, which gave a severe shock to the industry of that part of the country"*. In 1787 an act † was passed to encourage the art of calico printing by granting to the proprietors of original patterns or designs for printing on calicoes, muslins, and linens, an exclusive right to them for two months after the day of publication. This act was for a limited period only, but it was renewed in 1789, and in 1794 the term of copyright was extended to three months from the day of publication, and the operation of the act was rendered permanent ‡. From returns given in Macpherson's 'Annals,' § it appears that in the year 1800, 28,692,790 yards of British calicoes and muslins were printed in England and Wales and 4,176,939 yards in Scotland, the duty on which amounted to 479,350/ 4s 3½d, and, as he states that, in an estimate laid before the House of Commons, the duty was assumed to be one-tenth of the value, it would appear that the value of the goods produced was about 4,793,500/. In the same year 3,232,073 yards of linsens and stuffs were printed in England and Wales, and 1,220,714 yards in Scotland, and the quantities of foreign calicoes and muslins printed in the same divisions of the kingdom were 1,577,536 and 78,868 yards, respectively, the duty upon these being 71 per yard, or double what was charged upon goods of British manufacture ||.

In concluding this Chapter, several arts and manufactures which have not appeared to require

* Hist. of the Cotton Manufacture p. 264 266

† 2 Geo. III. c. 18

‡ 34 Geo. III. c. 19 and 34 Geo. III. c. 23

§ Vol. 1. p. 628 630

|| It may be worth noting that in 1823 Lord Sheffield observed that the value of printed cottons in this country was less than the British, though not in general so handsome. Observations on the Manufactures of Ireland p. 204 note

* Transactions, vol. 1. p. 49 18 19.

† Annals of Commerce, iv 96

distinct notice may be briefly adverted to, as illustrating the very general influence of the spirit of improvement by which the national industry was distinguished in the reign of George III, and the feeling entertained all over the world of the superiority belonging to the productions of the British empire.

Although our leather manufactures be a branch of industry in which, until recently, fewer changes were made than in almost any other of equal importance, both Brissot and Saint-Fond attribute the highest qualities to the productions of British tanners. The former writer speaks of English leather-work of all kinds as possessing a neatness, a "seducing appearance," which the French had not yet approached, and he assigns as a reason for this excellence the wealth and high respectability of English tanners generally, which enabled them always to allow their leather a sufficient time for undergoing the tedious operations of the tannery to the greatest advantage, while the poorer tanners of France were continually pressed by necessity to hurry over their operations, at the expense of the quality of their leather.* Saint-Fond refers to the same circumstances in explanation of the high reputation of British leather, and he mentions particularly the excellence of the kind known as Turkey leather, a manufacture of which, in the neighbourhood of London, he was allowed to inspect† Some attempts were made before the close of the eighteenth century to expedite the process of tanning by the use of concentrated solutions of bark, as recommended by M Seguin,‡ a French chemist, but, while the new system has been extensively adopted, and has shortened the process very materially, it has not been found so advantageous as was originally expected. The very circumstances which led to the high character of British leather had the effect of checking the introduction of any startling innovation in the processes of the tan yard, because they confined the business to a class of men who were not speculative either from habit or necessity.

Much attention was devoted, towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, to the improvement of the rope manufacture, and several patents were taken out for that purpose between 1783 and the close of this period. The objects aimed at were the substitution of machinery in lieu of manual labour in various departments of the manufacture, and the improvement of cordage by arranging the several parts of the rope so that every yarn and strand of which it consisted might bear its due proportion of strain. This improvement was most effectually attained by the apparatus patented by Captain Huddart, in 1793, which provided for a variation in the length of the individual yarns, according to their position near the centre or near the circumference of the strand.

About the commencement of this period the

* Commerce of America with Europe p. 149, &c.

† Travels, i. 106 &c.

‡ An account of Seguin's experiments is given in the first volume of the quarto series of Nicholson's Journal published in 1797.

Earl of Dundonald introduced some important improvements in the preparation of salt for curing fish, meat, and butter,* and Saint-Fond† gives an account of an extensive establishment for the manufacture of sea-salt, formed at Prestonpans, in Scotland, by Dr Swediaur, a German physician, who had long resided in London, but had removed to Prestonpans, where he devoted himself to chemical pursuits. Much sea-salt was made at that place by artificial evaporation in large iron boilers, for exportation as well as for home consumption. Of the manufactory of sulphuric acid, or oil of vitriol, at the same place, the establishment of which is mentioned in the preceding Book‡ Saint-Fond states that it was the greatest of the kind in Britain, and that everything about it was enveloped in mystery, the buildings, and even a small harbour for the vessels which brought the sulphur, being surrounded by high walls. The production of copperas from the pyritous substances found in coal-mines in the neighbourhood of Newcastle upon-Tyne is mentioned by the same author as one of the numerous branches of industry exercised at that place§. Another chemical process of some importance in the arts was the preparation of a yellow colour for painting, from British materials. For this process, and some others of similar character, Mr James Turner had, as narrated by Macpherson under the year 1792, obtained a patent, and, as his inventions were considered highly beneficial to the country in superseding the use of foreign yellow paints, and supplying a superior article at a lower price, of which considerable quantities were exported, while he had hitherto failed, owing to invasions of his patent, to derive any advantage from it himself, the term of his privilege was prolonged, by the act 32 Geo III, cap 72, for a term of eleven years from June, 1792, on condition that he should not charge more than five guineas per cwt for his colour nor assign shares in his patent to more than five persons||.

A considerable impulse was given during this period to the sugar-manufacture of the West Indies, by the introduction of new kinds of sugarcane from Otaheite and other places, which proved far more productive than those previously cultivated. Some of the earliest experiments were made in the French island of Guadaloupe, by a planter named Pinnel, and the first trial of the new canes in any British colony was made in the year 1793, by a gentleman of Montserrat, to whom Mr Pinnel had given some of his plants. So manifest was the superiority of the new canes that, "generally under the name of the Bourbon canes,"

* Macpherson Annals iv. 78.

† Travels p. 176 180.

‡ Vol. i. p. 600.

§ Travels i. 146 149. Saint-Fond states that France had formerly laid out much money for this substance of which the dyers of Rouen, Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles consumed great quantities. Two manufactories had, however, been recently established at Alsas in Lau-guadoe, and it is stated that the French copperas was equal to that of England when made with equal care although a contrary opinion was commonly entertained.

|| Annals of Commerce i. 227.

observes Macpherson, they "were soon spread over all the British West Indies, where they very quickly superseded the old canes, and with such advantage to the proprietors of sugar-plantations, whom they have inspired with the most splendid hopes, that the introduction of them will undoubtedly constitute an important era in the history of the West Indies."* The production of sugar from the juice of the sugar-maple was also now attaining some importance. Macpherson says that it appears to have been first attempted about the year 1752, but this must be an error, as *An Account of the Method of Making Sugar from the Juice of the Maple tree in New England*, by Paul Dudley, had been published in No 364 of the 'Philosophical Transactions,' in the year 1720. It appears, however, to have formed a comparatively trifling branch of rural economy, among the farmers of New England until the war with the mother country occasioned a difficulty in obtaining a supply of West India sugar, when many persons turned their attention to its preparation on an extensive scale. After the peace, the manufacture was still encouraged by many who disapproved of slave labour, and by those who deemed it an important object to provide employment for farm-servants during the winter season, when their ordinary labours did not require so many hands as at other seasons of the year. About the year 1790, the making of maple-sugar was taken up in the middle states of America as an important national object, and some refined maple sugar was produced in Philadelphia, which was pronounced equal to any loaf-sugar made from the muscovado or raw sugar of the West Indies.†

For a very long period England was in a great measure dependent upon foreign manufacturers, especially upon those of France, Holland, and Genoa, for a supply of paper, the home manufacture having been, down to the Revolution of 1688, almost entirely confined to coarse brown paper.‡ Some impulse had been given to this branch of industry by improvements introduced by the artisans expelled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Anderson states, under the year 1690, that the war with France, by occasioning high duties on foreign paper, led to the manufacture in this country of white and printing paper to an important extent. In a subsequent page, in noticing several new projects of the years 1694 and 1695, the same writer says, "White, blue, and brown paper, we have had the good fortune to improve wonderfully, and, although we cannot reach the French perfection, we come pretty near it."§ The British paper manufacture continued to increase and improve, until, in an estimate of the annual produce of the principal manufactures of Great Britain about the year

1783, it was stated to amount to about 780,000, and to be still increasing.* How greatly the quality of our writing-paper had improved by the commencement of this period may be assumed from the remark of Brissot, that the French writing-paper would not long remain unequal to that of England, if, indeed, it would not surpass it, which was not improbable, since he states that the paper manufacture was daily improving in France,† and that rags were not so scarce and dear there as in England. Rags were, he adds, an article of illicit commerce between the two countries, notwithstanding the existence of very severe prohibitory laws. The Society of Arts devoted much attention to the improvement of various branches of this manufacture in England, and in 1783 they reported, that under their encouragement four branches of the manufacture had been established or promoted, these being—paper from silk rags, suitable for drawing in chalk or crayons; paper for copper-plate printing, which had been imported from France at considerable expense until its production in this country had been encouraged by the Society, and embossed and marbled papers, both of which were articles of foreign manufacture. Marbled paper, especially, had been imported in great quantities, but was then, the Society state, made in England in such perfection as to become an article of exportation. So great was the progress of improvement in the second of the above-mentioned branches, that in 1787 some persons, accustomed to use French paper, declared that manufactured by Mr Bates (who had received a gold medal from the Society for his improvements) to be in several respects superior to the imported plate-paper, and very nearly, if not quite, equal to it for taking impressions of the most delicate engravings.‡ The 'Transactions' of the Society also record many experiments made on the manufacture of paper from various substances not usually employed for the purpose, and Macpherson relates, under the year 1800, that, among other expedients resorted to as remedies for the scarcity of paper (or rather of rags, the usual material of paper), was a method of discharging the ink from printed or written paper, grinding it to a pulp, and remanufacturing it. Experience has shown that, under ordinary circumstances, very little advantage arises from this *regenerating* process, but it was then considered so important, that an act § was passed to permit the importation of foreign waste-paper, if rendered unfit for any other purpose than to be remanufactured, without paying any other duty than that imposed by the convoy

* For the sake of comparison it may be stated that this estimate which is referred to on p. 599 of our first volume makes the annual value of the manufacture of hemp 800,000*l*. that of flannel 630,000*l*. of porcelain 1,000,000*l*. and of cotton only 900,000*l*.

† Brissot states in a note, that the manufactory of MM. Johanneau & Co. at Lyons produced finer paper than any other in Europe, and that there was a great demand for it from Russia, England, and Holland, than the manufacturers could supply. The Messrs. d'Alemonay generously offered to communicate their process to all the paper manufacturers in the kingdom, and many of them by their liberality—*Commerce of America with Europe*, p. 10, 16.

‡ Transactions 1785, 36, 11, 164, 171.

§ 59 and 40 Geo. III. 70.

* *Annals of Commerce* 1*o* 388, 329.

† Macpherson *Annals* 1*o* 29, 21.

‡ For some particulars respecting the early state of the paper manufacture in England, see a treatise in *The British Merchant*, see 1*st* Hist. of England 1*o* 712.

§ *History of Commerce* 1*o* 517, 518, 594, 613.

act* The manufacture of paper by machinery was commenced about 1799, by Louis Robert, at Essonne, in France,† but the history of this great improvement belongs more properly to a later period

In the history of printing, one of the chief circumstances to be noticed is the revival of the stereotyping process, under various modifications, in this kingdom, as well as in France‡ About the year 1780 it was re-invented by Mr Tilloch, who for many years edited the 'Philosophical Magazine,' he being at the time unacquainted with the earlier experiments of Ged, and he, in connexion with Foulis, the printer to the University of Glasgow, produced several works by the new process, some of which were circulated without any intimation that they were not printed in the usual way, but, satisfactory as were the experiments of Tilloch and Foulis, they did not lead immediately to the general adoption of stereotype printing Several similar plans were brought forward in France towards the close of the eighteenth century, and some of them were applied to the printing of assignats, in order to render them more difficult of imitation § An attempt was also made in this country to introduce a mode of printing with types bearing whole words or syllables, instead of single letters, and the edition of Anderson's 'History of Commerce,' published in 1787-1789, in four quarto volumes and some other works, were printed in this way or logographically, as it was styled, but, notwithstanding the sanguine anticipations of its promoters, the scheme was eventually abandoned

Perhaps no fitter conclusion can be made to this Chapter, which, from its limited extent can not give more than an imperfect sketch of the great subject with which it is occupied, than by selecting a few facts from an interesting document printed by Macpherson at the close of his 'Annals of Commerce,' as a proper sequel to his retrospect of the great and regularly increasing commercial and general correspondence of this country The document referred to is an estimate drawn up by Sir Frederic Eden, at the time chairman of the Globe Insurance Company, of the insurable property in Great Britain and Ireland

As many of its details are necessarily founded on conjectural data, they must be received with caution, but, extracting only such parts as have a direct bearing upon the subject of the national industry, we find that this estimate makes the value of "machinery, such as steam-engines, spinning works, &c.," in England alone about 40,000,000*l*, and that the annual value of British manufactures for home consumption alone is computed to amount to 76,000,000*l*, besides which, 40,000,000*l* is set down as about the value of British manufactures exported in 1800—making a total of 116,000,000*l* In that part of the statement which contains the estimates of particular branches of manufacturing industry, the value of goods retained for home consumption only is given, and the principal items are as follow—Woolen goods (after deducting 8,000,000*l* for the value of exports), about 11,000,000*l*, cotton goods (after deducting 4,000,000*l* for exports), 6,000,000*l*, flaxen and hempen goods, 2,000,000*l* each, silk goods, 3,000,000*l*, leather goods, of all kinds, 12 000 000*l*, glass, 2,000,000*l*, porcelain and pottery, 2,000,000*l*, paper, 1,500,000*l*, hardware, probably above 6,000,000*l*, beer, 10,000,000*l*, the annual consumption being 200,000,000 gallons, and the supposed price 1*s* per gallon, spirits, 4,000,000*l*, the annual consumption being 10 000,000 gallons, at an average price of 8*s* per gallon soap, more than 1,500,000*l*,* salt 1 000 000*l*, and candles, of wax and tallow, above 2,000,000*l* The annual value of the principal agricultural crops is given as 52,000,000*l* in all, and the value of shipping belonging to Great Britain and Ireland is estimated at 20,000,000*l* Of the last item a part only is considered as insurable from loss by fire, and the total amount of property of all kinds insurable from fire in Great Britain is computed to have been, at the commencement of the present century, 537,250,000*l* The property of every kind insurable in Ireland is estimated at 53 725,000*l*, which raises the total for the United Kingdom to 590,975,000*l*, independently of stocks of coal, alum, and other minerals, boats and other fresh water craft, arsenals, offices, and other public buildings, of the value of which, it is stated, no estimation could be made +

* 38 Geo III c 76

† Dr. L'Es Dictionnaire de Arts &c p 998

‡ Ged's experiments in stereotype printing, about the year 1788, are thus noticed in the Historical Dictionary of England iv 733

§ See my Dictionary of Stereotyping.

* This calculation is given as reckoning for 2 280 000 families at 3*d* per week but it appears by computation that these data will make the total value more than 1 700 000*l*

† Annals of Commerce iv 548 550

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



NE event, coincident with the close of our last period, marks that point of time as the expiration also of a notable period in our literature, the death of Samuel Johnson, on the 13th* of December, 1784. We may call it the end of a reign in the chronology of that matter, indeed, the end of kingship altogether in our literary history. For King Samuel has had no successor, nobody since his day, and that of his contemporary Voltaire, has sat on a throne of literature either in England or in France.

Of the literary figures of the last period, however, many continued to be conspicuous during a portion or throughout the whole of the present Burke, the most eminent of them all, survived till 1797, and, having already raised himself to distinction by his publications and speeches in connexion with the American war, won his highest fame in the finishing part of his career by his wonderful oratorical displays on the impeachment of Hastings, and his writings, outblazing everything he had before produced, on the French revolution. Adam Smith did not die till 1790, his countryman, Dr Robertson, not till 1793, Robertson's illustrious brother historian, Gibbon, not till 1794. Of the poets and cultivators of light literature, or the belles lettres, who have been already mentioned, Thomas Warton lived till 1790, Ossian Macpherson till 1796, Mason and his friend Horace Walpole till 1797, Joseph Warton till 1800. Other writers, again, who first became known before the close of the Johnsonian era, and our notices of whom will be found in the preceding Book, outlived the present period, some by many years. Thus Beattie only died in 1803, Anstey, the author of the *New Bath Guide*, in 1805, John Home, the author of *Douglas*, in 1808, Bishop Percy and Richard Cumberland in 1811, Adam Ferguson, the historian of the Roman Republic, in 1816, Richard Brinsley Sheridan the same year, Sir Philip Francis, presumed to be Junius, in 1818, Miss Sophia Lee in 1824, Henry Mackenzie in

1831, Miss Burney (afterwards Madame d'Arblay) not till 1840. But these writers, and others whose names might be added, had all produced the works by which they were first made known, most of them those to which they chiefly owe their reputation, before the date at which we are now arrived.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that, if we were to continue our notices of the poets of the last century in strict chronological order, the first name we should have to mention would be that of a writer, who more properly belongs to what may be called our own day, and to the very latest era of our poetry. Crabbe, whose *Tales of the Hall*, the noblest production of his powerful and original genius, appeared in 1819, and who died so recently as 1832, published his first poem, *The Library*, in 1781; some extracts from it are given in the *Annual Register* for that year. But Crabbe's literary career is divided into two parts by a chasm, or interval during which he published nothing, of nearly twenty years, and he can only be fully and fairly appreciated under the next period.

One remark, however, touching this writer may be made here. His first manner was evidently caught from Churchill more than from any other of his predecessors. And this was also the case with his contemporary Cowper, the writer who throws the greatest illustration upon this age of our English poetry. William Cowper, born in 1731, twenty-



Cowper

three years before Crabbe (we pass over his anonymous contributions to his friend the Rev Mr.

* Not the 18th as unprinted ante vol i p 618

Newton's collection of The Olney Hymns, published in 1765, gave to the world the First Volume of his *Poems*, containing those entitled Table-Talk, The Progress of Error, Truth, Expostulation, Hope, Charity, Conversation, and Retirement, in 1782, his famous History of John Gilpin appeared the following year, without his name, in a publication called The Repository, his second volume, containing The Task, Tirocinium, and some shorter pieces, was published in 1785, his translations of the Iliad and the Odyssey in 1791, and his death took place on the 25th of April, 1800. It is related that Cowper's first volume attracted little attention—it certainly appears to have excited no perception in the mind or eye of the public of that day that a new and great light had arisen in the poetical firmament. The Annual Register for 1781, as we have said, gives extracts from Crabbe's Library a long passage from his next poem, The Village, is given in the volume for 1783, the volume for 1785 in like manner treats its readers to a quotation from The Newspaper, which he had published in that year, but, except that the anonymous History of John Gilpin is extracted in the volume for 1783 from the Repository, we have nothing of Cowper's till we come to the volume for 1786, which contains two of the minor pieces published in his second volume. Crabbe was probably indebted for the distinction he received in part to his friend and patron Burke, under whose direction the Register was compiled, but the silence observed in regard to Cowper may be taken as not on that account the less conclusive as to the little or next to no impression his first volume made. Yet surely there were both a force and a freshness of manner in the new aspirant that might have been expected to draw some observations. Nor had there of late been such plenty of good poetry produced in England as to make anything of the kind at all a drug in the market. But here, in fact, lay the main cause of the public inattention. The age was not poetical. The manufacture of verse was carried on, indeed, upon a considerable scale, by the Hayleys and the White heads and the Pratts and others (sinners of sound and weavers of words, not for a moment to be compared in inventive and imaginative faculty, or in faculty of any kind, any more than for the utility of their work, with their contemporaries the Arkwrights and Cartwrights), but the production of poetry had gone so much out, that, even in the class most accustomed to judge of these things few people knew it when they saw it. It has been said that the severe and theological tone of this poetry of Cowper's operated against its immediate popularity, and that was probably the case too, but it could only have been so, at any rate to the same extent, in a time at the least as indifferent to poetry as to religion and morality. For, certainly, since the days of Pope, nothing in the same style had been produced among us to be compared with these poems of Cowper's for animation, vigour, and point, which are among the

most admired qualities of that great writer, any more than for the cordiality, earnestness, and fervour which are more peculiarly their own. Smoother versification we had had in great abundance, more pomp and splendour of rhetorical declamation, perhaps, as in Johnson's paraphrases from Juvenal, more warmth and glow of imagination, as in Goldsmith's two poems, if they are to be considered as coming into the competition. But on the whole, verse of such bone and muscle had proceeded from no recent writer,—not excepting Churchill, whose poetry had little else than its coarse strength to recommend it, and whose hasty and careless workmanship Cowper, while he had to a certain degree been his imitator, had learned with his artistical feeling infinitely to surpass. Well, Churchill's vehement invective, with its exaggerations and personalities, made him the most popular poet of his day. Cowper, neglected at first, has taken his place as one of the classics of the language. Each has had his reward—the reward he best deserved, and probably most desired.

As the death of Samuel Johnson closes one era of our literature, so the appearance of Cowper as a poet opens another. Notwithstanding his obligations both to Churchill and Pope, a main characteristic of Cowper's poetry is its originality. Compared with almost any one of his predecessors, he was what we may call a natural poet. He broke through conventional forms and usages in his mode of writing more daringly than any English poet before him had done, at least since the genius of Pope had bound in its spell the phraseology and rhythm of our poetry. His opinions were not more his own than his manner of expressing them. His principles of diction and versification were announced, in part, in the poem with which he introduced himself to the public, his Table-Talk, in which, having intimated his contempt for the "creamy smoothness" of modern fashionable verse, where sentiment was so often

sacrificed to sound
And truth cut short to make a period round

he exclaims,

"G—me the line that ploughs its stately course
Like a proud swan, conquering the stream by force;
That like a me cottage beauty, strikes the heart,
Quite indebted to its tricks of art."

But, although he despised the "tricks" of art, Cowper, like every great poet, was also a great artist, and, with all its in that day almost unexampled simplicity and naturalness, his style is the very reverse of a slovenly or irregular one. If his verse be not so highly polished as that of Pope,—who he complains, has

Made poetry a more mechanic art
And every warbler has his tune by heart —

it is in its own way nearly as "well disciplined, complete, compact," as he has described Pope's to be. With all his avowed admiration of Churchill, he was far from being what he has called that writer—

"Too proud for art, and trusting in mere force"

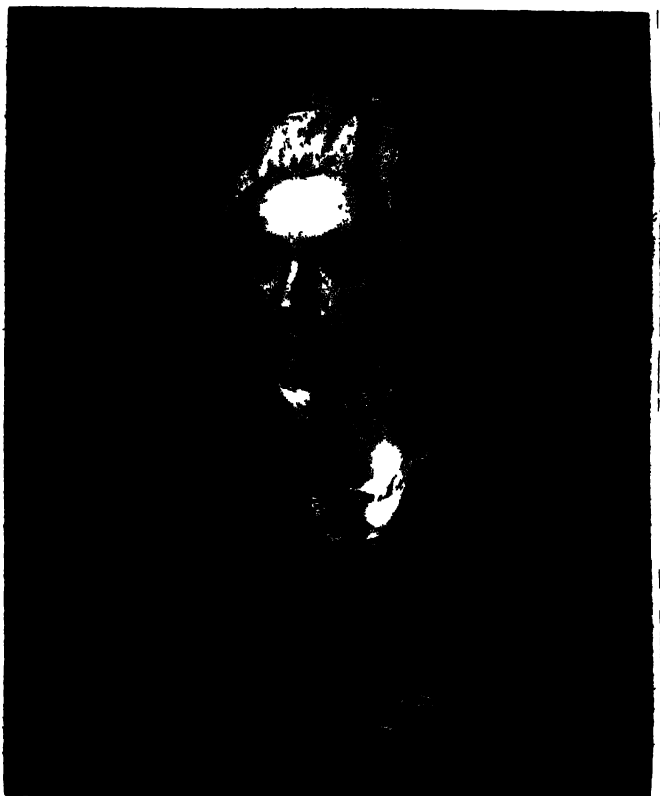


Figure 10

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in a 'state
in the possession of a 'state

On the contrary, he has in more than one passage discarded on "the pangs of a poetic birth"—on

the shifts and turns,
The expedients and inventions multiform
To which the mind resorts, in chase of terms
Though apt, yet cloy, and difficult to win, —

and the other labours to be undergone by whoever would attain to excellence in the work of composition. Not, however, that, with all this elaboration, he was a slow writer. Slowness is the consequence of indifference, of a writer not being excited by his subject—not having his heart in his work, but going through it as a mere task, let him be thoroughly in earnest, fully possessed of his subject and possessed by it, and, though the pains he takes to find apt and effective expression for his thoughts may tax his whole energies like wrestling with a strong man, he will not write slowly. He is in a state of active combustion—consuming away, it may be, but never pausing. Cowper is said to have composed the six thousand verses, or thereby, contained in his first volume in about three months.

Not creative imagination, nor deep melody, nor even, in general, much of fancy or grace or tenderness, is to be met with in the poetry of Cowper, but yet it is not without both high and various excellence. Its main charm, and that which is never wanting, is its earnestness. This is a quality which gives it a power over many minds not at all alive to the poetical, but it is also the source of some of its strongest attractions for those that are. Hence its truth both of landscape-painting, and of the description of character and states of mind, hence its skilful expression of such emotions and passions as it allows itself to deal with; hence the force and fervour of its denunciatory eloquence, giving to some passages as fine an inspiration of the moral sublime as is perhaps any where to be found in didactic poetry. Hence, we may say, even the directness, simplicity, and manliness of Cowper's diction—all that is best in the form, as well as in the spirit, of his verse. It was this quality, or temper of mind, in short, that principally made him an original poet; and, if not the founder of a new school, the pioneer of a new era of English poetry. Instead of repeating the unmeaning conventionalities and faded affectations of his predecessors, it led him to turn to the actual nature within him and around him, and there to learn both the truths he should utter and the words in which he should utter them.

After Cowper had found, or been found out by, his proper audience, the qualities in his poetry that at first had most repelled ordinary readers rather aided its success. In particular, as we have said, its theological tone and spirit made it acceptable in quarters to which poetry of any kind had rarely penetrated, and where it may perhaps be affirmed that it keeps its ground chiefly for force of this its most prosaic peculiarity; although, at the same time, it is probable that the vigorous verse to which his system of theology and morals has been married by Cowper has not been

without effect in diffusing not only a more indulgent toleration but a truer feeling and love for poetry throughout what is called the religious world. Nor is it to be denied that the source of Cowper's own most potent inspiration is his theological creed. The most popular of his poems, and also perhaps the one of greatest pretension, is his *Task*: it abounds in that delineation of domestic and everyday life which interests every body, in descriptions of incidents and natural appearances with which all are familiar, in the expression of sentiments and convictions to which most hearts readily respond. It is a poem, therefore, in which the greatest number of readers find the greatest number of things to attract and attach them. Besides, both in the form and in the matter, it has less of what is felt to be strange and sometimes repulsive by the generality, the verse flows, for the most part, smoothly enough, if not with much variety of music; the diction is, as usual with Cowper, clear, manly, and expressive, but at the same time, from being looser and more diffuse, seldom harsh or difficult than it is in some of his other compositions, above all, the doctrinal strain is pitched upon a lower key, and, without any essential point being given up, both morality and religion certainly assume a countenance and voice considerably less rueful and vindictive. But although *The Task* has much occasional elevation and eloquence, and some sunny passages, it perhaps nowhere rises to the passionate force and vehemence to which Cowper had been carried by a more burning zeal in some of his earlier poems. We would refer, for example, to the fine declamation in that entitled *Table-Talk*, on the divine vengeance which a nation draws down upon itself by vice:—

All are his instruments, each form of war
What he bids at his mo, or threatens from afar,
Nations in arms his elements at strife,
The storms that overcast the joys of life
Are but his rods to scourge a guilty land
And we sit at the bidding of his hand
He gives the word and Mutiny soon roars
In all her rates and shakes her distant shores,
The standards of all nations are unfurled,
She has one foe and thence on for the world
And, if he doom that people with a frown,
And mark them with a seal of wrath press'd down
Old drury takes place callous and tough
The reprobate race grows judgment proof
Forth shaken broadside of him and how he roars above;
But nothing scares them from the course they love
They trust in navies and their navies fall—
God's curse can cast away the island wall!
They trust in armies and their courage dies;
In wisdom wealth in fortune, and in lies;
But all they trust in withers as it must
When He commands in whom they place no trust.
Vengeance at last pours down, &c.

But, even when it expresses itself in quite other forms, the fervour which inspires these earlier poems occasionally produces something more brilliant or more graceful than is any where to be found in *The Task*; as, for instance, in the comparison between Voltaire and the Cottager, in that called 'Truth,' and the exquisite version, so high-wrought and yet so severely simple, of the meeting of the two Disciples with their Master on the road to Emmaus in that entitled 'Conversation.' For one thing, Cowper's poetry, not organ-tuned or im-

formed with any very rich or original music, any more than soaringly imaginative or gorgeously decorated, is of a style that requires the sustaining aid of rhyme in blank verse it is apt to overflow in pools and shallows. And this is one among other reasons why, after all, some of his short poems, which are nearly all in rhyme, are perhaps what he has done best. His John Gilpin, universally known and universally enjoyed by his countrymen, young and old, educated and uneducated, and perhaps the only English poem of which this can be said, of course at once suggests itself as standing alone in the collection of what he has left us for whimsical conception and vigour of comic humour, but there is a quieter exercise of the same talent, or at least of a kindred sense of the ludicrous and airy power of giving it expression, in others of his shorter pieces. For tenderness and pathos, again, nothing else that he has written, and not much that is elsewhere to be found of the same kind in English poetry, can be compared with his Lines on his Mother's Picture. This, indeed, is no doubt, as a whole, his finest poem—at once springing from the deepest and purest fount of passion, and happy in shaping itself into richer and sweeter music than he has reached in any other. It shows what his real originality, and the natural spirit of art that was in him, might have done under a better training and more favourable circumstances of personal situation, or perhaps in another age. Generally, indeed, it may be said of Cowper, that the more he was left to himself, or trusted to his own taste and feelings, in writing the better he wrote. In so far as regards the form of composition, the principal charm of what he has done best is a natural elegance, which is most perfect in what he has apparently written with the least labour, or at any rate with the least thought of rules or models. His Letters to his friends, not written for publication at all, but thrown off in the carelessness of his hours of leisure and relaxation, have given him as high a place among the prose classics of his country as he holds among our poets. His least successful performances are his translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, throughout which he was straining to imitate a style not only unlike his own, but, unfortunately, quite as unlike that of his original—for these versions of the most natural of all poetry, the Homeric, are, strangely enough, attempted in the manner of the most artificial of all poets, Milton.

Neither, however, did this age of our literature want its artificial poetry. In fact, the expiration or abolition of that manner among us was brought about not more by the example of a fresh and natural style given by Cowper, than by the exhibition of the opposite style, pushed to its extreme, given by his contemporary Darwin. Our great poets of this era cannot be accused of hurrying into print at an immature age. Dr Erasmus Darwin, born in 1721, after having risen to distinguished reputation as a physician, published the Second Part of his *Botanic Garden*, under the

title of *The Loves of the Plants*, in 1789, and the First Part, entitled *The Economy of Vegetation*, two years after. He died in 1802. The *Botanic Garden*, hard, brilliant, sonorous, may be called a poem cast in metal—a sort of Pandemonium palace of rhyme, not unlike that raised long ago in another region,

where pilasters round
Were set and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave nor did there want
Cornice or frieze with bossy sculptures graven
The roof was fretted gold

The poem, however, did not rise exactly "like an exhalation." "The verse," writes its author's sprightly biographer, Miss Anna Seward, "corrected, polished, and modulated with the most



Darwin

sedulous attention, the notes involving such great diversity of matter relating to natural history, and the composition going forward in the short recesses of professional attendance, but chiefly in his chaise, as he travelled from one place to another, the *Botanic Garden* could not be the work of one, two, or three years, it was ten from its primal lines to its first publication." If this account may be depended on, the Doctor's supplies of inspiration must have been vouchsafed to him at the rather penurious rate of little more than a line a day. At least, therefore, it cannot be said of him, as it was said of his more fluent predecessor in both gifts of Apollo, Sir Richard Blackmore, that he wrote "to the rumbling of his chariot wheels." The verse, nevertheless, does in another way smack of the travelling-chaise, and of "the short recesses of professional attendance." Nothing is done in passion and power, but all by filing, and scraping, and rubbing, and other painstaking. Every line is as elaborately polished and sharpened as a lancet, and the most effective paragraphs have the air of a lot of those bright little instruments arranged in rows, with their blades out, for sale. You feel as if so thick an array of points and edges demanded careful handling, and that your fingers are scarcely safe in coming near them. Darwin's theory of poetry evidently was, that it was all a mechanical affair—only a higher kind of pun-making. His own poetry, however, with all its

defects, is far from being merely mechanical. The Botanic Garden is not a poem which any man of ordinary intelligence could have produced by sheer care and industry, or the faculty of writing which could be acquired by serving an apprenticeship to the trade of poetry. Vicious as it is in manner, it is even there of an imposing and original character, and a true poetic fire lives under all its affectations, and often blazes up through them. There is not much, indeed, of pure soul or high imagination in Darwin, he seldom rises above the visible and material, but he has at least a poet's eye for the perception of that, and a poet's fancy for its embellishment and exaltation. No writer has surpassed him in the luminous representation of visible objects in verse, his descriptions have the distinctness of drawings by the pencil, with the advantage of conveying, by their harmonious words, many things that no pencil can paint. His images, though they are for the most part tricks of language rather than the transformations or new embodiments of impassioned thought, have often at least an Ovidian glitter and prettiness, or are striking from their mere ingenuity and novelty—as when he addresses the stars as ‘flowers of the sky,’ or apostrophises the glow-worm as ‘Star of the earth, and diamond of the night.’ These two instances, indeed, thus brought into juxtaposition, may serve to exemplify the principle upon which he constructs such decorations—it is, we see, an economical principle, for, in truth, the one of these figures is little more than the other reversed, or inverted. Still both are happy and effective enough conceits—and one of them is applied and carried out so as to make it more than a mere momentary light flashing from the verse. The passage is not without a tone of grandeur and true pathos—

‘Roll on ye stars exult in youthful prime
Mark with bright circuits the pointless steps of time
Near and more near ye to the myriads approach
And lessening orbits on lessening ribs encroach—
Flowers of the sky ye to the light must yield
Fare ye no ye talkers a star of the field!
Star after star from heaven’s high arch all at rush
Guns sink on us and systems systems crash,
Headlong extinct to one dark centre fall
An! death and night and chaos mingle all!
—Till o or the wreck emerging from the storm
Immortal Nature lifts her change of form
Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame,
And soars and shines another and the same

There is also a fine moral inspiration, as well as the usual rhetorical brilliancy, in the following lines—

‘Hail adamantyne Steel! magnet o Lord!
King of the prow the plowshare and the sword!
True to the pole by thee the pilot guides
His steady helm amid the struggling tides,
Braves with broad sail the immeasurable sea,
Cleave the dark air, and asks no star but thee!’

Here, to be sure, we have another variation of the same thought according to which the stars have elsewhere been presented shining on earth as glow-worms and blooming in the sky as flowers, and this may be considered to show some poverty of invention in the poet, or an undue partiality for the stars; but this last metaphor, making a star of the mysterious loadstone, in the dark night and on

the immeasurable sea—a guiding and, as it were, living, though lustreless star—is more uncommon and surprising, and evinces more imagination, than the other figures. Bursts such as these, however, are of rare occurrence in the poem. Its sounding declamation is for the most part addressed rather to the ear than to either the imagination or the fancy. But the mortal disease inherent in Darwin's poetry is, that it is essentially unspiritual. It has no divine soul—it has not even a heart of humanity beating in it. Its very life is galvanic and artificial. Matter only is what it concerns itself about, not to spiritualize the material, which is the proper business and end of poetry, but to materialize the spiritual is its constant tendency and effort. It believes only in the world of sense, and even if that it selects for its subject the lowest departments. Not man and his emotions, but animals, vegetables, minerals, mechanical inventions and processes, are what it delights to deal with. But these things are mostly, by doom of nature, incapable of being turned into high poetry. They belong to the domain of the understanding, or the bodily senses and powers not either to that of the imagination or that of the heart. Dr Darwin himself probably came to suspect that there were some subjects of which poetry could make nothing, some regions of mental speculation in which she could only make herself ridiculous, when he saw how grotesquely, and at the same time how exactly in many respects the style and manner of his ‘*Loves of the Plants*’ were reflected in the ‘*Loves of the Triangles*’.

It must be regarded as a real misfortune for Dr Darwin's fame, though a ludicrous one, that he should have had such a biographer and commentator upon his works as Miss Anna Seward. Anna has herself a claim upon our notice as one of the poetical lights of this age. Besides various contributions to magazines, she emitted separately and with her name, in the last twenty years of the century, a succession of elegies, monodies, odes, sonnets, poetical epistles, adieus, &c., about Captain Cook, Major André, Lady Miller of Bath-easton, and other persons and things, which were generally read in their day, and were, after her death, in 1809, at the age of sixty-two, collected and republished in three octavo volumes under the care of Walter Scott, who had formed her acquaintance in the early part of his career, and upon whom she had imposed the honour of being her literary executor. A selection from her Letters, which she had bequeathed to Constable, the Edinburgh bookseller, appeared about the same time in six volumes. But decidedly her most remarkable performance, and the one by which her name is likely to be the longest preserved, is the octavo volume she gave to the world in 1804, under the title of ‘*Memoirs of the Life of Dr Darwin, chiefly during his residence at Lichfield, with Anecdotes of his Friends, and Criticisms on his Writings*.’ Here we have Anna herself, as well as her friend the poetic Doctor, at

full length Anna's notion is, that the Botanic Garden ought to have been her poem, not Darwin's, if matters had been fairly managed. The Doctor, it seems, about the year 1777, purchased "a little, wild, umbrageous valley, a mile from Lichfield, irriguous from various springs, and swampy from their plentitude." This he soon dressed up into a very neat imitation of Paradise, and then, having till now "restrained his friend Miss Seward's steps to this her always favourite scene," he allowed her to visit it, when, the lady informs us, "she took her tablets and pencil, and, seated on a flower bank, in the midst of that luxuriant retreat, wrote the following lines, while the sun was gilding the glen, and while birds of every plume pour'd their song from the boughs." Now be it observed, the Doctor was not even with her on the flower bank: it was intended that they should have gone to see Paradise together, "but a medical summons into the country deprived her of that pleasure." The lines therefore, were wholly the produce of her own particular muse and her own black lead pencil. They are substantially the commencing lines of the First Book of the Botanic Garden. When the authoress presented them to Darwin he said that they ought to form the exordium of a great work, and proposed that Anna should write such a work "on the unexplored poetic ground of the Linnean system," to which he would provide prose notes. Anna answered, modestly, "that besides her want of botanic knowledge, the plan was not strictly proper for a female pen"—but that she thought it was just the thing for "the effluence of his own fancy." It would appear that, soon after this, Darwin began the composition of his great poem: but previously, the lady tells us, a few weeks after they were composed, he "sent the verses Miss S. wrote in his Botanic Garden [that is, the Lichfield paradise, so called] to the Gentleman's Magazine, and in her name." "From thence," she proceeds, "they were copied in the Annual Register [where we have not been able to find them] but, without consulting her, he had substituted for the last six lines eight of his own. He afterwards, and again without the knowledge of their author, made them the exordium to the first part of his poem, published, for certain reasons some years after the second part had appeared. No acknowledgment was made that those verses were the work of another pen. Such acknowledgment ought to have been made, especially since they passed the press in the name of their real author. They are somewhat altered in the exordium to Dr. Darwin's poem, and eighteen lines of his own are interwoven with them." The lines having been only forty-six originally, and twenty-six of those in the Doctor's exordium being thus admitted to be of his own composition, it might seem that the theft was reduced to a somewhat small matter; but Miss Seward, not unreasonably, holds that in thus rifling her poem, probably of its best verses, Darwin did her the same injury as if he had appropriated the

whole, and therefore in returning, in a subsequent page, to this "extraordinary, and, in a poet of so much genius, unprecedented instance of plagiarism," and quoting against him one of his own critical canons, that "a few common flowers of speech may be gathered as we pass over our neighbour's ground, but we must not plunder his cultivated fruit," she bitterly charges him with having "forgotten that just restraint when he took, unacknowledged, *forty-six entire lines*, the published verses of his friend, for the exordium of the first part of his work." After all, it has been doubted by the world if that scene of the flower-bank and the tablets was anything more than a pleasant dream of Anna's, or if she had anything to do with the authorship of the forty-six verses at all, beyond allowing them to be published with her name in the magazines. She has been proved to be incorrect in her recollections of other matters, about which she was as obstinate as she was about this: her memory had the worst defect, of being apt to remember too much.

Miss Seward's own poetry, with much more sentimentality and much less sense and substance, belongs to the same school with Darwin's. Her's is the feeble commonplace of the same laboured, tortuous, and essentially unnatural and untrue style out of which he, with his more powerful and original genius, has evolved for himself a distinctive form or dialect. This style has subsisted among us in one variation or another, and with more or less of temporary acceptance, in every era of our poetry. It is mimicked by Pope, in his "Song by a Person of Quality, written in the year 1733," it is the Euphuism of the Elizabethan age, gently ridiculed by Shakspeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost*, though then made brilliant and imposing by the wit and true poetic genius of Lilly, it is the same thing that is travestied by Chaucer in his *Rime of Sir Thopas*. Perhaps, however, it had in no former time made so much din, or risen to such apparent ascendancy as at the date of which we are now speaking, the last years of the eighteenth century. Nor had it ever before assumed a shape or character at once so extravagant and so hollow of all real worth or power. The first impulse seems to have been caught from Italy, the foreign country whose literature has in every age exercised, for good or for evil, the greatest influence upon our own. The writers of what is called the Della Cruscan school had their predecessors and progenitors in Lady Miller and her friends,* whose "Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath," as they were called when printed, were given to the world between 1770 and 1780. Lady Miller, when she set up her Parnassus and Wedgwood-ware vase at Bathaston, had just returned from a tour in Italy with her husband, of which she published an account, in three Volumes of "Letters," in 1776. Miss Seward was one of the contributors to this Bathaston poetry. It does not seem, however, to have attracted much

* See ante, vol. i. p. 664.

notice beyond the circle in which the writers and their patroness moved, at most it was regarded as belonging rather to the provincial than to either the national or the metropolitan literature of the time. In the Della Cruscan school the thing came to a head "In 1785," as the matter is recorded in the Introduction to the *Baviad* and *Mæviad*, "a few English of both sexes, whom chance had jumbled together at Florence, took a fancy to while away their time in scribbling high-flown panegyrics on themselves, and complimentary canzonettas on two or three Italians, who understood too little of the language in which they were written to be disgusted with them." Among them were Mrs Piozzi, the widow of Johnson's friend Thrale, now the wife of her daughter's music master, Mr Bertie Greathead, a man of property and good family, Mr Robert Merry, who specially took to himself the designation of Della Crusca, Mr William Parsons, another English gentleman of fortune, &c. These people first printed a volume of their rhymes under the title of *The Florence Miscellany*. Afterwards they and a number of other persons, their admirers and imitators, began to publish their lucubrations in England, chiefly in two new daily newspapers, called *The World* and *The Oracle*, from which they were soon collected, and recommended with vast laudation to the public attention, in a volume entitled *The Album*, by Bell the printer "While the epidemic malady was spreading from fool to fool," continues Gifford,

Della Crusca came over, and immediately announced himself by a sonnet to Love. Anna Matilda wrote an incomparable piece of nonsense in praise of it, and the two 'great luminaries of the age,' as Mr Bell calls them, fell desperately in love with each other. From that period not a day passed without an amatory epistle, fraught with lightning and thunder, et quicquid habent telorum armamentaria coli. The fever turned to a frenzy. Laura Maria, Carlos, Orlando, Adelaide, and a thousand other nameless names caught the infection, and, from one end of the kingdom to the other, all was nonsense and Della Crusca." After this had gone on for some time, Gifford took up his pen, and, in 1794, produced his '*Baviad*,' which, in 1796, was followed by its continuation, the '*Mæviad*.' It is only in these two poems that the memory of most of the unhappy Della Cruscan songsters has been preserved—an immortality which may be compared with that conferred by the *Newgate Calendar*. We may transfer to our historic page the principal names, in addition to those already mentioned, that figure in these celebrated satires—adding a few particulars as to some of them, gleaned from other sources. A few of the writers, we may remark, that got bespattered in the course of Gifford's somewhat energetic horse-play, have survived and recovered from his corrosive mud and any connexion they may have had with the Della Cruscan folly—such as the dramatists O'Keefe, Morton, Reynolds, and Holcroft, the younger Colman, who had already, in 1795, pro-

duced his *Sylvester Daggerwood*, besides other dramatic pieces, Mrs Cowley, the clever authoress of the *Belle's Stratagem*,* and no less a person than the prince of biographers, James Boswell, of whose Johnsonianism, however, people in general as yet discerned only the ludicrous excess,—not to speak of such rather more than respectable rhymers as Edward Jerningham, the author of numerous plays and poems, Miles Peter Andrews, famous for his prologues and epilogues, which were occasionally lively as well as rattling, and perhaps we ought also to add, in a proper spirit of gallantry, the somewhat too famous Mrs Robinson, who, with all her levity, intellectual as well as moral, was not without some literary talent and poetical feeling. Mrs Piozzi too, of course, though not the wisest of women, must be held to have been by no means *all* ignorance and pretension. But the general herd of the Della Cruscans may be safely set down as having been mere blatant blockheads. Of a mass of the fictitious signatures quoted by Gifford we find no interpretation such as Arno, Csario, Julia, &c. Others of the names he mentions are real names. Topham for instance is Mr Edward Topham, the proprietor of *The World*, 'monosoph Este,' as he calls him, is the Rev Charles Este, principal editor of that paper. Weston is Joseph Weston, a small magazine critic of the day. Two of the minor offenders, to whom he deals a lash or two in passing, are James Cobbe, a now-forgotten farce-writer, and Frederic Pilon, who was, we believe, a player by profession. The more conspicuous names besides Merry and Greathead, are Mit Yenda, or Mot Yenda, stated to be the anagram of a Mr Timothy or Thomas Adnev, of whom we know nothing, Edwin, which stands for a Mr Thomas Vaughan, the same person, we suppose, who wrote a farce called *The Hotel*, and one or two other things of the same sort, about twenty years before this time, and especially Tony or Anthony Pasquin, the *nom de guerre* of a John Williams, the author of loads both of verse and prose. If we may judge by a collection of the '*Poems*,' as they are called, of this Williams, or Pasquin, published, in two volumes, in 1789—a second edition, with a long list of subscribers, sparkling with titled names—Gifford's representation of the emptiness, feebleness, and sounding stupidity of the Della Cruscans is no exaggeration at all. Nothing, certainly, was ever printed on decent paper more worthless and utterly despicable in every way than this poetry of the great Anthony Pasquin, who, in quite a lofty and patronising style, dedicates one of his volumes to Mr Pitt, and the other in part to Sir Joshua Reynolds, in part to Warren Hastings (so economically does he distribute the precious honour),—who has all these three distinguished persons among his subscribers, in company with most of the rank and eminence of the time,—and whom his friends and admirers, West Dudley Digges, W. Whitby of Cambridge, Thomas Bel-

* See ante vol. i p 610

lamy, Frederick Pilon, William Upton, and J Butler—all, he tells us, "of high estimation in the world of literature,"—in a series of introductory odes and other rhyming laudations, extol, as another Martial and Juvenal combined,—the reformer of the age—the scourge of folly—animating the just criticism of Persius with a brighter fire than Churchill's—"at once the Pride and Terror of the Land"—a Dryden come to life again—the greatest wit since Butler—a giant, magnanimous and proud, fit only to contend with giants "Our children's children," exclaims Dudley Digges,

' Our children's children o'er thy honour'd dust
Shall raise the aculei red & mil'ant laurel dust
Inscribe the stone with monumental woe
While the big tears in gushing torrents flow !

"Reassless bard" Pilon breaks out—

' In every sense renowned
Though I'll be small re-viewed
Will in treatise set thee down
Originality is all your own

But far beyond this is the fine frenzy of William Upton "Pasquin" roars out this idiot striving to get in a passion—

Pasquin (can no stilly larn pen mycle
Or even the verum of critics kill
Shall th' eff'usion of the witless son ill
And lo! stamin' at th' rumble still
By heaven I'll give thee the little heat a warm core
If thy jest is hurt ag't us as are round
Evenly sixteen it'll get its swar
T' rick, its strength Samsonian to the gr d
For know that giants should with giants vie &c

And afterwards—

Impetuous rant deth my throats affright
T' yet ingovern'd as I undaunted fight
Or rather fill the world with my ill
Such as when Iuri swirly Helen at P

So much for contemporary praise—at least when estimated by the number and vehemence rather than by the true worth and authority of the voices. This man Upton, too, had published at least one volume of rhymes of his own, and no doubt was looked upon by many others as well as by himself as one of the poetical luminaries of the age. The matter we have quoted, however, may serve to give a right notion of the whole of this singular phenomenon—of what the Della Cruscan poetry was, and also of the nature and extent of the celebrity and admiration which it for a time enjoyed. Of course, it could not deceive the higher order of cultivated minds, but even in what is called the literary world there are always numbers of persons easily imposed upon as to such matters, and at the same time favourably placed for imposing upon others, poetical antiquaries, editors, and commentators, for example, who, naturally enough, take themselves, and are taken by the multitude, to be the best judges of the article which it seems to be in a manner their trade to deal in, but who, in truth, for the most part do not know good poetry from bad, or from no poetry at all. Witness the manner in which about this very time some of the most laborious of the Shakespearian commentators, and other literati of high name, were taken in by the miserable forgeries of Ireland. No wonder, then, that Tony Pasquin too had his literary as

well as fashionable admirers. No doubt his chief acceptance, and that of the other Della Cruscan warblers, male and female, was with what is (or rather was, for the phrase in that sense is now gone out) called the town—in other words, the mere populace of the reading world whose voice is not, and cannot be, more potential for any enduring effect than that of any other mob, yet the discreditable infatuation—the parallel of that of Queen Titania for Bottom the weaver, with his ass's head—

I pray thee gentle mortal sing again
My ear is much enamour'd of thy note. —

might have lasted considerably longer, and even spread farther than it did, had it not been checked by Gifford's vigorous exposure and castigation. He himself intimates, in the Preface to the *Mæviad*, that he had been charged with breaking butterflies upon a wheel, but "many a man," he adds, "who now affects to pity me for wasting my strength upon unresisting imbecility, would, not long since, have heard their poems with applause, and their praises with delight." On the other hand, their great patron, Bull, the printer, accused him of "bespattering nearly all the poetical eminence of the day." "But, on the whole," he says, "the clamour against me was not loud, and was lost by insensible degrees in the applause of such as I was truly ambitious to please. Thus supported, the good effects of the satire (glorious liquor) were not long in manifesting themselves. Della Crusca appeared no more in the Oracle, and, if any of his followers ventured to treat the town with a soft sonnet, it was not, as before, introduced by a pompous preface. Pope and Milton resumed their superiority, and Este and his coadjutors silently acquiesced in the growing opinion of their incompetency, and showed some sense of shame."

Of the forgeries of William Henry Ireland it is only necessary to record that, after the pretended old parchments had been exhibited for some months in Norfolk street, where they were beheld and perused with vast reverence and admiration by sundry eminent scholars and critics, their contents were printed in December, 1795, in a magnificent two-guinea folio, published by subscription among the believers, with the title of 'Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, under the hand and seal of William Shakespeare, including the Tragedy of King Lear, and a small fragment of Hamlet, from the original MSS.," that the professed editor was Samuel Ireland, the father of the fabricator, that the tragedy of 'Kynge Vortygerne,' an additional piece of manufacture from the same workshop, was brought out at Drury Lane in March following, that Malone's conclusive 'Inquiry into the Authenticity' of the papers appeared just in time to herald that performance, that young Ireland himself the same year acknowledged the imposition (at the same time acquitting his father of all share in it) in his 'Authentic Account of the Shakespeare Manuscripts' (afterwards

extended in his 'Confessions relative to the Shakespeare Forgery,' published in 1805), and that, notwithstanding all this, George Chalmers came out in 1797, with 'An Apology for the Believers,' which he followed up with another thick octavo, entitled 'A Supplemental Apology,' two years after Malone's exposure, founded entirely on evidence external to the merits of the poetry thus impudently attributed to Shakespeare, as, as we have said, demonstrative enough, but it ought not to have been required the wretched rubbish should have been its own sufficient refutation. Voltaire, indeed, was damned, after Malone had sounded his catcall, but that persons occupying such positions in the literary world as Pye, the poet laureate, Boswell, John Pinkerton, George Chalmers, Dr Parr, &c., should have mistaken, as they did, the poetry of Ireland for that of Shakespeare, could only have happened in a time in which there was very little true feeling generally diffused, even among persons to whom the public naturally looked up for guidance in such matters, either of Shakespeare or of poetry. The Shakespeare papers were a very proper and natural sequel to the Della Cruscan poetry.

Contemporaneously with Gifford's *Baviad* and *Mæviad* appeared another remarkable satirical poem, *The Pursuits of Literature* now known to have been written by the late Thomas James Mathias, the author of many other pieces both in verse and prose (among the rest, of a number of poetical compositions in Italian, published in the latter part of his life) although, we believe, it never was publicly acknowledged by him. The *First Part*, or *Dialogue*, of the *Pursuits of Literature* came out in May, 1794, the *Second* and *Third* together, in May, 1796, the *Fourth* and last in July, 1797. The *Four Dialogues* were collected and republished together in January, 1798. This is called the fifth edition, and before the end of the same year two more editions had been called for. The poem, which consists in all of only between 1500 and 1600 lines, spread over a volume of 450 pages, takes a general survey both of the literature and politics of its day, but the interest of the work lies chiefly in the prose prefaces and notes, the quantity of which amounts to about ten times that of the verse. And, in truth, the prose is in every way the cleverest and most meritorious part of the performance. Mathias's gift of song was not of a high order, his poetry is of the same school with Gifford's, but the verse of the *Pursuits of Literature* has neither the terseness and pungency nor the occasional dignity and elegance which make that of the *Baviad* and *Mæviad* so successful an echo of Pope—the common master of both writers. The notes, however, though *plenetic*, and informed by a spirit of uncompromising partisanship, are written with a sharp pen, as well as in a scholarly style, and, in addition to much Greek and Latin learning, contain a good deal of curious disquisition and anecdote. Most of the literary and political notorieties, great and small,

of that day, are noticed by the author—himself not excepted,* and it is interesting and amusing to look back from this distance, and to remark how time has dealt with the several names in reduced, and what final judgments she has passed on his likings and dislikings.

This may be said to have been especially the age of literary and political satire in England. Most of it, however, was in a lighter style than the '*Pursuits of Literature*' or the '*Baviad* and *Mæviad*.' These poems were the energetic invectives of Juvenal and Persius after the more airy ridicule of Horace. Perhaps the liveliest and happiest of all the quick succession of similar *jeux d'esprit* that appeared from the first unsettlement of the power and supremacy of Lord North to the termination of the war of parties by the firm establishment of the premiership of Pitt, was Richard Tickell's '*Anticipation*,' published a few days before the meeting of parliament in November, 1778. It was an anticipation of the king's speech and the coming debates on it in the two Houses, and so much to the life was each noble lord and honourable member hit off, that, it is said, they one after another, to the infinite amusement of their hearers, fell in their actual orations into the forms of expression and modes of argument and illustration that had been assigned to them, only drifting the faster and the farther in that direction the more they strove to take another course. Poor Tickell, the grandson of Addison's friend, Thomas Tickell, after making the town merry by other sportive effusions both in prose and verse, put an end to his own life by throwing himself from his bedroom window at Hampton Court Palace in November, 1793. The '*Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*,' with its '*Heroic Postscript*,' and the '*Ode*' to Dr Shebbeare, to Sir Fletcher Norton &c., which appeared in 1782 under the name of Malcolm MacGregor, of Knightsbridge, Esq., and are now known to have been the productions of the poet Mason, have been noticed in the preceding Book. A fortunate subject did as much perhaps for the first and most famous of these pieces as any remarkable merit there was in its execution, indeed, the verses would have needed to be golden indeed to give any extraordinary value to so short a performance. The '*Heroic Epistle*' is only an affair of 146 lines, with a few slight prose notes. But, although Sir William's oriental principles of gardening afforded matter for solemn ridicule which it was impossible for him to fail in turning to some account, Mason had more spite than wit, and his words, laboured verse is for the most part rather insolent than caustic. The next political satire that made much noise at the time, and is still remembered, was the famous '*Rolliad*,' which appeared in a series of papers in the latter part of 1784 and beginning of 1785, immediately after the great struggle between Pitt and the

* See a note on line 179 of *Dialogue First*, where mention is made of 'Mr Mathias's candid and comprehensive Essay on Bowley's poems (written in defence of their authenticity)'

Coalition. The 'Rolliad'—so named after the late ~~Rollie~~ Rolle, then Colonel John Rolle, one of the members for Devonshire, and a staunch adherent to the party of Pitt and the court—was a volley of prose and verse from the side of the defeated Coalition. One of the persons principally concerned in it is understood to have been the eminent civilian, Dr French Laurence, Burke's friend; another is believed to have been the late George Ellis, the author of the *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, &c. Its tone and manner are jocular, but it is easy to see that the writers were at heart not a little angry, and that they were bent on doing mischief. The satire is daringly personal and not unfrequently coarse, going to a much greater length in both ways than our present manners would allow. The vindictive spirit out of which it comes, too, is shown both by the pertinacity with which the more eminent victims are again and again attacked, and by the eagerness with which the smaller game also are hunted down and torn to pieces. Nobody escapes, from the new premier down to the most nameless among his retainers. Yet all this is done, as we have said, with much gaiety and laughter, and the epigrams are often as brilliant as they are stinging and exasperating. The 'Rolliad' was followed, after a few months, by the 'Probationary Odes for the Laureateship,' published after the election of Thomas Warton to that office on the vacancy occasioned by the death of William Whitehead. The Odes, which are supposed to be recited by their respective authors before the Lord Chamberlain, assisted by his friend Mr Delpini, of the Haymarket Theatre, whom his lordship had sent for to serve as a guide to his inexperience in such matters, are assigned to Sir Cecil Wray, a not very literary M.P., the established butt of the Whig wits of those days—('the words by Sir Cecil Wray, Bart, the spelling by Mr Grojan, attorney-at law,' is the title), to Lord Mulgrave, a member of the new administration, and the author of a 'Voyage to the North Pole,' as well as of various fugitive pieces in not the soberest verse, to Sir Joseph Mawbey, another ministerial M.P., who appears to have dealt, not in poetry, but in pigs, to Sir Richard Hill, the methodical baronet, brother of Rowland, the well-known preacher, and said to be given to the same kind of pious jocularities in his speeches with which Rowland used to enliven his sermons, to James Macpherson, the translator or author of *Ossian*, who was also at this time a member of the House of Commons (sitting as one of the representatives of the Nabob of Arcot), to Sir Nathaniel Wrexall, already famous for having run over all the countries of the world and learned nothing but their names, to Sir Gregory Page Turner, another loyal baronet and M.P., to Harry Dundas (in Scotch), to Viscount Mountnorris (in *Hibernian English*), to the Lord Chancellor Thurlow; and to the Rev. Dr Prettyman (Pitt's tutor, afterwards Bishop of Winchester), the prose notes to whose irregular strains, "except those wherein Latin is concerned," are stated to be by

John Robinson, Esq.—the notorious "Jack Robinson," in popular repute the well-rewarded and unscrupulous doer of all work for all administrations. The 'Probationary Odes' no doubt proceeded from the same manufactory as the 'Rolliad,' and they are at least equally spirited and successful. Indeed, the humour, we should say, is richer as well as brighter and freer in its flow, an effect owing partly perhaps to the form of the composition, which is not so solemn and rigid, but somewhat also, probably, to the writers being in a kindlier mood, and less disposed to give pain to the objects of their satire. The muse of the 'Rolliad' and the 'Probationary Odes' was, as far as is known, heard no more, but another mocking spirit, not to be so soon silenced, was already in the air, and beginning to "syllable men's names" in a very peculiar accent, at once singularly comic and biting. Dr John Wolcot, formerly a preacher to a congregation of negroes in Jamaica, now settled in London as a physician, made his first appearance as Peter Pindar in his 'Lyric Odes (fifteen in number) to the Royal Academicians for 1782.' The original style and manner of these compositions, coarse and careless enough, but full of drollery and pungency, seems to have taken the public fancy at once. Some attention also their author would have had a right to, had it been merely for the soundness of some of his remarks, and his evident knowledge of his subject, for Wolcot, who when practising medicine at Truro had discovered and encouraged the genius of John Opie, then a working carpenter in that neighbourhood, had a true as well as cultivated feeling for art. But, although the truth or good sense of his criticism may have done something at first to bring him into notice, it was to attractions of another sort that he owed his popularity. He confined himself to his friends the Academicians, to whom he addressed another set of odes in 1783, and a third set in 1785, till the latter year, when he came out with the first canto of his 'Lousiad,' the earliest of his lampoons expressly or entirely dedicated to the higher game which henceforward engaged his chief attention. The king, naturally falling in his way as the founder and patron of the Academy, had from the first come in for a side-blow now and then, but from this date their majesties became the main butts of his ridicule, and it was only when no fresh scandal or lie suited for his purpose was afloat about the doings at St James's or knew that he wasted his time on any thing else. Such a thorn in the side of the royal family did he make himself, that a negotiation, it is said, was at one time entered into to purchase his silence. There can be no doubt, indeed, that his daring and incessant derision proved materially injurious to the popularity of the king and queen. Their unscrupulous assailant took all sorts of advantages, fair and unfair, and his ludicrous delineations are certainly no materials for history, but as a caricaturist in rhyme he must be placed very high. His manner, as we have observed, is quite



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original and his own, however much it may have been imitated since by others. His mere wit is not very pointed, but nobody tells a story better, or brings out the force of a scene with more breadth and effect. Much of what he has left is hastily executed and worth very little, some of his attempts were not suited to the nature of his powers, much of what made people laugh heartily in his own day has lost its interest with the topics to which it relates, but it may safely be predicted that some of his comic tales, and other things which he has done best, and which have least of a mere temporary reference, will live in the language and retain their popularity. Wolcot lived till 1819, but, although he continued to write and publish till within a few years of his death (producing, among other things, a tragedy, the *Fall of Portugal*, which appeared without his name in 1808), all his most memorable effusions belong to the first eighteen or twenty years of his authorship. His proper successor, who may be regarded in the main as his imitator or disciple, was the late George Colman the Younger (as he persisted in calling himself so long as he lived), but it has not been generally noticed that from Wolcot Byron also has evidently caught part of the inspiration of his *Don Juan*—not of its golden poetry, of course, but of the fluent drollery and quaintness of its less elevated passages. Even there it is Wolcot refined and heightened, but still the spirit and manner are essentially the same. Compare, for instance, the harangue of Julia to her husband and his intruding myrmidons, in the first canto of *Don Juan*, with the *Petition of the Cooks* in the second canto of the *Louisiad*.

Of a number of other poetical writers, or verse-makers of the present period, very little need be said. The celebrated Sir William Jones—the Admirable Crichton of his day—published the first of his poems, consisting mostly of translations from the Asiatic languages, in 1772, in his twenty-sixth year, and he afterwards produced, from time to time, other similar translations, and also some original compositions in verse. He died, in the midst of a career of intellectual conquest which promised to embrace the whole compass of human learning, in 1794. The poetry of Sir William Jones is very sonorous and imposing, and in his happiest efforts there is not wanting nobleness of thought, or glow of passion, as well as pomp of words. He cannot, however, be called a poet of an original genius, any peculiarity of inspiration that may seem to distinguish some of his compositions is for the most part only the orientalism of the subject, and of the figures and images. He is a brilliant translator and imitator rather than a poet in any higher sense. We cannot say even so much for some other verse writers of this age, once of great note. Henry James Pye, who died Poet-Laureate and a police magistrate in 1813 (having succeeded to the former office in 1790 on the death of Thomas Warton), had in his time discharged upon the unreinsisting public torrents of

'Progress of Refinement,' 'Shooting, a Poem,' 'Amusement, a Poetical Essay,' 'Alfred,' 'Faringdom Hill,' 'The Aristocrat,' 'The Democrat,' and other ditch-water of the sort, which the thirsty earth has long since drunk up. Not less unweariedly productive was Hayley, the friend and biographer of Cowper, with his 'Triumphs of Temper,' 'Triumphs of Music,' poetical epistles, elegies, odes, rhyming essays, plays, &c, which had accumulated to a mass of six octavo volumes so early as 1785, and to which much more forgotten verse was afterwards added—besides his *Lives of Cowper and Milton*, a prose three volume 'Essay on Old Maids,' a novel of similar extent, &c &c. William Hayley lived till 1820. With his prose poetry may be classed the several wooden didactic and other poems of the late learned Richard Payne Knight—'The Landscape,' published in 1794, 'The Progress of Civil Society,' in 1796, 'The Romance of Alfred,' many years after Mr. Knight died in 1824. Here may be also properly enumerated Cumberland's worthless epics of 'Calvary,' 'Richard the First,' 'The Exodiad' (the two latter written in conjunction with Sir James Bland Burgess, and the last not published till some years after the close of the present period). Cumberland's comedies have been noticed in the last Book. Another popular poet, and voluminous writer both in verse and prose, of this age was Samuel Jackson Pratt—originally a strolling player, next an itinerant lecturer, finally a Bath bookseller—who, after beginning his literary career as a writer of novels under the designation of Courtney Melmoth, Esq., perpetrated certain long poems, in a style of singularly mawkish sentimentality and empty affectation—'Sympathy,' 'Humanity,' and sundry others, with which humanity has long ceased to sympathize. Pratt, however, was quite the rage for a time—though his existence had been generally forgotten for a good many years before its earthly close in 1814. Here, too, may be mentioned the Rev. Percival Stockdale, whose first poetical effusion, 'Churchill Defended,' dates so far back as 1765, and who continued scribbling and publishing down nearly to his death, in 1811, but all whose literary labours have passed into utter oblivion, except only his *Memoirs of his own Life*, published in two octavo volumes in 1809, which is a work that the world will not willingly let die, and to have written which is, of itself, not to have lived in vain. Poor Stockdale's pleasant delusion was merely, that, being one of the smallest men of his time, or of any time, he imagined himself to be one of the greatest—and his auto-biography is his exposition and defence of this faith, written with an intense serenity of conviction which the most confirmed believers in any thing else whatever might envy.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith, better known as a novelist, made her first appearance as an author, at the age of twenty-five, by the publication, at Chichester, in 1784, of a series of 'Elegiac Sonnets,' in which there was at least considerable poetic merit.

Miss Brooke, daughter of Henry Brooke, the author of 'The Fool of Quality,' published in 1790 her 'Reliques of Irish Poetry' translated into English Verse,' which is chiefly deserving of notice as having called some attention to a neglected and interesting department of ancient national literature. Hannah More had produced her two ballads, or 'Poetical Tales,' as she called them, of 'Sir Eldred of the Bower,' and the 'Bleeding Rock,' and several more poems, as well as sundry tragedies and other dramatic pieces, before the commencement of the present period, and she maintained her reputation as a correct, sensible, and highly moral writer of verse by her 'Florio' and 'The Bas Bleu,' published in 1786, and her poem entitled 'Slavery,' which appeared, in a quarto volume, two years later. Joanna Baillie, still preserved to us, assumed at once her much more eminent place as a poetess, by the first volume of her Plays illustrative of the Passions, which was given to the world in 1798. The late William Sotheby, besides a volume of poems published in 1794, added to our literature in 1798 his elegant version of 'Wieland's Oberon,' the work by which his name is perhaps most likely to be preserved, although he continued to write verse down almost to his death in 1833. But perhaps the two most important poetical publications which have not been noticed, at least in their effects, if not in themselves, were the 'Fourteen Sonnets' by the Rev. Leslie Bowles, who also still lives, printed at Bath in 1789, and the 'Tales of Wonder,' by Matthew Gregory Lewis (already of literary notoriety as the author of the novel of 'The Monk,' published in 1795), which came out, in two volumes, in 1801. Mr. Bowles, whose later works have amply sustained his reputation as a true poet, has the glory of having by his first verses given an impulse and an inspiration to the genius of Coleridge, who in his *Biographia Literaria* has related how the spirit of poetry that was in him was awakened into activity by these sonnets. Lewis, again, and his *Tales of Wonder*, gave in like manner example and excitement to Scott, who had indeed already published his first rhymes, partly translated, partly original, in 1796, and also his prose version of Goethe's *Goetz of Berlichingen* in 1799, but had not yet given any promise of what he was destined to become. Coleridge published his forgotten drama of *The Fall of Robespierre*, in 1794, and a volume of Poems in 1796, Wordsworth, his *Epistle in verse* entitled, 'An Evening Walk,' and also his 'Descriptive Sketches during a Tour in the Alps,' in 1793, and the first edition of his 'Lyrical Ballads,' in 1798, Southey, his *Joan of Arc*, in 1796, and a volume of Poems in 1797, but these writers all nevertheless belong properly to our next period, in which their principal works were produced, as well as Scott and Crabbe, and Thomas Moore, whose first publication, his *Odes of Anacreon*, appeared in 1800, Thomas Campbell, whose *Pleasures of Hope* first appeared in 1799, Walter Savage Landor, whose first published poetry dates

so far back as 1795, and Samuel Rogers, whose first poetry came out in 1786, and his *Pleasures of Memory*, in 1792.

In October or November of the same year 1786, in which Rogers, still among us, first made his name known to English readers by 'An Ode to Superstition, with other Poems,' printed at London, in the fashionable quarto size of the day, the press of the obscure country town of Kilmarnock, in Scotland, gave to the world, in an octavo volume, the first edition of the 'Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect' of Robert Burns. A second edition was printed at Edinburgh early in the following year. Burns, born on the 25th of January, 1759, had composed most of the pieces contained in this publication in the two years preceding its appearance: his life—an April day of sunshine and storm—closed on the 21st of July, 1796, and in his last nine or ten years he may have about doubled the original quantity of his printed poetry. He was not quite thirty-seven and a half years old when he died—about a year and three months older than Byron. Burns is the greatest peasant poet that has ever appeared, but his poetry is so remarkable in itself that the circumstances in which it was produced hardly add any thing to our admiration. It is a poetry of very limited compass—not ascending towards any "highest heaven of



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invention," nor even having much variety of modulation, but yet in its few notes as true and melodious a voice of passion as was ever heard. It is all light and fire. Considering how little the dialect in which he wrote had been trained to the purposes of literature, what Burns has done with it is miraculous. Nothing in Horace, in the way of curious felicity of phrase, excels what we find in the compositions of this Ayrshire ploughman. The words are almost always so apt and full of life, at once so natural and expressive, and so graceful and musical in their animated simplicity, that, were the matter ever so trivial, they would of themselves turn it into poetry. And the same native artistic feeling manifests itself in every thing else. One characteristic that belongs to whatever Burns has written is that, of its kind or in its own

way, it is a perfect production. It is perfect in the same sense in which every production of nature is perfect, the humblest weed as well as the proudest flower, and in which, indeed, every true thing whatever is perfect, viewed in reference to its species and purpose. His poetry is, throughout, real emotion melodiously uttered. As such, it is as genuine poetry as was ever written or sung. Not, however, although its chief and best inspiration is passion rather than imagination, that any poetry ever was farther from being a mere Æolian warble addressing itself principally to the nerves. Burns's head was as strong as his heart, his natural sagacity, logical faculty, and judgment were of the first order, no man, of poetical or prosaic temperament, ever had a more substantial intellectual character. And the character of his poetry is like that of the mind and the nature out of which it sprang—instant with passion, but not less so with power of thought—full of light, as we have said as well as of fire. More of matter and meaning, in short, in any sense in which the terms may be understood, is in no verses than there is in his. Hence the popularity of the poetry of Burns with all classes of his countrymen—a popularity more universal, probably, than any other writer ever gained, at least so immediately, for his name, we apprehend, had become a household word among all classes in every part of Scotland, even in his own lifetime. Certainly at the present day, unless we are possibly to except some of the more secluded and half-savage dribblets of the population, recent reports of whose moral and intellectual condition have made it doubtful if they always know their own names, that would be a curious Lowland Scotchman, or Scotchwoman either, who should be found never to have heard of the name and fame of Robert Burns, or even to be altogether ignorant of his works. It has happened, however, from this cause that he is not, perhaps, in general estimated by the best of his productions. Nobody, of course, capable of appreciating any of the characteristic qualities of Burns's poetry will ever think of quoting even the best of the few verses he has written in English, as evidence of his poetic genius. In these he is Sampson shorn of his hair and become as any other man. But even such poems as his 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' and his tale of 'Tam o' Shanter,' convey no adequate conception of what is brightest and highest in his poetry. The former is a true and touching description in a quiet and subdued manner, suitable to the subject, but not adapted to bring out much of his illuminating fancy and fusing power of passion the other is a rapid, animated, and most effective piece of narrative, with some vigorous comedy, and also some scene-painting in a broad, dashing style, but exhibiting hardly more of the peculiar humour of Burns than of his pathos. His *Lanes to a Mountain Daisy*, his *Lanes to a Mouse*, his *Address to the Deil*, his *Death* and *Dr Hornbook*, his *Holy Fair*, and many of his more irreverent effusions, are of a far rarer merit—much richer in true

poetic sunshine and beauty, as well as of a much more distinctive and original inspiration. His Songs, to be sure, have taken all hearts—and they are the very flame-breath of his own. No truer poetry is any where to be found than these songs of Burns's. Yet they do not resemble the exquisite lyrical snatches with which Shakespeare, and also Beaumont and Fletcher, have sprinkled some of their dramas—enlivening the busy scene and progress of the action as the progress of the wayfarer is enlivened by the voices of birds and the sight and scent of wild flowers that have sprung up by the way side. The songs of Burns belong rather to the same class with the lyrics of Sappho, and the more impassioned among those of Horace, which are equally utterances of real emotion, expressions of some feeling or aspiration of the poet himself which thus sought and found vent. They are rivulets of melodious fancy poured from the fount of his own heart—his actual mood of mind at the time, whether of sorrow or joy, made vocal and musical. And indeed in all that he has written best, Burns may be said to have given us himself,—the passion or sentiment which swayed or possessed him at the moment,—almost as much as in his songs. In him the poet was the same as the man. He could describe with admirable fidelity and force incidents, scenes, manners, characters, or whatever else, which had fallen with his experience or observation, but he had little proper dramatic imagination, or power of going out of himself into other natures, and, as it were, losing his personality in the creations of his fancy. His blood was too hot, his pulse beat too tumultuously, for that, at least he was during his short life too much the sport both of his own passions and of many other stormy influences to acquire such power of intellectual self command and self suppression. What he might have attained to if a longer earthly existence had been granted to him—or a less tempestuous one—who shall say? Both when his genius first blazed out upon the world, and when its light was quenched by death, it seemed as if he had been born or designed to do much more than he had done. Having written what he wrote before his twenty-seventh year, he had doubtless much more additional poetry in him than he gave forth between that date and his death at the age of thirty-seven—poetry which might now have been the world's for ever if that age had been worthy of such a gift of heaven as its glorious poet—if it had not treated him rather like an untamable howling hyæna, that required to be caged and chained, if not absolutely suffocated at once, than as a spirit of divinate song. Never surely did men so put a bushel upon the light, first to hide and at last to extinguish it. As it is, however, the influence of the poetry of Burns upon the popular mind of Scotland must have been immense. And we believe it has been all for good—enlarging, elevating, and refining the national heart, as well as awakening it. The tendency of some things, both in the character of the people and in their peculiar

institutions, required such a check or counteraction as was supplied by this frank, generous, reckless poet, springing so singularly out of the iron-bound Calvinistic Presbyterianism of the country, like the flowing water from the rock in Horeb. What would not such a poet as Burns be worth to the people of the United States of America, if he were to arise among them at this moment? It would be as good as another Declaration of Independence. Nay, what would not such a popular poetry as his be worth in any country, to any people? There is no people whom it would not help to sustain in whatever nobleness of character belonged to them, if it did not more ennoble them. For, whatever there may be to be disapproved of in the licence or indecorum of some things that Burns has written, there is at least nothing mean souled in his poetry, any more than there was in the man. It is never for a moment even vulgar or low in expression or manner: it is wonderful how a native delicacy of taste and elevation of spirit in the poet have sustained him here, with a dialect so soiled by illiterate lips, and often the most perilous subject. Burns, the peasant, is perhaps the only modern writer of Scotch (not excepting even Sir Walter Scott) who has written it uniformly like a gentleman. Not that his language is not sometimes strong or bold enough, and even, on two or three occasions, coarse, but these momentary outbreaks of a wild levity have never anything in them that can be called base or creeping. On the other hand, some of the most tremendously passionate of his pieces are models of refinement of style. And such as is the poetry of Burns was his life. Even his faults of character and errors of conduct were those of a high nature, and on the whole were more really estimable, as well as more loveable, than the virtues of most other people. Mised he often was, as he has himself said—

' Mised I fan, a meikler ray,
By passion driven;
Nae vet the light that led astray
Was light fra' an' ca'ra.

This was an age of popular song in England as well as in Scotland: while Burns was in the last years of his life enriching Thomson's 'Collection of Original Scottish Airs' and Johnson's 'Musical Museum' with words for the old airs of his country that have become a part of the being of every Scotsman, Charles Dibdin, like another Tyrtæus, was putting new patriotism into every English heart by his inspiring strains—some of the best of which Tyrtæus never matched, but he will fall more properly to be noticed when we come to speak of what was done in Music during the present period.

In prose literature, although there was book-making enough, not much that has proved enduring was done in England during the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century, at least if we except a few works produced by one or two of the great writers of the preceding period who have been already noticed—such, for instance, as the

three last volumes of Gibbon's History, published in 1788, and Burke's Reflections and other writings, chiefly on the subject of the French Revolution, which appeared between 1790 and his death in 1797. We may also mention here the publication in 1798, in five volumes 4to, of the first collected edition of the Works of Horace Walpole, comprising, along with other novelties, a volume of his always lively and entertaining and often brilliant Letters, the portion of his writings upon which his fame is probably destined chiefly to rest. His Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George II., in two quarto volumes, were not given to the world till 1822.

In the Drama, with activity enough among a crowd of writers, very little was produced in this period that retains its place in our literature. Mrs Inchbald, Thomas Holcroft, Thomas Morton, John O'Keefe, Charles Dibdin and George Colman the Younger (already mentioned), Francis Reynolds, and Joseph George Holman were the principal writers who supplied the theatres with new pieces, and Holcroft's *Road to Ruin* (1792), Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1798), Mrs Inchbald's *Wives as they Were and Maids as they Are* (1797), and Colman's *Sylvester Daggerwood*, originally entitled *New Hay at the Old Market* (1795), are all of more or less merit, and retain some popularity. No great comedy however belongs to this time. The tragedies produced were such as *Madame D'Arbly* an *Edwif and Eliza*, brought out at Drury Lane in 1795, but never printed, Arthur Murphy's *Arminius* (1796), Godwin's *Antonio* (1801), &c.

In the department of fictitious narrative there was more to boast of. William Godwin, already distinguished by his Enquiry concerning Political Justice, made a great sensation in 1794 by his novel of *Things as the Are, or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*: a performance still standing almost alone in our literature of that description for earnest, unpassioned verisimilitude. and in 1799 the same writer achieved perhaps a still greater triumph by a different application of the same kind of power, in his *St Leon*, in which even the supernatural and impossible is invested with the strongest likeness to truth and reality. The *Evelina* of Miss Frances Burney (afterwards *Madame D'Arbly*) appeared in 1777, her *Cecilia* in 1782, her *Camilla* in 1796. Mrs Radcliffe (originally Miss Ann Ward) produced within this period her *Romance of the Forest* and her *Mysteries of Udolpho*, Mrs Charlotte Smith (originally Miss Turner) her *Romance of Real Life*, and several other novels, all of superior merit. Dr John Moore his *Zeluco*, his *Edward*, and his *Mordaunt*; Mrs Inchbald, her *Simple Story* (in 1791). Mrs Opie (originally Miss Alderson), still living, had also published her first work, her deeply pathetic tale of *The Father and Daughter*, in 1801, and Miss Edgeworth had commenced her brilliant career of fiction by her *Belinda* in 1801, and her *Castle Rackrent* in 1802.

In History, if we except the conclusion of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, no work that has any pretensions to be accounted classical appeared during this short period. The first edition of Mitford's *History of Greece* was published in 1784, another '*History of Ancient Greece*,' in two volumes quarto, by Dr John Gillies, who afterwards succeeded Dr Robertson as Royal Historiographer for Scotland, appeared in 1786, John Pinkerton published his *Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths* in 1787, his *Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III* (forming an introduction to Lord Hailes's *Annals*) in 1789, and his *History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary* (filling up the interval between Hailes and Robertson) in 1797, all works of research and ingenuity, but of no merit as pieces of composition. The Rev John Whitaker, who had previously made himself known by his '*History of Manchester*,' and his '*Genuine History of the Britons Asserted*,' published his '*Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated*' in 1787, and many minutæ of the national antiquities were illustrated, in the *Archæologia* or in separate publications, by Gough, the editor of Camden's *Britannia*, Dr Samuel Pegge, and other patient and laborious inquirers. In Biography, historical and literary, besides Boswell's great work, '*The Life of Samuel Johnson*,' which first appeared, in two quarto volumes, in 1790, there was Mr Roscoe's elegant '*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*,' published in 1795. The same writer's '*Life and Pontificate of Leo X*' did not appear till 1805.

Of Criticism and Commentatorship of all kinds there was abundance. At least a brilliant beginning was made in the study of the literature of India and other Eastern countries by a few adventurous inquirers, led by Sir William Jones, whose French version of the *Life of Nadir Shah* from the Persian appeared in 1770, his *Persian Grammar* in 1771, his *Six Books of Commentaries*, in Latin, on the *Persian Poetry*, in 1774, his translation of the *Moallakat* from the Arabic in 1783, his translation of the Sanscrit drama of *Sacountala* in 1790, his translation of the *Ordnances of Menu* in 1794, and his various disquisitions on the languages, learning, and history of the Oriental nations, printed in the *Asiatic Researches*, in the early volumes of that publication, begun in 1788. Jones also, besides his poetry already mentioned, and his *Essay on the Law of Bailments* and one or two other professional tracts, had in 1779 published a translation of the *Speeches of Isæus*, from the Greek. Other translations from the ancient languages published during this period were that of Aristotle's *Treatise on Poetry*, by Pye (afterwards poet laureate) in 1788, that of the same work by the Rev Thomas Twining in 1789, that of Aristotle's *Ethics and Politics* by Dr Gillies in 1797, and that of the works of Tacitus by Arthur Murphy in 1793. The immediately preceding period had been illustrated by the

learned and ingenious philological speculations of Harris and Monboddo: it was not, indeed, till the year 1792 that the sixth and last volume of Monboddo's '*Origin and Progress of Language*' saw the light, meanwhile, the first part of what has proved a much more influential work, Horne Tooke's celebrated '*Diversions of Purley*,' appeared in 1786 in an octavo volume, afterwards expanded into a quarto, to which a second was added in 1805. The germ of his system, however, had been stated by Tooke in his *Letter to Mr Dunning*, published in 1778. In Latin scholarship, the most remarkable production of this period was perhaps the edition of the work of the Scottish writer William Bellenden, or Bellendenus, entitled *De Statu*, which appeared anonymously in 1787, with a long and eloquent Latin Preface, loud in its advocacy of the Whig politics and laudation of the Whig leaders of the day, now known to be the composition of the Rev Dr Samuel Parr, who had already some years before announced himself in a sermon published under the name of Phileleutherus Norfolciensis, and was for nearly forty years after this date to continue to make considerable noise in the literary world as theologian, critic, Philopatris Varviciensis, &c. Parr was assisted in the preparation of his edition of Bellendenus by his friend Henry Homer, who published some good editions of Horace, Cæsar, and other Latin authors, but died at an early age in 1791. Another reverend politician and classical scholar of this day was Gilbert Wakefield, who, being a dissenter, carried his liberalism both in politics and in divinity considerably farther than Dr Parr, and was, from his twentieth year till his death in 1801, at the age of forty five, one of the most restless of writers upon all sorts of subjects. Wakefield published an edition of Virgil's *Georgics* in 1788, his *Silva Critica* (a miscellany of Latin notes upon the Sacred Scriptures and other ancient writings) in 1789, and a complete translation of the New Testament in 1792, but his reputation as a scholar, whatever it may be, rests principally upon his work of greatest pretension his collated and annotated edition of Lucretius, published in 1796 and 1797. He also gave to the world editions of several Greek tragedies, of Bion and Moschus, of Horace, and of Virgil, and among his numerous original works are an unfinished *Inquiry into the Opinions of the Fathers concerning the Person of Christ*, an *Answer to Paine's Age of Reason*, a *Reply to (Watson) the Bishop of Llandaff's Address to the People of Great Britain* (for the publication of which, in 1798, he was brought to trial by the government, and, being convicted of a seditious libel, was imprisoned for two years in Dorchester gaol), and his *Memoirs of his Own Life*, published in 1795. His *Correspondence with Charles Fox* was printed after his death. The excellent edition of Aristotle's *Treatise on Poetry*, which had been prepared by Thomas Tyrwhitt, the admirable editor of Chaucer, before his death in 1786, was brought out at Oxford, from the

Clarendon Press, in 1794. In 1795 his edition of the *Hæcuba* of Euripides, which was followed by the *Orestes*, *Phœnisææ*, and *Medea*, crowned the reputation of Richard Porson, who had already given proof of his unrivalled acuteness in his *Letters to Archdeacon Travis* on the subject of the controverted passage about the three witnesses in the First Epistle of John, published in 1790, and who, in the union of extensive and exact knowledge of the Greek language, probably never had a superior among modern scholars. Porson, upon whom the mantle of the great Bentley seemed to have descended, and who might perhaps have left a name as illustrious as his if unfortunate habits of life had not wasted as well as probably shortened his days, died at the age of forty-nine in 1808. Other active labourers during this period in the department of classical scholarship were Dr Thomas Randolph, who died Bishop of London in 1813, Dr Thomas Burgess, the late Bishop of Salisbury; and the late Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Herbert Marsh, whose varied acquirements and literary performances embraced politics, theology, and German and Oriental learning, as well as Greek and Latin. This with the preceding period formed moreover the great age of commentatorship upon Shakspeare, and also upon some other portions of our old poetry. Dr Johnson's first edition of Shakspeare, in eight volumes, appeared in 1765, George Stevens's edition of the *Twenty Old Quartos*, in four volumes, in 1766, Edward Capell's edition of all the *Plays*, in ten volumes, in 1768, but his *Notes*, in three volumes quarto, not till 1788, two years after the author's death, Sir Thomas Hanmer's in six quartos, in 1771, that by Johnson and Stevens, in ten octavos, in 1773, their second edition in 1778, the Supplement to that edition by Edmund Malone, in two volumes, in 1780, Isaac Reed's first edition (sometimes called the third edition of Johnson and Stevens) in 1786, Malone's first edition, in ten volumes, in 1790, Isaac Reed's second edition, in twenty-one volumes, in 1803; Malone's second, in sixteen volumes, in 1816. We have already mentioned the two volumes on Ireland's forgeries (to the second of which, it may be here stated, an 'Appendix' was added in 1800), published by George Chalmers, the laborious author of many other works, generally written in the most fantastic style, on finance, economical science, and the politics of the day, as well as of various historical and antiquarian compilations, the most important of which, his *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, and his *Caledonia* (unfinished), were published in the next period, as well as the editor of Allan Ramsay, Sir David Lindsay, and others of our old poets. Following, also, in the path struck out by Warton and Percy, John Pinkerton, Joseph Ritson, David Macpherson, George Ellis, and others investigated, with more or less learning and acuteness, the history of our early poetry, or edited different portions of it.

In Moral Speculation, political, philosophical,

and theological, among the principal names belonging to this period of our literature are, besides Burke (our remarks upon whom have been made in the preceding Book), Paine, Godwin, Mary Wolstonecraft, Paley, Bishops Watson, Horsely, and Porteus, Priestley, Price, Dr Geddes, Dr Campbell of Aberdeen, Dr MacKnight of Edinburgh, Dr Blair, &c. Thomas Paine's three dexterous and smartly-written works, his 'Common Sense,' published in 1776, his 'Rights of Man,' in 1791-2, and his 'Age of Reason,' in 1794-5, have been already animadverted upon in our First Chapter. Mary Wolstonecraft's more declamatory 'Vindication of the Rights of Women' came forth immediately after the First Part of Paine's *Rights of Man*—not unlike the hollow but imposing thunder of the artillery following the flash. Godwin's more systematic exposition of the new philosophy (not destined ever to grow old), his 'Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on general Virtue and Happiness,' appeared in 1793. Bishop Watson, who, besides five volumes of 'Chemical Essays' and a variety of charges, sermons, addresses, and other occasional publications, had defended the cause of religion against the subtle learning of Gibbon in his 'Apology for Christianity' in 1776, twenty years



later wrote his 'Apology for the Bible' in answer to the bold ignorance of Paine. All these performances, however, attacks and defences alike, having served each its temporary purpose, are already passed or fast passing away into forgetfulness. Not so with Archdeacon Paley's works: his 'Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy,' published in 1785, his 'Horæ Paulinæ,' in 1790, his 'View of the Evidence of Christianity,' in 1794; and his 'Natural Theology,' in 1802—all of which are characterised by a maturity in the conception, and a care and sterling ability in the execution, that will make it long before they are superseded. Finally, we ought not to omit to notice that the first edition of Mr. Malthus's celebrated 'Essay on the Principle of Population' was published in 1798 in an octavo pamphlet, although it differed hardly more in size than it did in substance from the next edition, expanded into a quarto volume, which appeared in 1803.



In resuming the History of the Fine Arts during the last forty years of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to take up the subject of Architecture from the beginning of that space of time.

The paramount influence exercised by the accomplished Earl of Burlington, during the reign of George II,* over the professors as well as the patrons of architecture, would scarcely have been conceded to his eminence as an architect, had it not been supported by rank and wealth, and the open and generous spirit with which he encouraged the art he so highly esteemed and so assiduously studied. Lord Burlington, however, took a narrow view of architecture, and in directing his energies against the corruptions which had accumulated upon the classical styles, and of which the works of the contemporary of his earlier years, Vanbrugh, afforded but too many examples for animadversion, he forgot that he was dealing with an art which, uniting usefulness with beauty, and addressing itself to the wants as well as to the tastes of mankind, is essentially influenced by the moral and physical habits of society, and the varied modes of existence which attend the progress of the human race. Whenever a people have shown themselves capable of an original mode of thinking, they have in nothing exerted it more powerfully than in adapting their buildings to their climate, their customs, their religion, and the spirit of their public institutions. Under various combinations of such influences, a perpetual state of transition has ever been an essential condition of the existence of architecture as an art, and at successive periods, both in ancient and modern times, and in different localities, architecture has diverged from a common point of departure into the most distant extremes, and even into the most opposite principles, of taste, and yet each modification may command unqualified applause when judged with reference to the circumstances under which it was produced. This view of the subject was overlooked by Lord Burlington when he transplanted the Villa Capra to the banks of the Thames, and reduced the study of architecture to imitation—a principle which his followers confined within its narrowest limits †.

During the seven centuries which had elapsed from the establishment of the Norman dynasty to the period now under consideration, England had maintained an eminent place among the people of modern Europe in the cultivation of a characteristic national architecture. Throughout the transitions of the middle ages we thought for our selves, and thought well. The later Gothic architecture of England is national and peculiar, and shows in unrivalled purity and beauty by the side of the depraved contemporary styles of the Continent. We have modes of composition peculiar to ourselves, in the transition which universally accompanied the revival of classical architecture, and

the name of Inigo Jones, by whom the change was finally accomplished in England, stands in the first rank of those whose genius has rendered them illustrious in art. The inventive talents of Wren and Vanbrugh, working upon the style which had long proved its fitness, in the hands of original thinkers, to meet every exigency of society, and to assume every characteristic of design, from the sublime to the graceful and gay, maintained to the eighteenth century the claims of England to an independent school of architecture.*

The merits of Vanbrugh were such as neither Burlington, nor the polished literati who supported him in his war against the architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard, were able to appreciate. It has been well observed, that "in the arts there is always to be found room for a man upon whom nature has bestowed the faculty of seeing, feeling, and thinking for himself." Burlington was not that man—far less so were any of those who adopted his tastes and opinions at secondhand. The English school, as it was constituted at the accession of George III., could devise no correction of the errors of their predecessors but by resorting to crude imitations of Palladio—a recurrence to forms and combinations established under modes of existence totally differing from their own, at another period, and in another climate. Neither their discriminating taste in the selection of the beautiful nor their profound knowledge of the practice of the Italian schools, can redeem the want of *fitness* which characterizes their productions: their disregard to the exigencies of our climate, and their inattention to our domestic habits, for in many cases their plans, as well as their elevations, are borrowed from the Italian. The consequences were fatal. They had rooted up a vigorous plant, for an exotic which they wanted skill to naturalize, it perished, therefore, leaving nothing in its place, and another half-century found architecture in England reduced to a condition unprecedented since its first development as an art, devoid of unity, character, and principles.

The description of the far-famed villa at Chiswick, by one of the greatest admirers of the master, will bear a general application to the works of the disciples. "It is a model of taste," says Walpole, "though not without faults, some of which are occasioned by too strict an adherence to rules and symmetry. Such are too many correspondent doors in spaces too contracted—chimneys between windows, and, what is worse, windows between chimneys—and vestibules, however beautiful, but too little secured from the damps of the climate. The ground apartment is rather a diminutive catacomb than a library in a northern latitude." The whole school seem, by some strange fatality, to have adopted a mode of the Italian practice the least suited for adaptation to our climate and habits. A large collection of the man-

* See Hist. of England vol. iv. p. 750, 753.

† See Sir Joshua Reynolds on the right and wrong use of imitation in the arts, D. 500. rec. No. 6.

* For the progress of architect. in England from the Saxon period see the Preface to History of Engl. art.

sions of the last and present reign, down to the year 1771, may be referred to in the continuation of the 'Vitruvius Britannicus,'* bearing the names of Kent, Leoni,† Paine, Carr, Vardy, Morris, Hiorne, Wright, Ware, Wood, Donowell, Pickford, Leadbetter, Smith, Sanderson, Adam, and Chambers—names now mostly obscure. Out of about forty mansions of the same class represented in this work, the principal floors of three-fourths of the number are raised on basements from two-fifths to one third of the superstructure in height the entrance being approached by flights of steps, seldom less than twenty in number, open to all the vicissitudes of the weather, in deference to which there is generally the alternative of creeping into "the diminutive catacomb" below by a door under the steps. The effect of such an arrangement may be observed at the Mansion House in London, which is never appropriated to the especial purpose for which it was built without the erection of a sloping canvas passage to the portico. Sometimes there are the steps without the basement door, and sometimes there is the door without the steps. Inigo Jones has been charged as an authority for these solecisms, but they occur in few of his works. His basements are for the most part of a proportion to form a complete ground floor, and, if the principal apartment is on a higher level,

it is at least approached under cover, and by a staircase, the dignity of which may be a sufficient apology for the trouble of ascending it.

With the exception of the two last, who will claim some more lengthened observations, the most eminent architects in the foregoing list now to be noticed, as belonging to the reign of George III., are James Paine, and John Carr of York. The former seems to have imitated the peculiarities in the style of Kent, and sometimes to have mixed with them the flimsy decoration which was coming into fashion before he quitted the stage, but his most important works do great honour to his abilities. *Workshop Manor*, in Nottinghamshire, and *Keddleston*, in Derbyshire are in a style of much grandeur. The former was never completed and the latter is usually assigned to Robert Adam, who carried on the works at a later period but Paine is entitled to the credit of the magnificent hall of entrance and the principal front. It is impossible not to distinguish his sound Roman style from the gingerbread of his successor. The works of John Carr are extremely numerous. *Harewood House* is one of his most important productions, and also one of his best. The general characteristic of his style is a certain thinness produced by an effort to be *light*. *Heary* was the grand approach levelled at Van-



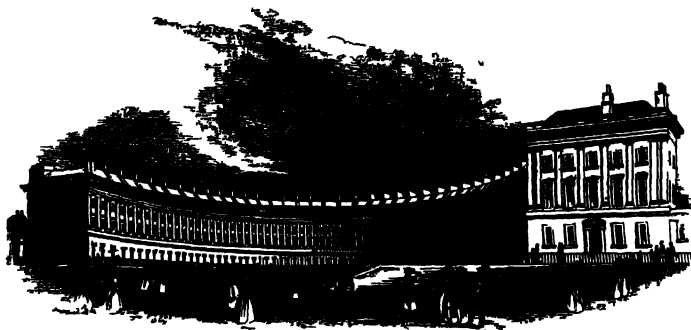
HARWOOD HOUSE

burgh by the Burlington faction, and the pupils were beginning to better the instruction. John Wood, of Bath, was the son of the eminent architect of Prior Park and the Exchange at Bristol, who died in 1754. To the father and son we are in one sense indebted for the modern city of Bath, which is said to have been enlarged to three times its original size from their designs. They built the Crescent, Queen Square, the Parade, &c., in no

mean style of street architecture, much favoured by the materials at their command. Hiorne was an artist of great promise, but died young. He built the Sessions House at Warwick. Isaac Ware built Mr Byng's house near Mims, and Chesterfield House in London. He is better known by the publication of a treatise on architecture, embodying some unpublished works of Inigo Jones.

Conspicuous among his contemporaries for a pure taste and an original mode of treating the Italian style of architecture, appears Sir Robert Taylor.

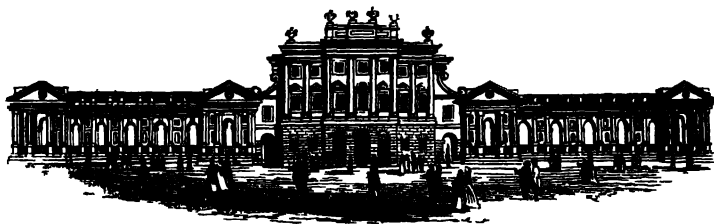
* *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vols iv and v, by Woolfs and Cannon.
† See *Historical History of England*, vol iv pp 701 702



THE CURVE, BANK

This artist was born in 1714, and began life as a sculptor, but the accession of George III found him in extensive practice as an architect. About 1785 he completed the most important of his public works, the extension of the Bank of England, which consisted previously of no more than the present centre buildings, erected in 1732 by George Sampson, of whose work the hall is the only part now remaining unaltered, and, with the exceptions of the court-room and the west quadrangle, the additions of his successor are equally to be numbered with the things that have been. The

Rotunda, which Taylor first erected, has not been restored for the better, and his plan of the Reduced Annuity Office became the general model in the reconstruction of the building by Sir John Soane, as uniting, in an eminent degree, convenient arrangement, ample light, and good architectural effect. In the Transfer Offices he committed the error by which Gibbs has deformed the interior of St Martin's Church, profiling the entablatures over single columns supporting arches, and he has generally been considered unhappy in imitating the inclosure of the Belvedere Garden in the Vatican



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

in his exterior. In villa architecture, a style which may be considered to have taken its rise at this period—a circumstance strongly illustrative of the dependence of architecture on the wants of society—Taylor was eminently successful. Previously to this time, country houses ranking in the class below mansions were something in the style of what Voltaire calls “un château ayant une porte et des fenêtres.” To apply the exterior graces of the Italian casino to moderate dwellings meant for convenience, and not for show, was a novelty. The villa built for Sir Charles Asgill, at Richmond, and Danson, in Kent, for Sir John Boyd, are excellent specimens of the talents of the architect, though the latter has the fault of an inconvenient flight of steps, and in some of his designs of less pretension in the same class he has accomplished the difficult task of uniting a sound archi-

tectural character with great simplicity, and of consulting economy without producing the effect of meanness. Of his skill in street architecture, Ely House, in Dover Street, is an example. Sir Robert Taylor died in 1788.

The mention of villas suggests the name of Lancelot Brown, who ruled during this period over landscape gardening, as despotically as Kent in the preceding generation. The park at Blenheim is a lasting monument of Brown's talents in the construction of artificial scenery, but, like most persons who have founded a system, he was apt to mistake its application, and the “belts” and “clumps” with which he and his followers replaced the stately avenues of former days have become a by-word for their monotonous irregularity. His plan in domains of smaller extent—of bringing the *pleasure ground*, displaying art with-

out its formality, and nature without its asperities, into immediate connexion with the house—had a reciprocal influence upon the style of that class of mansions to which it was peculiarly adapted. The close approach of the plantation to the building in irregular masses facilitated the arrangement of uniting the principal rooms into a compact *corps de logis*, and extending the offices in a wing on one side, to be concealed by the trees. This plan, recommended by the advantage of leaving three sides of the house clear of all obstruction, and of not hampering the arrangement or extent of the offices or subordinate apartments by any considerations of symmetry, or by the necessity of condensing them into a basement, soon became general, and was abused in its application through the influence of an increasing taste for economy, where its only effect was to reduce to apparent insignificance mansions important in their real extent. The continuation of the 'Vitruvius Britannicus' by Richardson, in which the series of English houses is brought down to 1802, contains many plans thus arranged. A reference to this work, commencing with the original volumes by Campbell, will not only exhibit to the reader the progressive changes in our architecture of this class throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, but the objects selected for illustration will also indicate the prevailing fashion at the date of each successive publication.

Sir William Chambers, who professed the science of planting, attacked Browne, who took upon himself to dabble in architecture, in the preface to his 'Dissertation on Oriental Gardening,' published in 1772. The result was, Mason's 'Heroic Epistle,'* famous in the literature of art,

* See note, vol. i. p. 606 and vol. III. p. 733.

in which the wild vagaries which the knight propounds as the theory and practice of the Chinese, are cleverly ridiculed, by supposing them Anglicised and carried into execution in the royal gardens at Kew, laid out by Chambers a few years before. As an architect, the name of Sir William Chambers, one of the original founders of the Royal Academy, stands in the first rank. This distinguished artist, on his return from his professional studies in Italy, was introduced on the recommendation of Carr of York as a tutor in architecture to the Prince, afterwards George III. His first considerable work was Lord Besborough's villa at Roehampton, a building of fine proportions and great purity of detail, though not, like the great majority of his later works, exemplifying strictly his own precept—"that, in providing the elegant and the durable, the comfortable and the commodious may be secured." This golden rule occurs in his 'Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture,' the most valuable elementary work on the art, so far as it professes to treat upon it, in the English or any other language, in which the author's intimate knowledge of the productions of the Italian and French schools is wrought into a digest of the practice of the great masters in attaining that harmony and good keeping which essentially characterise their works, and, it may be added, his own. Being promoted to the office of surveyor-general, he commenced in 1776 his great work, Somerset House, "in which," to borrow the words of Gault, "though there be many faults, yet so well did he understand his art, that it is a matter of no small difficulty, and indeed requires hypercriticism, to find anything offensive to good taste in the detail." The character of the street front is truly palatial, the vestibule of en-



THE Q

OLD SOMERSET HOUSE

trance in the highest degree scenic and picturesque, and the proportions and distribution of the quadrangle leave nothing wanting to satisfy both the eye and the judgment. The river front is more liable to exception. The disproportionate height of the terrace is injudiciously aggravated by the introduction of columns, which unduly diminish the order of the superstructure, and the façade of six hundred feet extends in unbroken monotony, while the grove of chimneys is suffered to deform the roof, instead of being called into play to vary the outline. A multiplicity of parts is the chief blame which has fallen on this, as on Chambers's works in general, but, with all its imperfections

on its head, Somerset House holds a high place among the public buildings of Europe. Chambers died in 1706. His most distinguished pupil was James Gandon (before named as the editor of the 'Vitruvius Britannicus'), architect of the Parliament House (now the Bank of Ireland), the Four Courts, and other buildings, at Dublin.

We may conclude our account of what may be called the old school of architecture in England with Robert Mylne, the architect of the most beautiful of modern bridges, Blackfriars, commenced in 1760, and completed in eight years—a work unsurpassed by the skill with which the graceful, the classical, and the picturesque are combined in a species of



Fig. 1. Blackfriars Bridge, London.

of taste to which a knowledge of architecture in its most fundamental and important sense, the union of beauty with utility, has seldom been applied.*

"L'ennui du beau," says the French proverb, "mène au singulier," and the aphorism is no inapt exponent of the new school of architecture which was destined to prevail against the example and precepts of Taylor and Chambers. It might be thought that the various publications which made their appearance soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, revealing to architects treasures of antiquity hitherto unknown, or known but imperfectly, would tend to enlarge the sphere of thought, and stimulate the powers of invention. Wood and Dawkins had surveyed and published the Remains of Palmyra in 1753, and of Baalbec in 1757. In 1762 appeared the first volume of James Stuart's 'Antiquities of Athens,' a work upon which terms of praise might be exhausted, without surpassing the just appreciation of its merits. The 'Ruins of Spalatro' appeared in

1764, from the pencil of Robert Adam, an architect of whom there will be more to say, and a second visit to Greece by Nicolas Revett, the coadjutor of Athenian Stuart, at the cost of the Dilettanti Society, produced the 'Ionian Antiquities' in 1769. Here was a fund of materials which might at once have varied, enriched, and purified our style, but the good seed fell on an ungrateful soil. Wearied by the insipidity of the imitations of the imitators of Palladio, the public taste was by this time bent upon novelty at any price, and Robert Adam, who with the depraved architecture of the dregs of the Roman empire appeared first in the field, was the successful candidate for its applause, which he maintained triumphantly to the end of his career. Robert Adam (his brother, James Adam, is associated with him in his works) had, nevertheless, some of the qualities requisite to form an architect, and his rapid and extensive popularity, which dates from the beginning of the reign of George III., was not destitute of a solid foundation. In the distribution of his plans for convenience and comfort he is unrivalled.

* These observations refer to Blackfriars Bridge as it was, but is no longer

From the fully developed mansion, with its centre and wings, to the London house, where he has to contend with a site four times as deep as the street frontage, his dispositions are masterly, but in the general composition of his elevations we shall seek in vain for anything striking or original, and in their treatment decoratively, including in the application of those terms the orders of architecture, he falls into proportions and profiles which set at defiance the immutable principles of adjustment which have been proved to govern the practice of the ancients, and from which no striking departure has ever been effected with success. An extravagant affectation of *lightness* has resulted in a meagreness and poverty unexampled in any style pretending to be regular architecture. "Spindle columns, bald capitals, wide intercolumniations and scanty entablatures," says Mr. Payne Knight, alluding to the works of Adam, "form a sort of frippery trimming, fit only to adorn a brick clump, which is indeed the usual application of them." In his decorations, Adam is lavish of ornament, but so thin and wiry in character, and so ill distributed, that it never produces the effect of richness. His interiors are more to be commended than his elevations. Some of his halls and saloons are well composed for picturesque architectural effect, when they are not marred by the paltry character of the decoration. In the introduction of colour in his ceilings he was especially unhappy

Adam published his works. The first part appeared in 1768, and in the prefaces to that and the succeeding portions he dwells with much complacency on the influences of his performances on the taste of the day—a claim unfortunately but too well founded. His style had become the fashion, and set the mode not only for houses, but for carriages, plate, picture frames, and furniture of every description, and all in the same manner of overloaded flimsy ornament. One assumption for which he takes credit to himself may be allowed to him—that he has not "trod in the paths of others, nor derived aid from their labours." "He who resolves never to ransack any mind but his own," says Sir Joshua Reynolds,* "will soon be reduced from mere barrenness to the poorest of all imitations—he will be obliged to imitate himself, and to repeat what he has before repeated." Adam's buildings are in fact as tiresome from their sameness as they are displeasing from the frivolity of their style.

The works of Adam are extremely numerous, not only in England, but in Scotland, his native country. Gosford House, in East Lothian, is an example of his skill in plans,† and the Register Office, in Edinburgh, is in every respect one of his best works. Caen Wood, at Hampstead, contributed much to his reputation, although (perhaps because) it displays as much of his defects as of his merits. The alterations at Sion House‡ are



CAP. III.

admirably conceived, but no caricature of all his habitual sins against good taste, collected into one focus, could surpass the entrance-gate to the park in London he effected, on his own speculation, the important improvement of the terrace and buildings of the Adelphi. Portland-place is also from his designs, where he has endeavoured, by excess of width, to produce the grandeur of effect which our habits of building seem to preclude in our street-

architecture. In the screen at the Admiralty he has surpassed himself. It is a work of great beauty, independently of being remarkable as the only instance in which Adam has adopted a recognised style in the detail, an aberration for which he thinks it necessary to apologize in his book. Let

* Discourse No. 6.

† See Richardson's new Virgilus Britannicus.

‡ See the works of Robert and James Adam.



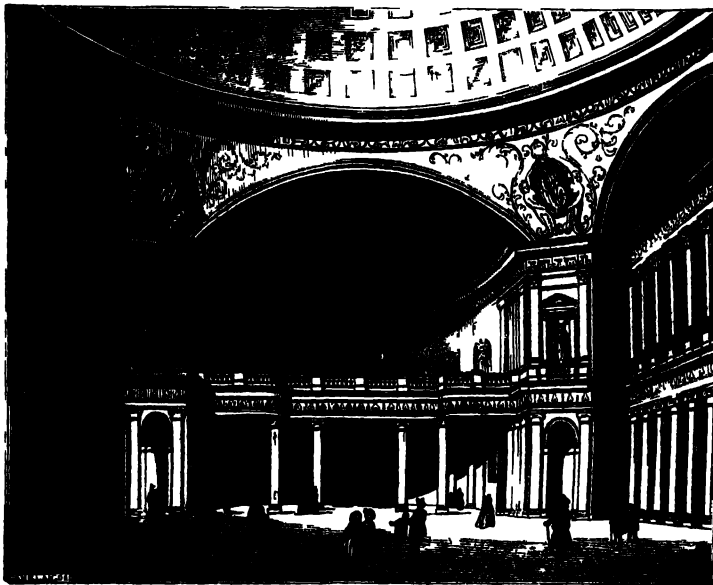
J. J. SMITH

it however be observed, that this work stands an example of the futility of beauty in architecture, irrespective of fitness, since the want of convenient access to the court led to its mutilation some years ago. Robert Adam died in 1792.

Another of the family, William Adam, was extensively employed in Scotland. His works may be seen in the 'Vitruvius Scoticus.' They have no trace of the peculiarities of his brothers, nor are

they of the Palladian school, but rather in the old French style.

The next influential name in the history of the art in England is that of James Wyatt, who, about the year 1766, entered upon a long and successful career of forty-eight years. His first important work was the Pantheon ball and concert room, in Oxford-street, where he displayed a knowledge of the antique, and an original taste and tact in its



THE PAN

a negotiation, which at once placed him high in his profession. Never, perhaps, was so great a reputation earned by a first work. The principal room was a noble conception; it has long since perished by fire. The two fronts, that toward Oxford-street much altered, are all that remain of this celebrated building. The works of James Wyatt in general exhibit a lively imagination and a classical feeling, yet his taste was by no means uninfluenced by the passing fashion, which is evidenced by a

certain fanciful treatment of the orders, and a too frequent intrusion of tablets and medallions into his decorations. It is not therefore surprising that his reputation has waned a little. In the dispositions of his plans he was consummately skilful. But James Wyatt's chief claim to a prominent station in the history of art is due to the part he took in the revival of the Gothic style of architecture, which began, before the close of the eighteenth century, to dispute for ascendancy, in the conflict

of *style*, over the fallen Palladian. The only artist who had hitherto succeeded in understanding even the details of the Gothic style was James Essex, who restored the lantern at Ely cathedral and made considerable repairs at Lincoln. He was also much employed at Cambridge, where his stall-work in King's College Chapel betrays itself, but for the most part his restorations escape notice, which is no small merit. Essex died in 1784. Wyatt took up the Gothic style with a view to reproduce it. He speedily mastered its expression and details, and showed that they were to be acquired, like those of any other style, by the study and measurement of original examples, and by no other means. Of his proficiency thus far the extensive repairs and alterations which he executed in some of the principal colleges at Oxford, before the end of the eighteenth century, afford convincing proofs, but it may be doubted whether he ever understood the broad principles of the

Gothic style in its various modifications, as applied to civil, military, and ecclesiastical purposes, however well he may have been acquainted with its individual features. In 1789 he was employed to restore Salisbury cathedral, upon which he proceeded according to his own notions of architectural effect, and of the innate beauty of *unity*, by reducing the whole edifice, as far as possible, to an empty room, thereby stultifying the architects of the middle ages, who showed their skill in nothing more strikingly than in the gradual and distinct development of the numerous members which constitute the complicated pile of a Gothic cathedral. Remonstrances poured in upon the rash architect and his employers—too late to save the eleven chapels, the two porches, the bell-tower, and the summations on the roof and walls, which then and there perished, but happily in time to prevent, it is to be hoped for ever, similar devastation elsewhere. At Fonthill, which he began in



FONTHILL

1795, he committed the error of representing an abbey, not as an habitable building combined with a church, but as a house in the shape of a church, and of endeavouring by colossal dimensions alone to produce effects which are unattainable, especially in the Gothic style, without the accompaniment of a fit modification of the proportions and details.

As we must return to the works of James Wyatt in the next Book, it is necessary only to add, in this place, that he was appointed Surveyor-General on the death of Sir William Chambers, and, in the year 1800, made the first step towards restoring Windsor Castle to its original character, which had

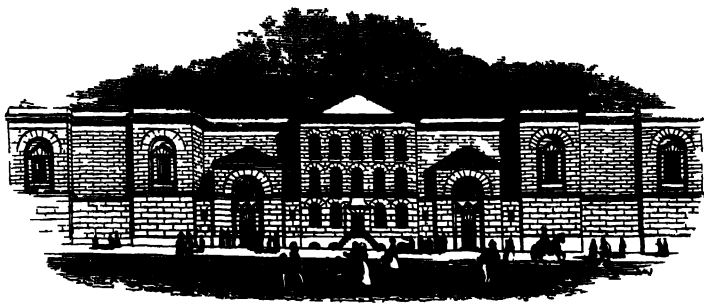
been nearly obliterated by the alterations of Sir Christopher Wren. The vestibule and staircase to the state apartments, the greater part of which has yielded in its turn to later innovators, were characterized, like his Gothic works in general, by correctness of form and detail, but partook too much of the ecclesiastical style.

In the present day, with the experience of another half-century passed in the study of Gothic (if of nothing else), it is easy for architectural criticism to expatiate on the faults of James Wyatt, but his acquirements will be estimated at their proper value when we recollect how the front of the Guildhall, in London, was Gothicised as late as

1789 by George Dance, who held the office of Surveyor to the City. Dance, however, occupies an honourable place among the architects of the period. Newgate and St Luke's Hospital will not easily be surpassed in the essential quality of character. He also built the Giltspur-street Compter, and in a more decorative style has left us the Shakespeare (now the British) Gallery in Pall Mall. Dance was willing, like his contemporaries, to do something new, and devised the expedient of varying his outline by Greek sepulchral ornaments, but he seems to have wanted the imagination necessary to take advantage of his

own idea, which was afterwards appropriated with great success by his pupil John Soane. Dance would also appear, from his designs, to have the honour of the invention, once popular, of pilasters without capitals or bases, panelled or fluted like joiner's-work. He has used them in the front of the theatre at Bath.

Although Sir John Soane published a collection of his works as early as 1788 and was appointed Architect to the Bank of England in the same year, yet, as he long stood confessedly at the head of his profession, and exercised a very powerful influence over the arts, in the nineteenth century, the consi-



NEWGATE.

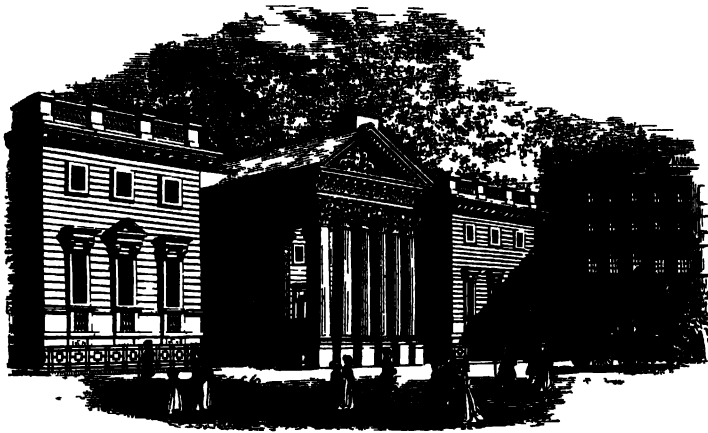
deration of his public works more properly belongs to the next Book. The publication referred to consists entirely of private dwellings, mostly of the villa class, meagre in style, according to the fashion of the day, and without the slightest trace of that peculiar character by which the architect so remarkably distinguished himself at a later period. The plans, for the most part, exhibit a defect which has since, from notions of economy, become too common—the substitution of a wretched lobby for that characteristic feature of a country-house, the hall. In other respects they are well distributed.

Our review of the history of this branch of the fine arts may be concluded with a notice of some other artists, to whom it will not be necessary to recur.

Of these, Henry Holland was distinguished by the patronage of George Prince of Wales, who procured the sort of encouragement the future monarch was likely to bestow upon the arts, by employing him upon that extensive structure of bath and tiles, the Pavilion at Brighton. In 1784 he altered Carlton House, and to him was due the façade, pleasing and harmonious in all its proportions and details, with its beautiful portico, turned to a legitimate purpose by affording shelter for carriages. Holland built Drury-lane Theatre, destroyed by fire in 1809, and the façade and hall of Melbourne House at Whitehall, which remains a memorial of his refined taste. He was likewise the author of the India House, usually attributed to

Jupp, who was surveyor to the Company at the time it was built. It is a commonplace design, and the portico ill assorted to the wings, but porticoes were now coming into a vogue which made the propriety or impropriety of their association a matter of no importance. Honourable mention must be made of Freemasons' Hall, erected by Thomas Sandby, Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, 1775, and the Italian Opera House, celebrated among the great theatres of Europe for its elegant form and its acoustic qualities, by Novonelsky, in 1789. To these may be added the Sessions-House at Clerkenwell, by Thomas Rogers, in 1779, and the Trinity-House, by Samuel Wyatt, the brother of James Wyatt, and a close follower of his style, in 1797,—and we shall have noticed most of the public buildings worthy of remark at the close of the present period. As for Church Architecture, it lay in a catalepsy, to wake in an atrophy in the nineteenth century.

We must now look back to the beginning of the reign of George III., to recall the memory of an architect, who, if he executed few plans, left many to be executed, and to make a reputation for others. John Gwynn, who built the Magdalen Bridge at Oxford, published, in 1766, his 'London and Westminster Improved,' in which he has so well considered the topographical defects of the metropolis, and the means of applying remedies to them, that there is scarcely an improvement in our public ways, either effected or proposed during the present century, of which he is not really the author and



(PLATE II)

originator. The opening from the Mansion House to London Bridge (King William street) is perhaps the only one not directly suggested by his maps, four of which accompany his book. Passing over his observations on street architecture in general, his proposals for regulating the new quarters then springing up to the north of Oxford-street, and his alarm at the unrestrained increase of the metropolis, it may interest the general reader to compare a few leading points in his plans with what has actually been done or is now in contemplation. The bridge at the Savoy (Waterloo Bridge), with its approaches from the north and south—the removal of Fleet Market, and continuation of the line from Blackfriars Bridge to the North road—the general clearing and widening of the Strand, and the isolation of St. Clement's church—Moorgate street the widening of Lothbury, and the formation of squares in Moorfields—the dismemberance of Westminster Abbey and the erection of a Sessions House in the open space,—all these are on the plans of John Gwynn. In Regent street has been carried into effect one of several suggestions, or rather a combination of two of them, for opening communications through the metropolis from north and south, and the collateral improvements in the same quarter, the continuation of Marlborough-street, Jermyn street, and Charles street, widening the east-end of Pall Mall, opening St. Martin's Church, and making a square on the site of the King's Mews, are all, with some variations, his designs. So is the continuation of Coventry street through Leicester-square, the contemplated improvement in the neighbourhood of Bloomsbury, and the clearance about to be made between the Bank and Cornhill to throw open the Exchange. His stigmatures, with becoming indignation, the disgraceful motives which still perpetuate the nuisance of Smithfield Market, and blames severely the attempts to im-

prove the old London Bridge instead of building a new one, and it does great honour to his sagacity and judgment, that he argues against the apprehensions which then and long after existed, even in the minds of eminent engineers, as to the ill effects which the removal of the dam formed by the old bridge might produce upon the navigation of the river, and which experience has now proved to be unfounded. Gwynn's book has been, and will be for generations to come, a valuable legacy to posterity.

The spirit of nations may be traced in their works of art in all its branches. From the sublime of the Italians to the homely matter-of-fact of the Dutch, the characteristics of the European schools of painting have been impressed upon each by influences as far beyond human control as those which have dictated the progress of the moral and political institutions of the people, and art, whether ancient or modern, has reached its most exalted condition only when it has grown with the growth, and strengthened with the strength, of the state in which it has flourished. It is only in the nineteenth century that the British school of painting has been established on the solid basis of national habits and modes of thinking, but these influences (independently of which no genuine art ever has existed, or ever can exist) have finally triumphed, and, though they have failed in our own case to place art on its loftiest pinnacle, we may be justly proud both of the number and of the excellence of the artists by whom our poetry and history have been illustrated, the changeful effects of our atmosphere and the picturesque antiquities which characterise our landscapes fixed and perpetuated, the incidents of our moral and domestic life brought home to our sympathies, the results of foreign travel and enterprise displayed, and the living forms

of the great, the learned, the noble, and the beautiful transmitted to posterity. If the British school of the present day be reproached with following art in its inferior paths only, let it be remembered that its general diffusion, aided by the use of water colours and the unrivalled school of engravers who have rendered pictorial representation of every class familiar to all ranks, cannot but be calculated to prepare the public mind for the encouragement of higher efforts, whenever circumstances may be more favourable to their development. That the commercial spirit of the British character enters largely into our actual state of art is not to be denied, and it might perhaps be argued, from past experience of the controlling influences over national styles, that an indigenous school could hardly flourish in Great Britain on any other terms. Whatever theories may be formed on this subject, the fact is certain, that the grand style of art, which neither the precepts of Reynolds, the example of West, nor the enthusiasm of Barry could sustain, repulsed by the Church and hopeless of any other asylum, was enabled, during the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, to make a final struggle for pre-eminence through the aid of a mercantile speculation, and, although the enterprise failed in the proposed result of establishing that class of painting on a national basis, yet it had the effect of confirming the intimate alliance of Art with Commerce, by which, whether finally for good or evil (and the question has been fiercely debated), it has since been so materially influenced. The foundation of "the Shakspeare Gallery" is an important event in the history of British art.



BOYDELL

John Boydell, citizen and alderman of London, was bred an engraver, and published his first works about 1746. Although he never attained any eminence in his pursuit, he soon enabled himself, by his industry, to become a publisher of the engravings of others, and he secured in his employment the best artists, whose talents he was well able to appreciate and well inclined to remunerate liberally. The *Niobe* and *Phaeton* by Woollet after Wilson, the *Liber Veritatis* by Earlom, the drawings of *Guercino* in the Royal Collection by Bartolozzi, and the *Houghton Gallery* by the same and other

eminent engravers, may be mentioned among the important works which were thus brought before the world. It is but justice to the well-known character of this distinguished citizen to believe that he was influenced no less by an enthusiastic desire to fix the national taste on the highest department of painting than by the spirit of trade, when, in 1787, he entered into the plan for an edition of *Shakspeare* which should carry to perfection the arts of typography and engraving, and display in its illustrations whatever the talents of the historical painters of the English school could produce, under the inspiration of the works of the immortal bard. Sir Joshua Reynolds might be inclined to consider such patronage unsuited to the dignity of high art, and he received the first proposition coldly, but his scruples were overcome, and the list of the painters engaged on the work includes, without exception, every one of whom either the Royal Academy, or the nation at large could conceive they had any reason to boast. Never were the talents of artists more fairly put to the test. The subjects to be treated were assuredly worthy to call forth the most strenuous efforts of the mind. The artists were encouraged to paint on any scale which they believed best suited to the development of their powers. The *Shakspeare Gallery* in Pall Mall was built for the purpose of receiving their works, and exhibiting them to the public, and, in addition to prospects of fame and the consideration which accompanies it, the more solid incentive to exertion was unsparingly administered. The results can hardly be deemed worthy of the occasion and of the preparation, and it is to be observed that, among the new candidates for the honours of the historical and poetical pencil, above a score in number, there are but few who can justly claim any rank in that style of art. The nature of the work, however, admitted of some variety, and we shall have occasion to notice one or two artists of merit, who acquitted themselves honourably in other departments.

To the *Shakspeare Gallery* Reynolds contributed three pictures—*Puck*, *Macbeth* at the Cauldron, and the *Death of Cardinal Beaufort*. The *Puck* is the very incarnation of the mischievous spirit, but in the other two subjects it must be admitted there is a want of dignity which it requires all the magic of the artist's colour and execution to redeem. They must both, however, rank as great works. Barry contributed but one—*Lear* with the dead body of *Cordelia*. From the pencil of Opie there were five, all strongly marked with the just and forcible expression which he so faithfully transcribed from nature. The *Incantation Scene* in the *Second Part of Henry VI* is the most striking it is even grand. The bold vigour of *Romney* was displayed with pre-eminent success in two allegories—*Shakspeare* nursed by *Tragedy* and *Comedy*, and attended by *Nature* and the *Passions*, and in the fine figure of *Cassandra* raving;—the latter inspired, like many others of his pictures of the same class, by the charms of the celebrated *Lady*

Hamilton. Angelica Kauffman and Wright of Derby contributed each two pictures, the former in her usual tame manner, and the latter in a style remarkable for nothing but the bad taste of the costume. West's *Lear in the Storm* is a picture well worthy of his reputation; his *Ophelia* is less satisfactory. Of these artists it is unnecessary to say more, but, in enumerating those who have not come under our observation in a former Book, such particulars will be noticed as may be requisite to convey to the reader some general estimate of their merits or pretensions.

The name of Henry Fuseli undoubtedly claims the first place among those of the historical painters who had risen up in England since the formation of the Royal Academy, and who now put forth their exertions in the Shakspeare Gallery. This extraordinary man was a native of Zurich, and came to England in pursuit of literary distinction in 1763, but he soon felt another vocation, and, after a residence of eight years in Rome, as a votary of the arts, settled himself in London in 1779. An enthusiastic admirer of Michael Angelo, Fuseli possessed powers of imagination, and a feeling for the sublime, which justified his ambition to figure in the highest walks of painting, and it is no profanation of the name of the mighty Florentine to admit that of Fuseli among his followers—a distinction to which no other modern painter can advance a pretension of a claim. His compositions occupy an eminent place in the class to which he aspired. No artist has approached him in the success with which he has embodied the spirit as well as the forms suggested by the pages of Shakspeare and Milton, but as a painter he was too impatient and impetuous to do full justice to his own conceptions. His execution is careless, and he treats colour as if he despised it, although his cold, cadaverous tones are well calculated for the effect of the subjects in which he delighted. His strength lay in those supernatural and shadowy delineations which fixed upon him the soubriquet of "*Painter in ordinary to the Devil*." The appearance of the Ghost in the first act of *Hamlet* is one of the sublimest productions of the art; it is, in truth, the "*majesty of buried Denmark*" which "stalks away." The Witches in *Macbeth* are fearful, and two scenes from the *Midsummer Night's Dream* display, beyond all comparison with his fellows, the fertility of his imagination and the vigour of his drawing. In dealing with mere mortal subjects he runs into exaggerated action, his women are apt to be strange specimens of the sex, and he has sometimes scarcely avoided the bounds which separate the sublime from the ridiculous. The "*Milton Gallery*," which he painted singly in rivalry with the Shakspeare, occupied him from 1791 to 1800. It consisted of forty seven pictures, and although in some of the subjects the grave majestic solemnity of the poet has been too much for the painter, the series comprehends several of his finest works. The *Lazar-House* is a high effort of genius; and *Satan starting up at the Touch*

of *Ithuriel's Spear*, one of the most remarkable of the set, not more for the magnificent characterization of the arch-fiend, than for the grace and beauty which he has unexpectedly thrown over the repose of our first parents. Another of his works which deserves peculiar notice is the *Infernal Knight*, from Boccaccio's Theodore and Honoria. It has been well said, "that, if ever a spirit visited the earth, it must have appeared to Fuseli." This admirable painter and accomplished scholar died in 1825, Keeper of the Royal Academy and Professor of Painting. His lectures do great honour to his literary abilities.

James Northcote was a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, but devoted himself to the highest style of painting, and produced many meritorious and well-known illustrations of English history. He contributed largely to the Shakspeare Gallery. The scenes of Hubert and Prince Arthur, and the Death of the Princes in Richard III, are works deservedly popular. Northcote's paintings hold a respectable place in their class. It is true that his composition is artificial, his drawing defective, and his colouring opaque, but he has the merit of telling his story well, and has succeeded in the difficult task of uniting in his heads much dignity with strong individuality. Northcote was a member of the Academy, and died at an advanced age in 1831.

William Hamilton and Francis Wheatley were both members of the Royal Academy, but their employment upon the Shakspeare Gallery seems to indicate a dearth of better talent. The latter was a painter of rural and domestic scenes, and a great request as a designer for book-plates, but shows to little advantage in Shakspeare, although the subjects allotted to him are such as are best fitted to the style he professed. Hamilton's compositions are to be noticed only for their uniform insipidity. The Rev. Wm. Peters feebly supported the honours of the Academy and the Shakspeare Gallery, though there is some character in his scenes from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The comic illustrations, however, fell principally to the share of an artist who has done them greater justice, and the humour of Dogberry, Slender, Christopher Sly, and even Falstaff himself, derives a new zest from the visible forms in which these personages have been clothed by Robert Smirke. The Arabian Nights were illustrated by this artist with equal success. Henry Tresham contributed one picture only to this collection. He was esteemed an accomplished artist by his contemporaries, but has left little likely to attract the notice of posterity. Two subjects, in which the landscape is made the principal feature, served to exercise the talent of William Hodges, a pupil of Wilson, whose landscapes will always be distinguished in the English school. Although defective in his forms, and inaccurate in his general design, his execution is masterly and his colouring rich and harmonious. Hodges was appointed draughtsman to the expedition in Cook's second voyage of discovery, and

afterwards visited the West Indies, the scenery of which forms the subject of some of his best works.

It would be but an unprofitable task to pursue further the catalogue of the artists engaged in the Shakespeare Gallery, since not even the title of R. A., appertaining to some who remain behind, has served to rescue their names from obscurity even at this short distance of time. Two only must be excepted as having contributed in an eminent degree to the illustration of English literature. The romantic and poetical compositions of Richard Westall and Thomas Stothard have ever been among the most popular of their class for their gracefulness and elegance, though exhibiting very dissimilar modifications of those qualities, and very unequal degrees of merit. The grace of Westall is that of the ballet-master. On the figures of Stothard it sits unaffected and unfelt, the gift of heaven. Westall's skill in grouping and management of light and shade impart a highly agreeable character to his compositions, but his mannerism is wearisome, and nothing can relieve the monotonous repetition of the family likeness which pervades his heads. Even in his illustrations of Milton the same conventional forms appear on the scene, whatever be its character. The compositions of Stothard are not free from the charge of mannerism, but they teem with fancy, variety, taste, and feeling, and truth and nature are the distinguishing marks of his character and expression. He has embellished the pages of literature in every class, feeling the influence of poetry with a congenial mind. His works are innumerable, and confer the highest honour on the British school of design. He has embodied to perfection the exquisite groups of the *Decamerone*, and the *Canterbury Pilgrimage* alone might support his claims to a distinguished place in art. His works are mostly small, and those in oil are handled with a simplicity unfitted for expansion. Hence he has added little to his reputation by his large paintings on the staircase at Burleigh. Stothard died in 1834.

It was the intention of Alderman Boydell to have presented the Shakespeare paintings to the public, as a monument of the arts of the eighteenth century and the nucleus of a national gallery. But the French revolutionary war, by cutting off the resources of foreign commerce, injured the fortunes of the munificent citizen to a degree which finally compelled the sale of the pictures. Their dispersion in 1805 may be considered as the final blow to all hopes of establishing a native school of historical art on the grand scale, and the prices which they then commanded, whether the fault lay in the demerits of the artists or the apathy of the public, show how little had been achieved by the efforts of nearly half a century.*

* Reynolds's pictures fetched the largest prices, as might be expected, but the *Macedon*, for which Boydell had paid the painter 1000 guineas, produced only 574*l*. It was also embarrassing West's *Lear* brought 300 guineas and all his pictures sold comparatively well. Some of *Smirke's* brought large prices,—his *Seven Ages*, 55*l*. After these Northcote and Hodges make the best figure. *Trotter's* *Antony* and *Clotilda* brought 100*l* 1*0s*. *Hamilton's*

In the mean time painting flourished in other branches, and artists were rising who were destined to sustain the reputation of the British school, and to open new paths to its progress. The star of Lawrence already shone brightly at the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1792. But this distinguished painter will be more conveniently noticed in the next Book, and we must turn to those of older reputation who more properly belong to the present period. Of these, John Hoppner is pre-eminent in portrait, and had secured a considerable share of royal and noble patronage even during the lifetime of Reynolds. His colouring is natural, fresh, and harmonious, his effects of light and shade forcible, and, as he excelled also in landscape, his backgrounds are remarkable for their beauty and taste. In his best works, as in the *Sleeping Nymph*, formerly in the collection of Lord de Tabley, he is scarcely surpassed by any master in the delicacy and truth of the flesh-tints. Hoppner contributed a picture to the Shakespeare Gallery. A few of the portraits of William Owen rank high for their vigorous style of colouring, but he is extremely unequal, and always drew feebly. He was most successful in female heads. Sir William Beechey cannot be classed very high as a painter, but he was fortunate enough to obtain a large share of royal patronage, and the subjects of some of his works, as the equestrian group of George III. and his elder sons, now at Hampton Court, secured their popularity through the medium of the graver. The list of portrait painters may be concluded with the names of Richard Cosway and Ossian Humphry, who carried the art of miniature to great perfection, and infused into that style much of the highest qualities of art. They were both accomplished draughtsmen and fine colourists.

George Morland is one of those sons of genius who vindicate the claims of his country to indigenous talent in the arts. Engaged in the practice of painting from early youth, Morland had neither opportunity nor inclination for academical study, but he knew the extent of his own powers, and confined himself to the representation of objects demanding little skill in drawing and little combination of effect. As a painter of domestic animals and the humble scenes of rustic life he has seldom been excelled. Pigs, sheep, asses, shaggy ponies—the common incidents of English scenery—the barn door, the pond, the hedge, the clay bank—in these and similar subjects the works of Morland may claim companionship with those of any artist of any school, for their perfect truth to nature, and their original and appropriate mode of treatment. Morland unhappily closed a dissolute life at the age of forty, in 1804.

The name of James Philip de Loutherbourg, a native of Strasbourg, who settled in England at this period, and became a member of the Academy, Leconte and Hermann, Hoppner's *Piano* and *Imogen* and the two by Fuseli from the *Midsummer Night's Dream* are the only other pictures which went beyond 50*l*, and a very considerable number fell under 50*l*.

must not be omitted. He was a painter of battles, sea pieces, and landscapes with figures and cattle. He possessed a great talent for composition and superior facility of pencil, but his colouring is sometimes meretricious, and want of breadth is his prevailing fault. The works of Louthembourg tell best in the engravings. Those of Lord Howe's Victory and the Siege of Valenciennes are well known. He died in 1812.

The present notice may be concluded with the mention of two Scottish painters of talent—David Allan and Sir Henry Raeburn, who may be considered the founders of a resident school of art in their own country. The former established himself at Edinburgh in 1780, and took the direction of the Academy in that metropolis. He died in 1796. The latter was an eminent portrait-painter, who returned from Italy in 1787, and lived to receive the honour of knighthood on the visit of his majesty George IV to Scotland. He was also a member of the Royal Academy.

In the art of sculpture the reputation of the British school was raised to an eminent pitch during the latter part of the eighteenth century, by Banks, Nollekens, Bacon, and Flaxman.



AN 11

Upon few mortals has the gift of *genius* been more unequivocally bestowed than upon Thomas Banks. Born in 1735, he was pursuing his studies at a period when the art throughout Europe was still under the influence of the school of Bernini, and when there was not in existence a sculptor from whom he could have derived the pure taste which characterizes even the earliest of his works*. At the opening of the Royal Academy his models attracted immediate notice, and Sir Joshua Reynolds pronounced him the first English sculptor who had produced works of classic grace. It was not until 1772 that he visited Italy at the expense of the Academy. On his return to England he found himself anticipated by Bacon and Nollekens in the favour of the public, and in the tardy patronage which the government was at last

* According to Allan Cunningham he studied under Kent but Kent died in 1746, when Banks was but thirteen years of age. He is believed to have been a carver in wood, and certainly excellent in handling that material, though of course he seldom practised upon it.

inclined to bestow on the arts, in the shape of commissions for public cenotaphs, and, with a talent which threw all rivalry into the shade until the appearance of Flaxman, he took refuge among the Russians from the indifference of his contemporaries. He soon, however, discovered the base metal in the composition of those lacquered barbarians, and was content to devote the remainder of his life to his own country. The first work he produced on his return to England was the noble statue of Achilles now in the hall of the British Gallery.

With an original mind for beauty and expression in sculpture worthy an ancient Greek, it is unfortunate that Banks lacked invention to carry him with success through his laudable endeavours to introduce a more poetic feeling into our monumental sculpture. In seeking an adaptation of Greek form and sentiment to the purpose of commemorating the valour and genius of our own days, he has only accompanied his contemporaries into the dreary mazes of allegory. To the use of personification in art, if judiciously regulated, there can be no objection: it has been employed, sometimes in better taste, sometimes in worse, throughout the whole range of modern sculpture, but never has the resource been so abused as in the ambitious groups of the English school. 'These medley works,' says Allan Cunningham, 'speaking of our public cenotaphs, "like mixed metaphors, are manufactured on every public occasion, and, when the commissioners of national monuments demand designs fifteen out of twenty of the rival sketches are sure to be of this nature. It is no uncommon thing to see a man standing, or a monument in regimentals, his Genius, as large as himself, on one side, his Wisdom comforting him, in the shape of Minerva, on the other, and his Valour busy in the battle field with his sword and buckler."' The application of this picture is but too universal, and the works of Banks are no exception to its truth. The monuments of Sir Eyre Coote in Westminster Abbey, and of Captains Westcott and Burgess in St Paul's, have each its full grown Victory raising a trophy, bestowing a crown, and presenting a sword. In the latter the artist has avoided the reproach of the costume by representing the English naval commander in a state of nudity.

With all allowance for this prevailing fault, the merits of Banks as an artist are of the highest class. The Achilles already referred to is perhaps, without exception, the finest heroic statue in the whole range of modern art. The Falling Giant in the Royal Academy condenses into a small compass the grandeur of the antique, and the Indian on the monument of Sir Eyre Coote has ever been the admiration of all competent judges of art, for its fine proportion and expression, and its perfect anatomy. The relief of Thetis and her Nymphs rising from the Sea is well known through the medium of plaster casts, and is a model of grace both in composition and form, and

the monument to the daughter of Sir Brooke Boothby, a sleeping child, is perfect in nature and pathos. Banks also executed the relief of Shakspeare supported by Painting and Poetry on the front of the British Gallery.

The estimation in which Banks was held in his lifetime, as compared with artists in every way inferior to him in power, is a reflection upon the taste of his country, and even down to the present day the reproach is by no means wiped off. His merits were such as his rivals could not approach, his faults he had with them in common, and they have had their influence in reducing them and him to the same level. The fault may not, however, be entirely on one side. The observation in a former Book, on the neglect of the spirit of his age and nation which characterized Barry, is not without its application to Banks. "I wish," says Cunningham, "that Banks had turned from the poetry of Greece to that of England, and found subjects in the works of Spenser, Shakspeare, or Milton. He might not even then have become, in the usual sense of the word, popular, but he would have attained a wider approbation, and left works behind him sure of forming the delight of some tasteful generation yet unborn." Banks died in 1805, and this brief notice may be summed up with the words of his monumental inscription in Westminster Abbey—

"In memory of Thomas Banks, Esq, R.A., sculptor, whose superior abilities in his profession added a lustre to the arts of his country, and whose character as a man reflected honour on human nature."

Next in seniority to Banks comes Joseph Nollekens, who, with scarcely the rudiments of general education, attained eminence in the art by dint of a close study of nature, corrected by an innate feeling for the beauty of the antique. In early youth Nollekens studied under Scheemakers. In 1759 and 1760 he gained three premiums at the Society of Arts, and in the latter year proceeded to Rome, where Garrick sat to him for his first bust. In the eternal city he was encouraged by the liberal patronage of his countrymen to remain for ten years. On his return to England his marble portraiture maintained a long rivalry with the canvas of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and it is upon his busts that his fame will rest. In that department of the art none of his contemporaries contested his pre-eminence. The treatment of his heads is peculiarly his own, and yet entirely free from the vice of mannerism. "They are unaffected and elegant. There is no attempt to raise ordinary heads into the regions of the heroic, nor to give even eminent mortals the looks of gods. The best are simple without weakness, and serene without austerity. In woman he took beauty as he found it, and of man he gave the mind and no more, which was spread visibly before him. There is little dignity, but much truth—sometimes mechanic vigour—never exaggeration."⁶

⁶ Allan Cunningham. Life of Nollekens.

His monuments and poetical statues are also numerous. Destitute of imagination and sentiment, it cannot be supposed that the former contribute much to his reputation. His cenotaph to the three commanders who fell in Rodney's action is composed on the received principle. "His heathen progeny," says Cunningham, "differs in nothing from the accredited forms." In monuments of a more domestic character he has sometimes been more successful. That to Mrs Howard of Corby Castle may be considered one of the best works of its class. His poetic sculptures, among which are to be reckoned several varieties of the nymph and Venus tribe, are everything that careful study and mechanical skill can effect, but to pass these boundaries, destitute of a poetical mind and ignorant of the classics, Nollekens was incapable. He became a royal academician in 1772, and died in 1823, at the age of eighty-six.



Bacon.

John Bacon, far less gifted than his contemporary Banks, was, like him, indebted to himself for his education as a sculptor. His *debut* in the arts was as a maker of the shepherdesses in long stays and high heeled shoes, and other figures of the like class, which it was then the fashion to execute in coloured porcelain, but, at the age of nineteen, inspired, as it is said, by the works of the artists who sent their clay models to the manufactory to be baked, he had qualified himself to obtain a premium from the Society of Arts. He afterwards became the principal modeller for Coade's artificial stone, and contributed greatly by his talents to the reputation of that manufacture. In 1766 he gained the first gold medal awarded for sculpture by the Royal Academy. His statue of Mars, in the possession of the Society of Arts, although its rank is but that of a clever academical model, obtained for him not merely the gold medal of that institution, but also the patronage of the Archbishop of York, Dr Markham, through whose influence he was employed to execute a marble bust of the king, and his success in this undertaking opened to him a road to fame and fortune, of which he was not slow to take advantage. He was shortly afterwards intrusted with the monument of Chatham, in Guild-

hall, when 1780, "but a few years removed from the time when he was an obscure labourer in the manufactory of Coade, his reputation had spread through the land, his works had found their way into cathedrals, collections, and galleries, and he had become a member of the Royal Academy and the companion of princes and peers."^a

Worldly wisdom and the art of rising formed a considerable ingredient in the talent of Bacon. He never risked a check to his full tide of success by quitting his native land in search of improvement, nor interrupted the gainful pursuit of chiselling monuments for the barren reputation to be won by that of the heroic and poetical. In his great monuments, of which he obtained his full share in competition with his fellow artists, he affected a style which dispensed with the severe study necessary for the attainment of the high class of sculpture, and was calculated to lead by the shortest path to immediate popularity and profit, he sought the picturesque—a style which cannot be considered legitimate in sculpture. To this end he heaped up allegorical figures, possessing, indeed, the merit of telling their own meaning, but confused with redundant action and superfluous draperies. The monument to Chatham, before mentioned, is one of the most striking examples of his peculiar style of composition. His full length portraits are of a much higher order of merit, and he may be suspected of sinning against conviction in his other works, when we find that it was upon them he reared his hopes of future fame. The characteristics of Bacon as a sculptor cannot be better summed up than in the words of Allan Cunningham — "Bacon felt where his strength lay, when he said his statues were his best works. He infused more good English sense into his sculptures than any preceding artist. Having little imagination, he willingly welcomed those figures which Spenser calls 'dark conceits,' because they came without study or meditation. His style of sculpture was, with the exception of his single statues, decidedly of that kind called the picturesque. The result of the whole is sometimes magnificent. The figures are well placed and commanding, the auxiliary symbols are scattered with profuse liberality, and the workmanship is ever neat, skilful, and elaborate. But a man can only infuse genius into his works in proportion as he possesses it himself, and the genius of Bacon is not of a high order. There is much external grace and lavish prettiness, but we have few of those bright shapes and vivid sentiments which denote the hand of the inspired master. The manufacturer of images in a pottery is visible in many of his works, a good shape and interesting posture alone are aimed at. His natural strength exerted itself and shook off the fetters imposed by this sort of education, whenever he was commissioned to make a statue of one whom he had familiarly known. He placed, as it were, the images, mental and bodily, of John-

aon and Howard before him, and thought of them alone till he had finished his work, this is sufficiently visible in those fine statues—there, all is original and unborrowed."

Besides the monuments already incidentally noticed, Bacon executed those to Lord Halifax, to Chatham, and to the Captains who fell in the victory of the 1st of June, in Westminster Abbey, and the statue of Sir William Jones, in St Paul's, the monument to Mrs. Draper, in Bristol Cathedral, is also his work, and added much to his reputation. Among his other works are the bronze group in the court of Somerset House and the stone figures on the front, the statues of the founder of Guy's Hospital, of Judge Blackstone for All Souls College, Oxford, and Henry VI for Eton. In the works of Bacon a progression may be distinctly traced in compliance with the changing taste of the period. He had none of the intuitive feeling of Banks for the pure and severe, and his early monumental works are tinged strongly with the fashion of the old school. Bacon died in 1799.



F. ARMAN

John Flaxman was born in 1755, twenty years after Banks, and came before the public as an artist at a period when he could add to an intuitive perception of the great and graceful, at least equal to that of his senior, the advantages arising from the general appreciation of the forms of Greek art, and the inquiries into its principles and practice, which had followed the publication of Stuart's Athens. There are few biographies in art more interesting than that of this distinguished Englishman. His father was a modeller, and dealer in plaster figures, in humble circumstances. Condemned by physical infirmities to bodily inactivity during the first years of his life, John Flaxman was, from his infancy, thrown for occupation and amusement upon the resources of a mind in the highest degree studious, contemplative, and pious, and his pursuits were determined so early by the influence of the objects in the midst of which he passed his days, and an intense love of reading, that even in his childhood he had felt the inspiration of the Greek poets, and made his first attempts to embody their characters and descriptions. At

^a Allan Cunningham, *Life of Bacon*.



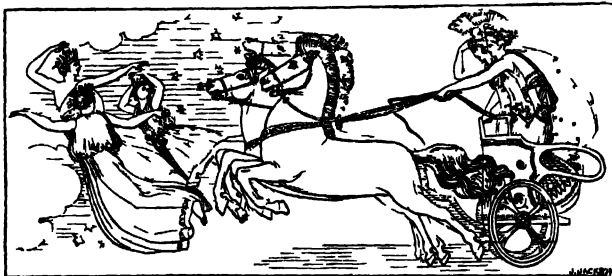
the age of fifteen, when he became a student of the Royal Academy, he had already secured patrons by the merit of his juvenile sketches. He had no opportunity of visiting Italy until 1787, having then earned a high distinction through several of those private monuments which rank not only among the most successful of his own works, but also among the finest productions of modern sculpture. It was a principle with Flaxman, "that the Christian religion presents personages and subjects no less favourable to painting and sculpture than the ancient classics," and well has he supported his dictum by the works in which the Christian virtues of the dead are commemorated by sculptured illustrations of the poetical and divine sentiments of the Old and New Testaments, conceived and executed not merely with the pure outlines of the Greek form, but with the deep intellectual power of the Greek mind. Flaxman would willingly have dedicated his talents to works of morality and devotion, and, although it was not possible for him to accomplish this purpose to its full extent, he yet did much, and it is in this class of art especially that his works are beyond all praise.

During his sojourn in Rome, Flaxman produced those compositions which have conferred upon him the widest reputation ever achieved by a British sculptor. The dissemination of the engravings

after his illustrations of Homer, *Æschylus*, *Dante*, and *Hesiod* is coextensive with the knowledge of the fine arts. "He has penetrated into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*," says an able critic, in reference to these works, "with a far deeper sense of the majesty of Homer than his great contemporary Canova, who dedicated his whole life to the renovation of the antique, but, indeed, he never failed to catch the peculiar inspiration of whatever poet his fancy selected for illustration. We own the groupes at once as the offspring of Homer, *Æschylus*, or *Dante*." One of the compositions from *Hesiod*, the groupe of Mercury conveying Pandora from Heaven to Earth, with which he was himself so well satisfied that he modelled it in relievo, has elicited even from English apathy a tribute to its surpassing beauty. It is sometimes seen as a decoration upon the walls of our dwelling-houses.

The reputation with which Flaxman returned to his own country secured to him the execution of several public monuments, but in this class of art his success, with one splendid exception, has been by no means equal to that which attended his religious and poetical compositions, to which he has never failed to impart a purity and simplicity, united with a vigour of sentiment, unrivalled in modern sculpture. In commemorating our naval and military heroes he has been driven to alle-

* Quarterly Review No 6"



And heaven gates, guarded by the hosts of their proper force.—*Iliad*, Book viii.



"Health to my lords" right welcome men arrive previous to be.—*Iliad* Book ix



* Thus to her sisters of the secret told, and I ad them ope
The doors and deeps of Nerens — *Iliad* Book xviii



I had been much distressed
If I did tell a tale Eurymache with her silver breast
Not rescued me — *Iliad* Book xvii

gory, which has nothing to distinguish it from the allegory of inferior artists. Victory, History, and Britannia mingle in familiar juxtaposition with the personages they are assembled to celebrate, and, as it is admitted that the sculptor was deficient in the mechanical processes necessary for handling large statues in marble, these works have in general added but little to his renown. In one work of this class he has, however, distanced all competition—the monument to Lord Mansfield in Westminster Abbey—for which he received the commission while yet in Italy, and which was the first work he executed on his return. The judge is seated in a curule chair, raised on a pedestal supported by the figures of Wisdom and Justice, behind is a Genius, emblematic of Death. The general composition of this design, calculated to be viewed on all sides, may challenge criticism, the individual statues are of the highest class, and the judicious costume of the principal figure fur-

nishes a proof of the power of genius to defy the most formidable extrinsic difficulties. The treatment of the allegorical figures is unexceptionable. They occupy their proper subordinate station, and can never be mistaken for the wife and children of the person commemorated.* When Banks saw this monument he said, "This little man cuts us all out."

In his early days Flaxman contributed much to the diffusion of a classical taste by the assistance he lent to Wedgwood, who rendered common in our households the purest forms and ornaments of Greek pottery. The rotation of the wheel of fashion has condemned Wedgwood's ware to oblivion, and the exquisite reliefs of Flaxman, which once circulated unheeded among the million, are now objects of research.

Wherever art is best understood and appre-

* The writer was witness to this little mistake being committed by a spectator of Lord Howe's monument in St. Paul's.



MONUMENT TO MANSFIELD

ciated *there* is a commensurate appreciation of the genius of Flaxman. Rome itself is proud to adopt him, and in the modern additions to the museum of the Vatican a composition of Flaxman's occupies a conspicuous place in the sculptural decoration. The application of this test to his native country will argue little feeling even for the honour of having produced him. We talk much of art and of the means of raising its character. "Appreciate high art, and it will be produced," is the argument on one side—"Produce high art, and it will be appreciated," is the proposition sustained in answer. Let not the fact be overlooked, that the compositions by which Flaxman has illustrated the Lord's Prayer have been placed in vain within the reach of the multitude, who have flocked to admire the stone images of Tam o'Shanter and Souter Johnny, and to gaze with enthusiasm on their worsted stockings.

Flaxman became a member of the Royal Academy in 1797. In 1810 he was appointed professor of sculpture. His lectures, which are published, are a valuable addition to the literature of art. The greater part of Flaxman's public works belong to the nineteenth century. His Shield of Achilles, modelled for Messrs. Rundell and Bridge,

and executed both in gold and silver, was produced in 1818. He died in 1826.

From the latter years of the eighteenth century may be dated that revolution in the condition of Engraving which is one of the most remarkable effects of the establishment of an English school of art. During the whole of its previous history, the higher kind of engraving had been considered as the handmaid of painting, and as the means of multiplying such productions of the pencil as might be worthy of that distinction, either from their excellence as works of art, or from their popular qualities, as in the case of portraits and contemporary history. Hence the best works of the most eminent engravers consisted, for the most part, of single plates, which were esteemed not merely for the mechanical skill they might exhibit, but were also valued in proportion to the fidelity with which they transmitted the mind and spirit of the original masters. Occasionally a series of illustrations might be produced with all the luxury of art, but in providing works of the graver for general circulation there was seldom found a medium between those of the highest class and the wretched book-plates to which reference has been

made in a former Book. In the present day, the demand of the public taste for illustrated works has raised the supply both in quantity and quality (the phrases of trade are strictly appropriate) to a pitch hitherto unprecedented. The invention of steel plates has left no temptation to practise in any style inferior to line engraving. The quality of effect, at once the beauty and the vice of the modern English school, is not difficult of transference. The use of mechanical processes insures clearness and precision, and the joint labours of the draughtsman, the engraver, and the bookseller manufacture and circulate throughout the country, by tens of thousands, engravings superior to any which existed previously to the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, except in the portfolios of the few and fastidious. It is not to be doubted that the speculations of Alderman Boydell contributed greatly to this general diffusion of works of engraving, but he was preceded by another publisher, Harrison, whose voluminous editions of the British classics and novels, with the names of Stothard for the designs and James Heath and Angus for the engraving, among those who contributed to the illustrations, took the lead, with Bell's British Poets, in providing a superior class of book plates for general circulation. Boydell's Shakespeare and Milton followed, rivalled by Macklin's Bible, and accompanied by a host of publications less ambitious in their pretensions and therefore more perfect in their degree. As a specimen of the English school of engraving, the Boydell Shakespeare must be pronounced a failure. It is principally executed in the inferior and now exploded style of *dot* engraving, which had been introduced from France by William Ryland, and unfortunately adopted and brought into fashion by Bartolozzi, under the temptation of its greater facility and rapidity of execution, qualities not to be overlooked in a publishing speculation so extensive as the Shakespeare. Much as this style was then in vogue, it has conferred little reputation on any of those by whom it was practised. Peter Simon, one of the numerous French artists entertained by Boydell, Caroline Watson, Antony Cardon, B. Smith, Ryder, Scriven, and Hull, may be particularized. The last mentioned is remarkable for his skill in the then fashionable style of imitating chalk drawings. Caroline Watson also excelled in mezzotint.

In the superior department of line-engraving, the English school may assert, during this period, an indisputable superiority over all others. The works of William Sharpe rank among the finest which ever proceeded from the graver. His style is distinguished for its beautiful *tooling*, both of the flesh and the drapery. The Doctors of the Church after Guido, and the portrait of John Hunter after Reynolds, have never been surpassed. John Sherwin was a pupil of Bartolozzi, and has the credit of engraving the Clytie, one of the finest works bearing the name of the master. His Death of Lord Robert Manners, and some of the plates

in the large illustrations to Cook's Voyages, especially the portrait of the Sandwich Island Girl, may also be cited as specimens of the highest ability. James Kistler is remarkable for the neatness of his execution, without losing in finish any of the higher qualities of art. He engraved much after Louthembourg, and many of the plates in Macklin's Bible are from his hand. James Heath engraved innumerable book plates in a very superior style, and likewise produced large engravings of the highest merit. Among these are the Death of Major Pierson, the Drowned Fisherman, the Dead Soldier, and the Riots of London after Wheatley. Heath is greatly esteemed among artists for his technical skill in handling white drapery. Anker Smith was also an excellent artist, and, in conjunction with J. Neagle, engraved many plates after Fuseli. Wilson Lowry excelled in architecture and machinery. He invented an instrument by which he carried the engraving of geometrical subjects of this description, plans, maps, &c., to a degree of precision never before attained. His engravings for scientific works are well known. Lowry's instrument was improved at a later period by his pupil Turrell, and in the present day its use has crept into picturesque engraving, doubtless to the advantage of a clear and minute style, but to the total destruction of all the feeling and freedom essential to the constitution of a real work of art. John Scott excelled in animals. He executed a work on sporting dogs, another on horses, and several large plates after Snijders with great success. Louis Schiavonetti, a native of Bassano, who studied in England under Bartolozzi, may be named in this place, although his best works were executed subsequently. He engraved the Cartoon of Pisa after Michael Angelo, and the plates to Blair's Grave after the designs of Blake. His last work was the etching of Stothard's Canterbury Pilgrimage. The names of Parker, Collyer, Legat, and Stow may be added as artists of great merit.

The landscape line engravers of this period are also numerous and excellent. At the head of this class stands Samuel Middiman, and the landscape with the Wounded Stag (in *As You Like It*), in the Boydell Shakespeare, is a fine example of his talents. He executed a set of sixty nine views of picturesque English scenery, to meet the growing popular demand for engravings of a superior class. James Watts and William Angus are each the author of a series of views of noblemen's and gentlemen's seats in the same style. The former executed the architecture with peculiar neatness. Thomas Milton engraved a set of views in Ireland; he was also an excellent engraver of natural history, and did the plates for Cotton's edition of Buffon, and at a later period many in the same class in Rees's Encyclopedia. Pouncey is distinguished for the superior handling of his trees, Peake by the brightness and clearness of his effects, and Taylor for his skill in etching. To the list of the popular works of the period may be added an extensive series of

landscape engravings from the drawings of Paul Sandby, on which the best artists were employed.

In mezzotint engravings the credit of the English school was ably supported by Earlom, B. Smith, Faber, Ryder, Peltro, Say, Turner, and Reynolds. Richard Earlom confessedly stands at the head of this branch of the art. His two flower-pieces after Van Huysum are beyond all rivalry. He also engraved the *Liber Veritatis* with a profound feeling of the original. Samuel Reynolds is the father of the present school of mezzotint engraving both in England and France. He introduced the practice of varying the surface and texture of mezzotint by a mixture of etching, which has latterly been carried to such great perfection in the hands of Cousins and Lucas. William Westall, Sutherland, Medland, Stadler, and William and Thomas Daniell, practised at this time in aquatint (a style in which there is no medium between the very good and the very bad) with a success which ranks them high among engravers. William Daniell was in fact an eminent landscape painter and Member of the Royal Academy, but he is best known by the aquatint engravings from his own Views in India, and the Oriental Field-sports, in which he applied the art to printing in colours, and has produced the most satisfactory imitations of water-colour drawings in the style then practised. Sutherland and Westall also excelled in the difficult mechanical process of adapting the *gram* of aquatint to the various distances and surfaces of the picture.

The name of William Blake has been reserved to the last place, as that of an artist forming a class by himself. He should perhaps be rated among painters, as he engraved exclusively from his own designs, which exhibit a power of imagination scarcely surpassed by that of Fuseli. But it is not denied that this vigorous mind was diseased, and, as he was either deficient in the technical skill necessary to make his engravings acceptable to the public, or indulged his own speculations in the style he adopted, his works will for ever remain "caviare to the multitude," who look at their surface only. To those who penetrate more deeply, they possess, especially his illustrations of the Book of Job, the elements of the sublime.

It would be easy to extend to a greater length the list of the English engravers of this period, but such is the general proficiency which appears throughout their productions, that, with much to commend in each, they would be as difficult to discriminate as the strong Gvas from the strong Cloanthus. Attention to middle-tint and variety of surface, powerful indication of colour, and freedom from that metallic glare in the lights which disfigures the best modern French engravings, are the high qualities of the English school, and the characteristics which distinguish it from all its contemporaries.

The coinage of the reign of George III., down to the end of the nineteenth century, is, with reference to art, one of the most disgraceful productions of

any mint in modern times. The decline of the Roman empire can exhibit little worse than the silver coinages of 1778 and 1787. It was not until 1797 that the copper pence struck for the government by Messrs. Boulton and Watt at Soho exhibited a better feeling for art.

The history of Wood-Engraving in this country, down to the present period, has been traced in the preceding Book,* where the commencement of its revival under Thomas Bewick is recorded. Probably no single work effected so much in rendering the long-neglected art popular, and in restoring it to a suitable place among those denominated the fine arts, as the celebrated volume on the Natural History of Quadrupeds, published by Bewick, in connexion with his partner and former master, Mr. Beilby, in 1790. Even the literary merits of this work, the simple and agreeable style of which also made the science of zoology more popular than it had been before, are sufficient to entitle it to respect, but its great charm consisted in the spirited and generally accurate cuts of the animals described, and in the amusing vignettes freely interspersed as tail-pieces, the designs or conceptions of which display as much the quaint humour of Bewick, who, to adopt the language of one of his admirers, gave "a moral in every tail-piece—a sermon in every vignette," as their execution does credit to his artistic skill. Mr. Beilby's assistance was rendered chiefly in collecting and arranging materials for the literary portion of the work, but even in this department Bewick himself took part. So popular did the work immediately become, that second and third editions were called for in 1791 and 1792, and its sterling value occasioned a continued demand, notwithstanding a great increase of price, the demy octavo copies of the first edition, 1500 in number, having been sold at 9s., while those of the eighth edition, published in 1825, were charged a guinea. The tail-pieces, which lend such a peculiar charm to the work, were much more sparingly introduced in the first than in the subsequent editions. The great success of this work induced Bewick, in 1791, to commence a similar one on British Birds, of which the first volume, embracing the land birds, appeared in 1797; the descriptions in this, as in the 'Quadrupeds,' being chiefly written by Mr. Beilby, whose partnership with Bewick was shortly afterwards dissolved. The second volume, containing the water-birds, was therefore written, as well as illustrated, by Bewick. Its publication, which took place in 1804, "formed," observes Mr. Chatto,† "the keystone of Bewick's fame as a designer and engraver on wood; for, though the cuts are not superior to those of the first, they are not excelled, or indeed equalled, by any that he afterwards executed."

* Vol. i. pp. 622-634.

† Treatise on Wood-Engraving, with Illustrations by John Jackson, p. 861. To this valuable and beautiful work are indebted the most of the facts in the above notice of the art on which it treats.

John Bewick, the younger brother and pupil of Thomas, left Newcastle-upon Tyne and settled in London about the year 1790, where he executed woodcuts to illustrate several works, the best being those published in a thin quarto volume of 'Poems by Goldsmith and Parnell,' issued by Bulmer from the Shakespeare Press, in 1795, a work which, according to the advertisement prefixed, was "meant to combine the various beauties of printing, type-founding, engraving, and paper making, as well with a view to ascertain the near approach to perfection which those arts have attained in this country, as to invite a fair competition with the best typographical productions of other nations." This volume, which contains only the 'Traveller' and the 'Deserted Village,' by Goldsmith, and the 'Hermit' of Parnell, excited the interest of George III. so strongly, that he desired to inspect the blocks from which the illustrations were printed, which were accordingly laid before him by Mr George Nicol. While, however, their beauty is said to have excited the incredulity of his majesty, until he was convinced that they were really printed from wood, by the actual inspection of the blocks, these illustrations, which are in a free and effective style, are only remarkable as specimens of wood engraving at a time when it had fallen into a very low state. Both of the Bewicks, Robert Johnson, an artist who drew, but did not himself engrave, on wood, and Charlton Nesbit, an engraver who long held an elevated position among the professors of this art, were engaged upon the above work, which was followed, in the succeeding year, by a similar edition of Somerville's 'Chase,' with illustrations designed by John Bewick, who died December 5, 1799, and engraved principally by his brother.

Two wood-engravings of this period claim special notice as indications of a desire to apply the revived art to the production of prints of a more ambitious character than those used as illustrations to books. The first of these is an engraving executed by Thomas Bewick about the year 1789, of one of the wild oxen kept in Chillingham Park, of the then unusual size of nearly eight inches by five inches and a half, independent of an ornamental border by which it was surrounded. Owing to the carelessness of the printers the block split after a few impressions were taken (one of which is preserved in the collection of George III., now in the British Museum) but some years afterwards it was repaired. Though this engraving has been called Bewick's masterpiece, it is by no means equal in execution to some of the small cuts in the 'British Birds.' The other engraving referred to is a view of the church of St Nicholas, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about fifteen inches long and twelve inches high, drawn by Robert Johnson, and engraved by Charlton Nesbit, an impression of which may also be seen in the British Museum. This large engraving was executed upon twelve pieces of box-wood, cramped together, and mounted on a plate of cast iron, and it

was published in 1799. For this engraving Mr Nesbit received a silver palette from the Society of Arts in 1798, and in 1802 he was again rewarded by the Society for engravings on wood.*

The Commemoration of Handel in 1784 completely revived in England that taste for Music which had been almost extinguished nearly a century and a half before, during the age of Puritanism, and was but very slowly returning when it received this fresh and powerful stimulus, the immediate effect of which may in some degree be estimated by the comparative results of the triennial musical festivals at Birmingham in 1781 and 1784. The profits of the former year amounted to only 140*l*, of the latter to upwards of 700*l*. In 1802 this had by a gradual increase reached the sum of 2380*l*†. The performances in Westminster Abbey were annually repeated till 1789, the band being enlarged every year till it reached the prodigious number of 1000. They were then suspended on account of the king's illness, but resumed in 1790, and were given one more season, when they were finally discontinued, the French revolution and the agitated state of the country indisposing the public mind for such tranquil enjoyments on so large a scale.

The Ancient Concerts, however, were carried on with great spirit, and not only kept alive but more widely diffused that taste for the grand and sublime in music to which the performances in the Abbey may be said to have given a second birth. The royal family never ceased to attend these concerts regularly, till the state of the king's health rendered his seclusion necessary, and the royal patronage brought with it, as a sure consequence, that of many families of the highest rank in the kingdom. But the bulk of the fashionable world are doomed to suffer a continual thirst for novelty, hence other concerts, in which new compositions were the chief attraction, and formed the principal feature, were established, and all met with support while they were fresh, and able to furnish a supply of that aliment which a morbid appetite demanded. Among these were the 'Pantheon Concerts' and the 'Professional Concerts,' the former held in a beautiful building which was afterwards destroyed by fire in 1792, the latter in the Hanover-square Rooms. These, offering scarcely any but ephemeral productions, had their short lived day, and left only the bare record of their existence.

The year 1791 makes another era in the musical history of this country. Salomon, a very distinguished violinist, then instituted those concerts, known by his name, for which the twelve grand symphonies of Haydn were composed. No new orchestral music of a high order had been produced here since the time of Handel, except some few of Haydn's earlier works, all of which, however, departed widely from the old style, and many of which

* Transactions xvi. 866. xx. 288.

† In the year 1823 the net profits of the Birmingham Festival, for the benefit of the hospital, amounted to 2600*l*.

were as remarkable for effect as for originality. But his last twelve symphonies as far excel all his other works of the same class, as his earlier ones surpassed those of all preceding composers. That they might be heard for the first time under every advantage, the composer himself came to London in the above named year, and also in 1794, to superintend their performance in person. Indeed some of them were composed in the British metropolis, and all were completed here, we may therefore at least claim the merit of having caused the production of works which have exalted the art, are listened to with admiration in every part of the civilized world, and will last while music has power to charm. In 1792 Harrison, the celebrated tenor, and the elder Knyvett,* commenced the 'Vocal Concerts,' consisting of glees, songs, &c., with a bare piano-forte accompaniment. Britten, the eminent base, and Greatorix† joined afterwards in the management of these performances, for which several of our best glees were composed. They became the resort of the fashionable world, and during many years were very successful. Some very good and well attended subscription concerts were also given in the great room of the King's Theatre during the seasons of 1795 and three following years.

The King's Theatre, or Italian Opera continued to be well supported by the upper classes. Sometimes well and sometimes ill conducted, it proved either the source of considerable profit or loss to the managers. But during the present period many excellent operas and some of the greatest singers that Europe ever produced were heard on this stage. Among the former were Paisiello's *Molinara*, *Barbire*, *Elfrida* and *Nina*, Gluck's *Idi*, *nu in Tauride*, *Orfeo*, and *Alcide*, Sacchini's *Lichina*, Grétry's *Zemira et Aor*, Martini's *Giulio Salmo* and Martini's *Cova Rara*. Of the latter were Mesdames Mara, Banti, Billington, and Signora Storace. Signora Pacchierotti, Landucci, Rubinelli, and Marchesi (*opranos*), Viganoni, Rovedino, and Morelli, and Mr Braham. The theatre was destroyed by fire in 1789, and rebuilt the following year, but not opened for operas till 1792, in consequence of a dispute between the Lord Chamberlain and the proprietors. In the interim, the Pantheon, fitted up for the purpose, was converted into an opposition opera house, and this was, in 1792, burnt to the ground.

The increasing love of music was nowhere more discernible than in our national theatres. Opera, which, during the early portion of the present reign, was treated as a mere accessory, and only admitted for the sake of variety, now began to assume a much more important character, and to divide, with tragedy and comedy, the favour of the town. The composers for the English stage who most distinguished themselves were Arnold,‡

Shield,* and Storace. For beautiful melody, and for judgment in setting poetry to music, the two first will always be admired. *The Castle of Andalusia*, *Inlet and Yarico*, *The Surrender of Calais*, and *The Mountaineers* of Arnold, and the *Rosina*, *The Poor Soldier*, *The Woodman*, and *The Farmer*, of Shield, are composed of materials of so durable a nature that they never can be worn out, though captured in fashion may for a while lay them aside. Stephen Storace combined the foreign with the English schools, and made invaluable additions to our stock of dramatic music. His *Hunted Tenor*, *Soirée Supper*, *Pirates*, *In the Chest*, *Mahomet* together with a portion of *The Siege of Belgrade* and *Lodoiska*, will secure to him a lasting place in musical history, and, had he not died at so early an age, when his genius was just beginning to display its full power, it is probable that he would have stood foremost among the greatest musicians of any time or country. As connected with the stage, Charles Dibdin belongs to a former period, but as a true representative of the bards of old—as poet, composer, and singer—this is the place in which he claims to be noticed. Of ancient birds, our only knowledge is derived from vague tradition, but of Dibdin we do know and may assert without fear of contradiction, that no poet of modern times ever operated more powerfully upon a whole people than he did, that no musician ever excelled him in sweetness of melody, and just adaptation of sound to sense, and that no singer ever rivalled him in the effect he gave to his own patriotic and spirit-stirring productions.†

That social and delightful species of music which may be said to be indigenous to the British isles, the Glee, had many able cultivators in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Two already mentioned, Webb and Danby, still continued to labour in the same field, and were joined by younger candidates for fame, among whom the names of Callcott,‡ Stevens,§ and Spofforth* stand conspicuous, and a large proportion of their numerous compositions maintain their high ground in the public estimation, without incurring the slightest risk of ever losing it. Callcott gained many prize medals from the Catch Club, and the two others whom we have named with him received more than once the same acknowledgment of their talents. That club continued to flourish, though, from the enormous

* One of the musicians in ordinary to the king, and latterly master of the state band.

† Storace was born in London in 1763 and died in 1795. He flourished as a composer in long engagements as a performer in our theatres. He was an Englishman, so we may justly claim him.

‡ He was an English poet and musician, was born at Southampton in 1745 and died in 1814. It is with pain we add that he whom even the glories of his navy may be in some degree ascribed was afflicted with the last amidst all the inconveniences of poverty.

§ He was an English poet.

* John Wall Callcott, Mus. Doc. a learned and accomplished man; he was in 1766 died in 1821.

† Richard James Stevens Professor of Music at Gresham College and organist of the Charter House, born in 1733, died in 1807.

‡ Reginald Spofforth a teacher of music born in 1766 died in 1806.

* A gentleman of the Chapel Royal and subsequently organist of the establishment.

† The successor of Joel Bates Esq. as conductor of the Ancient Concerts and afterwards organist of Westminster Abbey.

‡ See ante vol. i. p. 63, note.

expense incurred in trying the compositions sent in by candidates for the prizes, the members ceased in 1793 to give medals.

In 1787 the Glee-Club was established on the plan of the Catch-Club, inasmuch as it consisted of subscribing and professional or honorary, members, who met at dinner periodically, and passed the evening in the enjoyment of that vocal harmony from which the society derived its name. But the meetings, instead of taking place weekly, were limited to twelve in the season, and no prizes were offered, consequently the expense incurred was far less than in the elder club, and the members, though of high respectability, were not necessarily chosen from the most wealthy classes.*

Of the sacred music to which the present period gave birth, *The Shunamite Woman*, an oratorio by Dr Arnold, was repeatedly performed and universally approved, though, not being printed, we can only speak of its merits on the authority of contemporary hearers and writers. Dr John Clark (who afterwards took the name of Whitfield)† published two volumes of Services and Anthems, which prove him to have been an excellent musician of the most orthodox school. The official composers of the Chapel Royal continued to perform the duties of their office with ability and zeal, as the choir books will testify; but for want of that encouragement which was once given by deans and chapters, when they were comparatively poor, to composers for the church, but withheld when those reverend bodies became rich, this most important branch of the art stood still during the general advance, and much that was written remained in manuscript from the fear, not unreasonably entertained by the authors, of the risk incurred by publishing. But a well-digested book of psalmody, by Dr Miller, of Doncaster, appeared, and was immediately adopted by nearly every parochial congregation in the kingdom. The claim of this work to notice is founded on its having directed public attention to the subject, and thus proving the source of that improvement in the service which has ever since been gradually advancing.

The far-famed musical celebrations in Westminster Abbey, to which we have repeatedly adverted, drew the attention of foreign artists to this country, and a number of performers of the

first rank sought our shores. Those of the vocal kind have already been mentioned. Of instrumentalists, Dussek and Steibelt who long resided in London, contributed much to the improvement of all performers on the piano-forte. But in this branch we owe still more to Muzio Clementi and John Cramer, both of whom were denizens, and may morally be considered as natives, of Great Britain, for the one came to us when only ten years of age and passed a long life in our island, and the other arrived in his infancy, and has made this his country by adoption. These names lead us to speak of the instrument which called forth their best powers—an instrument now to be found in the house of nearly every one who is not destined to live by bodily labour—the Piano-Forte.

About the time when the present portion of our history commences, the harpsichord was in general use, but the instrument destined to supersede and finally annihilate it was, though in an infant state, making some progress. The great superiority of the piano-forte, even in its early stage, became so undeniable, that the older professors were obliged either to confess its advantages or tacitly submit to its introduction. Shudi, a German, settled in London, was one of the most famous harpsichord-makers of the day. His daughter married John Broadwood, a native of Scotland, who at first joined his father-in-law in business; but his acute mind soon enabled him to perceive that the old instrument was rapidly approaching deposition, and that the reign of the new one was on the eve of commencing. Enterprising and active, he speedily resolved to employ all his ability, which was of a high order, in the manufacture of piano-fortes, and, aided by unwearied industry and undeviating perseverance—sustained, too, by a character for the strictest probity, which he maintained unsullied during a long life—he brought to perfection an instrument, in the able construction of which he had no rival, by which he honourably amassed a noble fortune, and left a name to his successors that is every where known and respected, and a business which enables the firm of ‘Broadwood and Sons’ to rank with the first commercial houses in the world.

Oratorios continued to be given at Drury Lane Theatre, under the management of Mr Linley and Dr Arnold, and Covent Garden Theatre soon entered into competition with a concern which originated with Handel himself, and had been regularly transmitted to the above proprietors. A few of the least known of the great master’s oratorios were, during two or three seasons, given by the directors of the Ancient Concerts, at the Tottenham Street Rooms, which were regularly attended by the royal family. All these contributed their share towards the propagation of the art, the advance of which was evident in all parts of the two kingdoms.

* Among the original subscribers, members of this club, were Dr Arnold (President), Dr Bevier, the civilist, the Hon. James Hinchinbrook, T. M. Duxius Esq. afterwards Mus. Doc. (Clerk), Wm. Wright Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty, Dr Ayrton, James Hiclious Esq. of Doctors Commons, Thomas Linley (senior) Esq., Thaddeus Aylward Esq., Loftus Attorneys Esq., Griffin Wilson Esq., Matthew Raine D.D. F.R.S. Holders Esq. &c.

Among the honorary members were Messrs Samuel Welby, J. W. Callcott (afterwards Mus. Doc.), James Bartleman, Samuel Harrison, and S. Webbe jun. The club met at first at the house of the messieurs, and this wandering state is alluded to in the glees, *Glorious Apollo*, written and composed for the club by Mr. Webbe after it had chosen a fixed place of meeting.

† Professor of Music to the University of Cambridge. He was also the author of much popular vocal music. He died in 1836.

‡ See ante, vol. I. p. 626.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS



THE time which elapsed between the recognition of American independence and the peace of Amiens was too brief to admit of any of those glaring changes in national customs and manners which catch the eyes of the most unobservant, but, to those who observe more minutely, this period is interesting on account of the great alteration which was silently being brought about, amid the tempestuous political discussions which diverted attention from it.

The court continued domestic in its habits, homely almost in its tastes. The Diary of Madame D'Arblay, who at the commencement of this period was a personal attendant of the queen, has thrown considerable light upon the pursuits and etiquette of the circle immediately surrounding royalty. The king was illiterate, he relished neither poetry nor science. His patronage of the arts of design was little more than an exercise of his strong self-will. For music alone of all the fine arts can he be said to have had a taste, and it was with him a passion. He was a keen sportsman, an enthusiastic farmer, a great gossip. His narrow-minded but sincere piety kept him strictly decorous in regard to social morals, and his strong sense of kingly dignity prevented his gossiping habits from being carried to an extent that would, as in the case of James I., have rendered the wearer of the crown ridiculous. The queen's character has scarcely had justice done to it. Her letter to the King of Prussia when quite a girl, indicates a vein of romance in her character. She had a taste for literature and science, and indulged in it. Bryant was a favourite, De Luc was her constant attendant—"the queen's philosopher," as the Duke of Clarence called him; she chose the author of *Evelina* for her bedchamber-woman, and, when that lady retired on account of ill health, her successor was a niece of the celebrated Jacobin. The queen was fond of being read to, and of reading aloud herself, and De Luc's '*Lettres Physiques et Morales*,' which were addressed to her, convey a favourable idea of her tastes and intel-

gence. But her education as daughter of the poor prince of an inconsiderable territory had impressed her with views of economy which, however praiseworthy they might have been in a private individual, were a vice in a queen, and through force of habit they grew stronger as she advanced in years. She considered it her duty as a wife and a subject to acquiesce implicitly in the tastes and opinions of her husband, and she exerted a will as powerful and pertinacious as his own to render this obedience perfect. The entire union of two such strong-willed, decorous, and narrow minded characters gave the tone at court. Save for particular favourites and immediate attendants of royalty it was not easily accessible. The king and queen were frequent in their attendance at church, the theatres, and other public places, levees and drawing-rooms were duly held, and on these occasions of exhibition all the formality and state of the preceding reigns were kept up. But the royal pair had a different character when they laid aside their robes of state; when the crowd was shut out they were plain, even parsimonious, in their domestic economy. Their household differed only from that of any wealthy nobleman in the almost Spanish stiffness with which the characters of king and queen were never for a moment laid aside.

Perhaps no line of conduct could have done more to secure the throne at that epoch. The domestic and unostentatious habits of the king and queen flattered the middle class, their exclusiveness kept their homely court as much an object of distant awe as a more gorgeous one could have been, and their severe decorum contrasted favourably with the licentiousness of foreign courts, and the equal licentiousness of the democratic leaders of France, in the eyes of the British people, in whom the rival efforts of the dissenters and Wesleyans had kept alive or rather re-created a strong admixture of puritanism. The deportment of the king and queen was something so new in crowned heads, that at the commencement of the reign it rather occasioned coldness and dislike on the part of the people. But as it became an old familiar thing men were at last reconciled to it. The convulsions of France induced the timid and the quiet to cling more closely to the throne. And, lastly, the awful visitation of mental obscurity with which the king was visited, blending compassion with other feelings, rendered the royal pair eminently popular. Two of the many in-

stances of this popularity recorded by Madame d'Arblay will serve to indicate the fervent loyalty of the people (from which the influence of the court over the imitative propensities of men may be inferred), and also the taste and intelligence of the masses at that time.

In July, 1789, Madame d'Arblay, then in attendance on the queen, followed the court to Weymouth—"His majesty is in delightful health. The loyalty of all this place is excessive: they have dressed out every street with labels of 'God save the king,' all the shops have it over their doors, all the children wear it in their caps, all the labourers in their hats, and all the sailors in their voices, for they never approach the house without shouting it aloud, nor see the king or his shadow without beginning to huzza, and going on into three cheers. The bathing-machines make it their motto to over all the windows, and those bathers who belong to the royal dippers wear it in bandeaus on their bonnets to go into the sea, and have it again in large letters round their waists to encounter the waves. I cannot dress as tucked up, and no shoes or stockings, with bandeaus and girdles, have a most singular appearance, and when first I surprised these loyal nymphs it was with some difficulty I kept my features in order. Nor is this all. Think but of the surprise of his majesty, when, the first time of bathing, he had no sooner popped his royal head under water than a band of music, concealed in a neighbouring machine, struck up 'God save great George our king.' In August, 1791, the same lady, after resigning her appointment about the queen's person, visited Sidmouth, and there gleaned from the life of the poorer classes their feelings and conduct in 1789. "A poor woman said 'she had holiday enough upon the king's recovery, for there was such a holiday then, as the like was not in all England. A baker-woman baked 110 penny-loaves for the poor, the gentry roasted a bullock whole, we had a sermon made us all cry. They had 'the king drawn and dressed up all in gold and laurels, and put him in a coach and eight horses, and carried him about, and all the grand gentlemen in the town came in their own carriages to join.' And they had the finest band of music in all England, singing 'God save the king,' and every soul joined in the chorus, and all 'not so much because he was a king, but because they said he was such a worthy gentleman, and the like of him was never known in this realm before, so we all subscribed for the illuminations for that reason—some one shilling, some one guinea, and some a penny—for no one begrudged it as was such a worthy person.'"

The higher aristocracy began about this time to withdraw themselves more and more from the public eye. The old houses kept aloof from the numerous new creations, and nourished, in the quiet way which becomes a country with a tolerably strong police, their old family feuds. Mixing less frankly than formerly with the public, they did not

associate with each other, but every family group maintained a kind of isolated state. The external badges of rank were in a great measure laid aside as inconsistent with the prevailing tone of society. The great wealth of the nobility, their influence as legislators, and occupants of administrative posts in the provinces, rendered them still powerful, and this withdrawing in a manner from public observation when democratic views were rife rendered them less obnoxious. The domesticity of the nobles, like that of the king, preserved their influence at that crisis. At the same time served to strengthen an unostentatious citizenlike deportment, and citizen standard of morality among all the easy classes, which, from various causes, was rapidly spreading through society.

The representatives of the gay and courtly circles of former days still occupied a large space in the public eye, but, being now something apart from the court and the old nobility, they were more objects of wonder than of imitation. A few members of the great families—some so long accustomed to dissipation that they could not accommodate themselves to the tone of the new world, some young and light-hearted and carried away by their volatile spirits—were to be found among them. But the mass of this circle was composed of the wearers of new titles, the rich parvenus, the busy political intriguers, and such other notables. A good deal of the coarseness and licentiousness which had characterised the fashionables of the preceding generation still clung to this class, though even in them it was held in check by the growing decorum of general society, and the increased daring of the personalities of the press and print shop. The alien temper of the court had the effect of making opposition politics to a great extent fashionable with this gay class. The appetite for pleasure, and aversion to control, natural to youth, rendered this kind of society attractive to the young princes. The injudicious severity of their parents for a time converted this difference of tastes into an overt rebellion. The fashionable world rejoiced to increase its influence by enlisting into its ranks the heir of the throne and his brothers. The political rouses played a double game, they identified themselves with fashionable follies at once as a matter of taste and in the hope that it would ingratiate them with the future monarch.

Among those who lent a charm to this circle by their wit and talents the most prominent perhaps at this time were Fox and Sheridan. Burke and Windham succeeded on account of their political differences during the period now under review. But the most dazzling figure of the group was the accomplished, high-spirited, beautiful, and daring Duchess of Devonshire. Madame d'Arblay, by no means partial to any thing or person not in fa-

* Who blamed the chapel, blamed the platform wild
Where once the Austria fell
Beneath the shaft of Tell

and I kissed a chimney-sweep to gain the election of her favourite on a distant tale

your at court, describes the impression made upon her by this lady at two visits—one in the month of August, 1791 “I did not find so much beauty in her as I expected, notwithstanding the variation of accounts, but I found far more of manner, politeness, and gentle quiet. She seems by nature to possess the highest animal spirits, but she appeared to me not happy. I thought she looked oppressed within, though there is a native cheerfulness about her which I fancy scarce ever deserts her. There is in her face, especially when she speaks a sweetness of goodhumour and obligingness that seem to be the natural and instinctive qualities of her disposition, joined to an openness of countenance that announces her endowed by nature with a character intended wholly for honesty, fairness, and good purposes.” In the September immediately following, “I now saw the duchess far more easy and lively in her spirits, and consequently far more lovely in her person. Vivacity is so much her characteristic that her style of beauty requires it indispensably, the beauty, indeed, dies away without it. I now saw how her fame for personal charms had been obtained, the expression of her smiles is so very sweet, and has an ingenuousness and openness so singular that, taken in these moments, not the most rigid critic could deny the justice of her personal celebrity. She was quite gay, easy, and charming, indeed the last epithet might have been coined for her.” A strange group clustered around this being met by nature for something better than a mere queen of fashion. On a footing of equality were such characters as the masculine minded scheming Duchess of Gordon, and the Countess of Buckinghamshire divided between private theatricals and faro. The present is the latest period at which habitual high play notoriously retained a footing in the private houses of the nobility. The caricatures of Gilray record its latest devotees among the families of fashion. But the more prosaic annals of the judicial office also tell their tale.—“11th March 1797. At the police office in Marlborough street, Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Luttrell and Mrs Sturt, were convicted before N Conant and T Robinson, Esqs, in the penalty of 50 each for playing at the game of faro, and Henry Martindale was convicted in the sum of 200*l* for keeping the faro table in Lady Buckinghamshire's house. He witnesses were two servant servants of Lady Buckinghamshire. There were informations against Mr Carcannon and O'Byrne for similar offences. Both the defendants paid the penalty.” Some remarks made by Lord Kenyon in summing up a case in 1796 have been quoted as a proof that gaming among the upper classes was on the increase at this time. The words were, “Gaming is prevalent among the highest ranks of society, who have set the example to their inferiors, and who, it seems, are too great for the law,” and “If any prosecutions are fairly brought before me and

the parties are convicted, whatever may be their rank or station in the country, be they the highest ladies in the land, they shall certainly exhibit themselves in the pillory.” There was quite as much of the courtier as the austere judge in these remarks, for not only was the vice denounced discountenanced at court, but the circle to which it was confined—small in proportion to that of gamblers in any previous age—were personally distasteful to the king and queen, and on the other hand unpopular with the general public. The speech was merely one among many proofs that society had grown ashamed of the vice, that its hold on men was weakened. At comparatively humble distance, and in character still more remote from the better natures, like the Duchess of Devonshire, who lent a grace to this gay circle, were the last examples of a class who, under the last of the Stuarts and even the first Georges, had brazened it at court. A ludicrous example of their tastes and pursuits occurs in a newspaper paragraph of 1802, connected with a name which, however unworthy, will live as long as that of one of Britain's most cherished heroes. “8th March 1802. The effigures are probably to be gratified by Lady Hamilton as much as antiquarians have been by Sir William's researches in Italy, by her reviving an ancient dainty. In the manifest of the ‘Shelburne,’ Captain Hipps, from Sicily and Mahon, entered at the custom house, there appears a case of sow udder, a present for Lady Hamilton.” Lady Hamilton's first appearance before the British public was about the year 1783, when in the employment of Graham, the famous quack, she, as Helbe Vestina, delivered a lecture from the electric throne of health in London.”

The motley classes composing the gay world had their influence on the tone of society weakened by their being out of favour at court. On the other hand, it was undermined by the operation of two widely different principles, which conspired to spread the pursuits and standard of morals, hitherto deemed characteristic of citizens, upwards into the ranks of aristocracy. The devotional character of Methodism had become much sobered among its wealthier professors, and had assumed a more practical turn. Mrs Hannah More's writings and Mrs Trimmer's Sunday-schools were a consequence of this change. These ladies were countenanced by the court originally from pure sympathy with their views and feelings. In 1790 Mrs Trimmer was honoured by the queen with an interview at Windsor. Concomitant tastes and the approbation of royalty confirmed the loyal sentiments of this portion of the religious public, and at the same time rendered them fashionable. The political influence of Wilberforce and others of their leaders made them powerful. Their example, their conversation and writings, raised the standard of public decorum, and spread the taste for domestic pursuits, or affectation of it, recommended by the example of this court. This fashion was not, however, confined to the court party;

one of the most amiable examples of this class was the mother of the dashing Duchess of Devonshire, a lady whose pursuits and whose character, both in its strength and weakness, have been truly and pleasingly drawn by Madame D'Arblay "Lady Spencer"—the date is 1791—"named with much regard Miss Trimmer eldest daughter of the exceedingly worthy Mrs Trimmer, with a regard that seemed quite affectionate. She told me that this young lady had the care of the young Lady Cavendishes, but was in every respect treated as one of themselves. The name of Mrs Trimmer led us to the Sunday-schools and schools of industry. They are both in a very flourishing state at Bath, and Lady Spencer has taken one school under her own immediate patronage. On Sunday, she sent me a message upstairs to say she would take me to the Sunday-school if I felt well enough to desire it. It was a most interesting sight, such a number of poor innocent children all put in a way of right, most taken immediately from every way of wrong, lifting up their little hands to heaven, and joining in those prayers for mercy and grace, which, even if they understood not must at least impress them with a general idea of religion, a dread of evil and a love of good. Lady Spencer is a sensible and sagacious character, intelligent, polite, and agreeable, and she spends her life in such exercises of active charity and zeal, that she would be one of the most exemplary women of rank of the age had she less of show in her exertions and more of forbearance in publishing them. My dear oracle [Mrs Delany], however, once said, vain-glory must not be despised or discouraged when it operated but as a human engine for great or good ends."

The other principle alluded to as actively contributing to diffuse the homely citizen tone through society, was the universally prevalent taste for mechanical inquiries and pursuits. That portion of the Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth which was written by himself contains the most graphic picture of its influence. Common intellectual tastes formed a bond of union between the gentry who, like Edgeworth, were passionately fond of mechanics, or, like Sir John Sinclair, of agriculture, and the wealthier plodding manufacturers and agriculturists. Day, Darwin, Priestley, and others, who combined speculative views in morals with a taste for mechanical science, struck out a moral and political creed which became common both to the aristocratical and democratical sections of this class, and promoted their fusion. Under such influence were moulded the opinions, tastes, and habits of a third section of society, equally distinct from the decorous loyalists who took their tone from the court, and the rouses and demireps of the liberal aristocratical school, the last representatives of the courtiers of the reigns of Charles and Anne. The old puritan party was the nucleus of this section, and its leanings were more or less decidedly republican it affected the views and manners of the French Girondists. In politics the allies of

the gay party opposed to the court, in morals sympathising with the court party, they could blend with neither.

The progress of events in France contributed by external pressure to combine these heterogeneous elements into one general conventional system of exclusively English manners. The staid citizens were startled by the fierce revolutionary energies of France, and sought refuge from them by clinging to the throne. The more timid of the opposition party of the aristocracy followed a similar course. A strongly pronounced sentiment of nationality was found to be the most conducive to harmony among the new allies. The emigrants who flocked from France were received coldly in the domestic circles of England. The gay libertinism of the old courtiers was repulsive to the prudery of the English court. The most moderate of the liberal nobility were shunned because they were looked upon as having helped to bring about the revolution. The emigrants who, like Talleyrand and Madame de Genlis, were identified with its exiles were publicly insulted. French royalists, constitutionalists, and Jacobins found themselves alike under the ban of English society. With the exception of a few political leaders and the mass of the suffering and discontented, the insular exclusiveness of John Bull was exaggerated to a pitch it had never previously attained.

Some idea of the extent to which the isolation of the exceptional parties was carried may be formed from the close of a letter from Dr Burney to his daughter, written in the end of January, 1793, a few days after the arrival of the news of the execution in *LES XVI*—"At the club (the Literary Club) on Tuesday the fullest I ever knew, consisting of fifteen members fourteen seemed all of one mind and full of reflections on the late transactions in France but, when about half the company were assembled, who should come in but Charles Fox! There were already three or four bishops arrived, hardly one of whom, I believe, could look at him without horror. After the first bow and cold salutation, the conversation stood still for several minutes. During dinner Mr Windham and Burke, jun came in, who were obliged to sit at a side table. All were *boultonnés*, and not a word of the martyred king, or politics of any kind was mentioned, and, though the company was chiefly composed of the most eloquent and loquacious men in the kingdom, the conversation was the dulllest and most uninteresting I ever remember, at this or any such large meeting. Mr Windham and Fox, civil—young Burke and he never spoke, the Bishop of Peterborough as sulky as the devil, the Bishop of Salisbury, more a man of the world, very cheerful, the Bishop of Dromore frightened as much as a barn-door fowl at the sight of a fox, Bishop Marlow preserved his usual pleasant countenance. Stevens in the chair; the Duke of Leeds on his right, and Fox on his left, said not a word. Lords Ossory and

Lucan—formerly much attached, seemed silent and sulky.”*

It became the fashion to look down upon every other land as worthless, the conventional domestic morals and manners of Britain were esteemed perfect and alone in the world. Apprehensions of invasion, which brought the whole of the upper and middle classes under arms, lent strength and energy to this feeling. The awkward citizen soldiers were then and still are laughed at. The ignorant contempt entertained for other nations has justly drawn upon the English nationality of that day many a piercing arrow of sarcasm. The prevailing tone of morality was eminently sectarian, narrow, and unelevated. But there was an energy in the people which has rendered it respected, and in its higher and more widely-spread tone of domestic purity, in its humane regard for the poor, the ignorant, and even the criminal and in its chivalrous martial spirit there was much that entitled it to respect. In this new tone of national manners the most discordant ingredients were fused into a harmonious whole—the affected homeliness of the modern republican, the quietism of the Moravian, and the martial loyalty of the cavalier.

The public amusements of the period were scarcely changed in name or form, but greatly modified in spirit. The theatre had become more chaste and decorous. Among places of public resort, Ranelagh was closed before the termination of the century, the Pantheon became a mere concert room, and Vauxhall was abandoned to the citizens. The increased domesticity of men's habits, and the abandonment of external distinctions of rank, created a distaste for miscellaneous assemblies and generated what has been called the “exclusive spirit.” Routes and assemblies were externally much the same as formerly, except in regard to dress in which the more convenient habiliments of daily use which came gradually to differ widely from those worn on state occasions more frequently elbowed them in the meetings of the gay and fashionable. The “court dress,” as it is called, came to be reserved not merely for the court, but for public levees and drawing-rooms. The change by which the modern dress superseded the ancient, at balls and parties, was slow, and a motley appearance was occasioned by the lingering process of transition. The innovations in the forms and arrangements of social intercourse were trivial, as will appear from the following examples.

Madame D'Arblay's Diary contains an account of a “very fine public breakfast, given by Mrs Montague,” in May, 1792, which was then a novelty. The company first entered “the Feather room,” which Cowper's verse has immortalized, and “then made for the dining-room, which was filled for a breakfast upon this occasion, and very splendidly, though to me, who have been long familiar to sights and decorations, no show of this sort is new or striking. The table was not a

matter of indifference to the guests at large, and it was so completely occupied by company seated round it, that it was long before one vacant chair could be seized, and this fell to the lot of Miss Ord. The crowd of company was such that we could only slowly make way in any part. There could not be fewer than four or five hundred people. It was like a full Ranelagh by daylight. . . . We went round the rooms, which were well worth examination and admiration, and we met friends and acquaintances every other step. . . . Dr Russell was in high spirits, and laughed heartily at seeing the prodigious meal most of the company made of cold chicken, ham, fish, &c, and said he should like to see Mrs Montague make the experiment of inviting all the same party to dinner, at three o'clock. “Oh,” they would cry, “three o'clock! What does she mean? who can dine at three o'clock?”—one has no appetite—one can't swallow a morsel—it's altogether impossible.” Yet, let her invite the same people, and give them a dinner, while she calls it a breakfast, and see but how prettily they can find appetites.”

The newspapers of March, 1802, record another innovation.—“This season has been marked by a new species of entertainment common to the fashionable world, called a Pic-nic supper. Of the derivation of the word or who was the inventor, we profess ourselves ignorant, but the nature of it we can inform our readers, as follows.—A Pic-nic supper consists of a variety of dishes. The subscribers to the entertainment have a bill of fare presented to them, with a number against each dish. The number of the lot which each draws obliges him to provide the dish named against it, and thus he takes with him in his carriage or sends by a servant. The proper variety is insured by the talents of the *maître d'hôtel*, who draws up the bill of fare.”

The increased spirit of gentleness and decorum which characterized the easier classes had extended itself much further. The gladiatorial displays of prize swordsmen had ceased. Bull-baiting and pugilistic exhibitions survived, and the waywardness of patrician youth resuscitated the latter and carried it, perhaps, for a time, to a greater excess than it had ever before attained, but on the whole, the taste for these rude amusements had become so weak, even with the rabble, as to admit of their being in a great measure suppressed. The special pleading of Windham in the House of Commons, that they ought to be encouraged, was in itself a proof that their day had gone past. It was the language of a theorist who had had few or no opportunities of witnessing their practical effects, and therefore an indirect proof that they had become of comparatively rare occurrence. Windham admired bull-baiting as Sir Walter Scott admired Jacobitism, because he saw it from a distance with its harsh features rendered indistinct.

During the whole of this period the assimilation of the manners and customs of Scotland with those of England had been advancing at a rapid rate.

* On the subject of the general horror excited in London by the execution of Lou, see ante page 368.

The youth of Sir Walter Scott witnessed the last strongly distinctive marks, and much even of what he has preserved he received from the traditions of the preceding generation. Two circumstances promoted this change: the progress of trade and manufactures, and the revolutionary war. The pastoral countries of the south of Scotland and the Highlands supplied more than their fair average of soldiers, and the commissariat department, both of the army and navy, was particularly attractive to the sons of the burghesses in the smaller royal burghs of Scotland. This class had from the beginning cherished more inclination for connecting itself by traditionary pedigrees with the land-owning class than was the case in England, and since the Revolution a new class of landowners had sprung into existence and importance, most of whom were sprung from burghesses. The difference of caste between the "laird" and the thriving "burghess" was less than existed between the "squire" and the manufacturer. The quicker conveyance of female gauds and fashions from the metropolises to the country towns and rural parishes of Scotland, through the instrumentality of the half-warlike, half-trading class alluded to, was peculiarly instrumental in smoothing down external differences. At the same time, however, that the Scotch were becoming more English, circumstances conspired to keep them English of an earlier date. On the one hand the moral influence of the court was less felt in the remoter districts of the kingdom; on the other the secession of the severer Calvinists from the Kirk had left a more accommodating clergy. The young blood of Scotland, at least among the gentry, was at this period subjected to less restraint than it had ever formerly been. The consequence was that, as the aristocracy of England grew more moral, the aristocracy of Scotland grew less so. The country began to sow its wild oats at too advanced an age. The incidental pictures of excess scattered through the biographies and writings of Burns are not exaggerated.

In Ireland, which still retained a legislature as well as a vice-regal government of its own, there remained a more marked character of distinctive nationality. The manners and customs of Ireland during the period now under review were in little if in anything altered from those of the preceding. They may therefore be passed over without description. Faithful pictures of them will be found in the writings of Miss Edgeworth, and clever caricatures in those of most Irish novelists who have succeeded her.

Although the period comprised in this portion of our work extends only over sixteen years, an almost entire change took place in costume during the course of it. The French Revolution, which broke out in 1789, affected the fashionable as much as the political world, and introduced the modern muslin cravat, in which the chin was sometimes buried, the stand-up collar, pantaloons and Hessian boots, which we find caricatured in

1799, and round hats, which had been occasionally worn in morning dress as early as the year 1780. Scarlet coats were much in vogue about 1784-5. An anecdote in the 'Life of Sir Astley Cooper,' lately published by his nephew, represents the former as returning from a dancing academy dressed in a scarlet coat, a three-cocked hat, a black glazed stock, nankeen knee-breeches and silk stockings. Wigs had begun to go out of fashion as early as 1763, in which year the wig-makers petitioned the king to support the trade by his example. "The hair was a long time," says Malcolm, "dressed or frizzed high on the head like a negro's wool, and perfectly whitened with powder, and alternately plaited and turned up or queued behind. The powder tax occurred, and thousands of heads became in an instant black and brown; and, as the revolution in France deserved imitation, the fierce republican head of Brutus stood us full in the front!"*

In 1785 the ladies wore gowns very nearly of the same fashion as those of the present day, the tight sleeve to the wrist, the waist rather long, and the bell or pocket hoop giving scarcely more amplitude to the skirts than is now imparted by the *crinolins* and corded petticoats. The hair, intensely powdered, was dressed, however, in 1785-6 in a most singular manner, presenting a perfectly square appearance, whilst from behind a quantity of ringlets fell as cut of a frame upon the shoulders. The hats became exceedingly broad in the brims, and were profusely ornamented with ribbons and sometimes with feathers. Very broad sashes were worn round the waist, tied in large bows behind, especially by young girls and children. The years 1787 and 1788 present us with heads dressed more in the *cauliflower* style, whilst in some instances ringlets appear in front, and an enormous long queue hangs down behind. About this period, however, an improvement became visible, which has been attributed to the taste of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Angelica Kauffman, Hoppner, and other portrait painters of that day—the hair being worn full and flowing in natural curls, but still powdered. In 1789 we see the *bouffant* or neckerchief so arranged as to give all the ladies the appearance of pouter pigeons. In the example we give, the lady's hair is confined by a ribbon inscribed "Long live the king," his majesty George III. having in that year, on the 23rd of April, gone in public procession to St. Paul's to return thanks for his restoration to health. A hat with a most absurd chimney-pot crown is visible in the fashions of the same year. In 1790 we begin to perceive the influence of the French Revolution. Two of the caps of that date, of which we give engravings, are exactly similar to those still worn by the French peasantry. In 1793 hair-powder was discarded by Queen Charlotte and the Princesses. In 1795 and 1796, perhaps out of compliment to the Prince of Wales, who was married in the former year, we perceive the triple plume

* Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 286.

of ostrich feathers in the hats of the ladies, and in their *turbans*, another introduction of this period when in court or ball costume. Some were content with a single upright feather. The spencer appears about this time as a riding-habit, and modern bonnets begin to supersede the hats. They are exceedingly small, and some very ugly, like jockey caps, are seen in the fashions for 1799 and 1800. After 1796 the waist began to get much shorter. Hoops were entirely discontinued except at court. "Silks became unfashionable, and printed calicoes and the finest white muslins were substituted." And, instead of the stiff corsages of their mothers and grandmothers, the ladies rushed almost into the opposite extreme, and wore scarcely any stays at all. At the close of the eighteenth century, indeed, England entered what may be

called a transition state of costume, which lasted during the first twenty years of the present century, our remarks upon which we of course reserve for our next Chapter on this subject.

With respect to the army, trifling changes were continually taking place in the uniforms of the different regiments, but the general appearance of the infantry towards the end of this century is given in our engraving at page 472. The cocked hat was exchanged for a cap with a shade and a brass plate in 1800. Some of the dragoon guards wore short-skirted coatees in 1799.

So little alteration took place in the style of English furniture till after the breaking out of the French Revolution, that we shall reserve our remarks for our next and concluding notice of the subject.

FASHIONS FROM 1785 TO 1801



1785



1785



1785



1785



1785



1786



1786



1787.



1788



1787



1788.



1 68



1 66



1788.



1780.



1780



1780.



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1780 .



1792



1792



1792



1793



1793



1794



1794



1795



1796



1796



1795



5



1796



1797



1798



1799



1800



1801



1802



1803



1799



1800



1801



1800



1800



1801



1801



1801



1801.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.



F the circumstances or causes that ordinarily most affect the economical condition of the great body of the population, the first and most direct is the produce of the harvest. At least with a law prohibiting or restraining the importation of corn

from abroad, it may be safely affirmed that the quantity of the grain raised at home in any year is singly more influential upon the whole social system of the community than all other ordinary causes taken together. No diminution of the profits of our foreign trade in any one year has probably ever equalled the amount of loss that has been often sustained through a deficient harvest. And, even if the pecuniary amount in the former case were as great as in the latter, the loss would not come home to the mass of the population so immediately and directly. It would fall in the first instance upon capital, and its force would be broken before it reached the producing classes. An adverse foreign trade may tend to create a scarcity of employment, but that usually comes on gradually, and, if the loss be only upon a single year, although the effect must always, of course, be suffered in some way or other, it may be diffused over so considerable a space of time as hardly to be felt. A scanty harvest is instantly, to the masses, a deprivation of bread. Nothing can prevent it from having this effect. It falls upon them at once with its full weight in that conclusive shape: there is no intermediate barrier to slacken its descent, no accumulated power anywhere to sustain its first rude shock, and ward it off from them at least till it has lost its impetus and subsided into a mere pressure. It strikes sharp and hard at the health and strength, in other words, at the very life of the people, reducing them infallibly to a subsistence either insufficient in quantity or inferior in quality.

The succession of good and bad seasons in England from 1785 to 1801 inclusive, appears to have been as follows.—After an uninterrupted course of deficient harvests from 1765 to 1774,

and a mixture of good and bad years from 1775 to 1784, ending, however, with three of the latter description, the crops for 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 were all at least of average amount. That of 1789, again, was deficient, and that of 1790 still more so. The season of 1791 was one of great abundance, that of 1792 of considerable deficiency, in 1793 the crop was only a moderate one, in 1794 it was not even that, and in 1795, although it was got in in good order, it was still more deficient in quantity. The harvest of 1796, however, was abundant. That of 1797 was rather deficient, that of 1798 moderately good. Finally came the two miserably bad harvests of 1799 and 1800, followed by the tolerably good one of 1801. Thus, in the seventeen years, there were only two abundant crops (those of 1791 and 1796), seven were of average character (those of 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1793, 1798, and 1801), four were rather deficient (those of 1789, 1792, 1794, and 1797), and four were decidedly bad (those of 1790, 1795, 1799, and 1800)*.

The way in which the harvest affects the condition of the great body of the people is, of course, by influencing the price of food. The mean price for the whole year, of the quarter of wheat (Winchester measure) varied throughout the present period as follows, according to the register kept in the Audit Books of Eton College.—in 1785, 48s; in 1786, 42s 2½d, in 1787, 45s 9½d, in 1788, 49s 4d, in 1789, 56s 1½d, in 1790, 56s 2½d, in 1791, 49s 4½d, in 1792, 47s 1½d; in 1793, 49s 6½d, in 1794, 54s, in 1795, 81s 6d, in 1796, 80s 3d, in 1797, 62s, in 1798, 54s; in 1799, 75s 8½d, in 1800, 127s, in 1801, 128s 6d. These mean prices for the whole year are what

* We have deduced this information as well as we could, from the detailed statements collected by Mr. Tooke in his History of Prices vol. i. pp. 428, 179, 188, and 313, 225. At the same time it is proper to observe that the epithets we have used are in some cases only the general terms which appeared to us best to express the amount or result of Mr. Tooke's details. It is also to be remembered that in matters of this kind the facts are always to a certain extent inferential, and therefore matter of controversy. It may seem strange that there should be any difficulty in ascertaining whether in a particular year half a century ago the harvest was good or bad; but the fact belongs to a class of which no authentic register has ever been made or attempted in this country, and hence it is so scarcely admitting of perfect registration. The quantity of each of the different kinds of grain yearly produced in the country might perhaps be collected and recorded (although it has not yet been done), but the quality of the grain, which is also so important an element in the character of the crop, could not be subjected to precise measurement.

best indicate the pressure upon subsistence, but it is to be recollected, in comparing the series of figures with the preceding account of the succession of good and bad seasons, that the mean price for the year will often differ widely from the actual price at any particular time of the year. Prices, too, are always influenced by the prospect of the coming harvest, as well as by the quantity and quality of the crop after it has been gathered in.

As the effect of a bad harvest is more immediately felt by the people than that of any of the other ordinary influences of an unfavourable kind acting upon their economical condition, so a good harvest also brings them whatever measure of relief it is fraught with at once. The measure may be great or small, the bounty of heaven may be in part counteracted by the legislation of man, but still it is impossible for any special arrangements altogether to intercept this blessing, or to prevent it from being immediately, if not fully, enjoyed by the mass of the population. Nor will it be found, we apprehend, that there is anything else which operates so surely and instantaneously in putting a spirit of life even into commercial and manufacturing enterprise as an abundant harvest.

It appears, then, that down to the year 1795, or for the first ten years of the present period, the price of wheat kept within what may be called a moderate range, nearly the same range, in fact, which it had taken ever since 1765, or from about the time when the country had ceased to produce more corn than sufficed for its own consumption. From 1795 to 1801 inclusive, however, prices took another and much higher range, having in only one of these seven years, 1798, declined so low as the highest point they had reached in the preceding ten, or indeed ever since the year 1710. The average mean price for the year of the Winchester quarter of wheat was about 49s 9d from 1765 to 1794, and about 87s from 1795 to 1801.

To this account we may add another, of the contract prices of various articles of provision, &c., as supplied to Greenwich Hospital at various dates. Butchers' meat, which in 1770 was purchased for 106s 6d per cwt., and in 1775 for 113s 5d, cost 117s 6½d in 1785, 202s 10d in 1795, and 304s 4d in 1800; butter, which had been 54d per pound in 1765 was 64d in 1785, 8½d in 1795, and 11½d in 1800, cheese was 3½d per pound in 1785, and 6½d in 1800, peas were 3s 6d per bushel in 1765, 7s 6d in 1775, the same in 1790, 9s 6d in 1795, 13s 5d in 1800; beer was 5s 10d per barrel in 1770, 7s 3½d in 1780, 8s 7d in 1790, 10s 4½d in 1795, and 20s 4½d in 1800, candles were 6s 6d per dozen pounds in 1785, 7s 9d in 1790, 9s 2d in 1795, 10s 4d in 1800, coals were 84s 2½d per chaldron in 1785, 39s 9d in 1795, 51s 7d in 1800, shoes were 4s in 1770, 3s 6d in 1785, 4s in 1795, 5s 8d in 1800.* Other articles of

clothing, however, do not appear to have generally increased in nominal price or money value from the middle of the century, in fact, the great improvements that had been made in the cotton and other manufactures had materially diminished the real cost of most articles of that description, and if money had retained the same value in relation to commodities, their nominal prices would have also been considerably reduced.

With the single exception of articles of clothing, then, it appears that the prices of all necessities continued to rise in this country from the commencement to the close of the present period—more slowly in the first nine or ten years, by a more rapid movement in the last seven or eight. With regard to foreign and colonial produce the case was nearly the same, although the fluctuation of prices followed a somewhat different course. First, according to Mr Tooke, there was a general fall of prices in 1793 and the greater part of 1794, the two first years of the war. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note the fact, without inquiring into its cause or causes, but they may be found explained in the authority to which we have just referred.† “In 1795,” continues Mr Tooke, “several circumstances combined to occasion a range of high prices, besides those of provisions. Two successive bad seasons on the continent of Europe, as well as in this country, had rendered all European agricultural produce scarce and dear, such as linseed and rapeseed, olive oil, and tallow. Silk in Italy, and the vineyards in France, had suffered from the inclemency of the season. There was an extraordinary competition between our government and that of France in the purchase of naval stores in the north of Europe, thus greatly raising the prices of hemp, flax, iron, and timber. The prospect of a war with Spain, which broke out in the year following, affected several descriptions of Spanish produce. Colonial produce, of which a scarcity consequent on the failure of the supplies from St Domingo was now generally felt throughout Europe, experienced a fresh rise. All these classes of commodities continued to rise through 1795 and part of 1796. Those which were affected by the seasons in Europe fell in the latter part of 1796 and in 1797, although, from the increased cost of production, and in the case of naval and military stores from the increasing demand, not to their former level.”‡ “But,” he adds, “a very important class of articles, viz., coffee, sugar, indigo, pepper, cotton, cochineal, and other articles of colonial produce, which had begun to rise in 1795, continued to advance till the close of 1798, inasmuch that at the end of the latter year (and in the first two or three months of 1799) they attained a greater height than at any subsequent period between that and 1814. It is further to be observed, that this large class of articles was rising while corn was falling, and that they attained at the close of 1799 some a little less and

* See table extracted from Parliamentary Papers in M Colloche's Dictionary of Commerce pp. 958, 959.

† History of Prices, i. 176
‡ Id. p. 189.

some a great deal more than 100 per cent above their previous rate, while corn had fallen 50 per cent below the rate which it had attained in 1795 6¹* Mr Tooke afterwards shows that, although in a few instances the rise which had thus been going on since 1796 was continued through the first three months of 1799, yet generally from the close of 1798 the prices of colonial produce began to fall, and underwent a great depression between the spring of 1799 and the spring of 1801, being the very time during which an unprecedented rise was taking place in the price of corn † We believe, as we have stated in a former chapter, that the fall in the one description of prices was in great part the effect of the rise in the other—that the dearth of the first necessary of life withdrew the means of purchasing colonial luxuries, or only half necessities, and so brought down their price by diminishing the demand for them The high price of bread, in fact, appears to have brought down other prices as well as those of colonial produce Mr Tooke further states that “the prices of most of our manufactured articles likewise experienced a considerable fall in the interval from 1799 to 1801” ‡ The people, unable to procure a sufficiency of bread, had no money to throw away upon Coventry ribands, and even much less than they had been wont to have wherewith to purchase the woollens of Yorkshire But on the other hand, between the close of 1798 and the spring of 1801, not only did there take place the enormous rise in the prices of provisions to which we have already adverted, “but,” says Mr Tooke, “many other articles of European raw produce had experienced a simultaneous advance, partly as the consequence of the same inclemency of the seasons which had prevailed in this country, and partly from the extraordinary obstructions to importation from political causes Thus wool and tallow rose from the twofold cause of the seasons in diminishing both the home and foreign produce, and flax, hemp, timber, foreign iron, linseed, in short all articles for our supply of which we are dependent, wholly or in part, on importation from the Baltic, experienced a very considerable rise, not only in consequence of the embargo in Russia in the autumn of 1800, but also in consequence of the threatened hostility of Denmark, which was likely to close against us the passage of the Sound In addition to this extensive dearth of raw produce was the dearth of many articles of general consumption, occasioned by the progress of taxation, such as the heavy duties of excise on salt soap, candles, and leather, which may be considered as necessities, and on malt and beer, sugar, tea, and tobacco and spirits, which are secondary necessities, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, necessities to all the classes above the very poorest Fuel of every description had risen considerably from the same general causes” §

Here, then, we have a general rise in the money prices of all the ordinary articles of consumption The price of bread, as we have seen, the first necessary of life, had nearly doubled in the course of the seventeen years which make up the present period, all other kinds of provision had also become greatly enhanced in price, only the materials of clothing and some other manufactured articles had not become dearer On the whole, the increase in the expense of subsistence and housekeeping to the poor man cannot well be estimated to have been less than fifty per cent, or, in other words, his three shillings at the close of this period would not go farther than his two shillings would have done at its commencement

The question, therefore, of whether the condition of the great body of the people was better or worse in the latter than it was in the early part of the period will be answered if we can ascertain whether every man really had three shillings to spend in 1800 for every two which he had in 1785—that is to say, whether wages had risen fifty per cent, or thereabout, between those two years as well as prices Or, as prices were nearly stationary down to 1795, we may take that year, instead of 1785, as our starting point “Such and so great,” observes Mr Tooke, “being the rise of prices of provisions and of nearly all consumable commodities, it was quite impossible that the lowest of the working classes could, upon their wages at the rate of what they were before 1795, obtain a subsistence for themselves and their families, on the lowest scale requisite to sustain human existence, and the classes above the lowest, including some portion of skilled labourers, could do little, if at all, more than provide themselves with food, clothing, and shelter, without any of the indulgences which habit had rendered necessities If, under these circumstances, there had been no rise of wages, no contributions by parishes and by individuals in aid of wages, great numbers of the people must have actually perished, and the classes immediately above the lowest would with difficulty have preserved themselves from the same fate In such case, the suffering from dearth would have been correctly designated as a famine—a term which has been somewhat loosely applied to the period under consideration For, severe and intense as were the sufferings and privations of the people of this country in the dearths of 1795 and 1796, and of 1800 and 1801, there were few recorded instances of death from actual destitution A rise of wages was imperatively called for by the urgency of the case, and was complied with, to some extent, in most of the branches of industry, the claims for increase being aided by the resource which workmen and labourers had of enlisting in the army and navy” ¶

Upon the subject of wages the Greenwich Table of Contract Prices gives us the following information—The daily wages of carpenters continued at 2s 6d from 1730 (at which year this part of

* History of Prices, i p 190

† Id p 225

‡ Id

§ Id p 225

the table begins) till 1795, but in 1800 (the next year given in the abstract) they are stated at 2s 10d. Those of joiners were 2s 8d in 1785, and were no higher in 1785, but in 1790 they were 2s 10d, and in 1800 they were 3s 2d. By 80s, however, the wages of both joiners and carpenters had advanced to 4s 6d per day. Those of bricklayers, which were 2s 6d in 1760, are stated at only 2s 4d in 1780, and at only 2s in 1785, but in 1790 they had again risen to 2s 4d, and they were 3s in 1795, and the same in 1800. In 1805 they were 4s 10d, or more than twice what they had been only fifteen years before. Those of masons, which in 1735 were 2s 6d, and which stood at 2s 8d from 1740 to 1770, had reached 2s 10d by 1775, but remained at the same amount in 1800, by 1805, however, they were 5s. Those of plumbers, which had been 3s from 1730 to 1740, were only 2s 6d from 1745 to 1760, but were again 3s from 1765 to 1780, and were 3s 3d from 1785 to 1800. By 1805 they had risen to 4s 6d. The most considerable advance, therefore, in all these cases appears to have taken place after 1800. How much of the difference between the wages of 1800 and those of 1805 may have been an addition made immediately after the former of these years the abstract of the Green with accounts does not indicate.

There was, however, some advance of wages in 1800 and 1801, as well as in 1799 and 1796, but there appears to be no doubt that both these advances together were far from being sufficient to compensate for the advance which had in the mean time taken place in the prices of all the principal necessities of life. Mr Tooke quotes a statement of Arthur Young's, from the 'Annals of Agriculture' for 1801, in which that writer affirms that a labourer was then living in the vicinity of Bury, in Suffolk, who, when his week's wages were only 5s, could purchase with that sum a bushel of wheat, a bushel of malt, 1 lb of butter, 1 lb of cheese, and a pennyworth of tobacco, whereas in 1801 the same purchases would have cost him not less than 26s 5d, while his week's wages had only risen to 9s. If we were to judge by this instance, then, it would appear that, in the course of perhaps fifty or sixty years, the condition of the working man had been depressed, in so far as it was to be measured by his rate of wages, to a point in the scale of comfort, or of command over the good things of life, only about one-third as high as that at which it originally stood. His wages in 1801 could purchase scarcely more than a third-part of the quantity of provisions which they could formerly purchase. Here, however, it is probable, we have a very cheap year placed against a very dear year, which is not a fair way of representing the difference between the two eras. Still there is abundance of other evidence to show that the wages received by all classes of labourers at the close of the present period were far from sufficient to purchase the same quantity of necessities as the lower wages which

they had received at its commencement. Thus, the wages of journeymen tailors had from 1777 to 1795 been 21s 9d per week, which would then purchase thirty six quarter loaves, they had been advanced in 1795 to 28s, and in 1801 to 27s per week, but the latter sum would only purchase eighteen loaves and a half in that year of scarcity. So also with the wages of printers' compositors, which had been advanced from 24s to 27s in 1795, and to 30s in 1801 the advance was to the extent of 25 per cent in all, but the advance in the price of bread had been above 140 per cent.

It is true, indeed, that this very high price of bread was only temporary, and that the rise of wages not only maintained itself after bread fell in price, but even went on and increased. If it had not done so, if so much of buoyant energy had not manifested itself in the social system, it might have been apprehended that the principle of general decay was already at work, and that, whatever show there might be of health and growth, the real strength of the system and its spirit of life were on the decline. Where there is no tendency to advance evinced by the body of the people, it seems impossible that any other advance can be permanent, or can operate otherwise than to break up society by separating it into two alienated and repugnant portions. The continuance of the rise of wages, or of their tendency to rise, after the extreme prices of 1801 had somewhat given way, was a natural consequence of the generally advancing state of the nation, and, besides, the same principle which had originally impressed this upward direction upon wages was still at work, and urging on their movement so long as the old relation between their amount and the price of provisions remained unrecovered. Prices commonly both rise and fall much more suddenly or rapidly than wages, the nature of wages is rather to follow the movement of prices at some distance than to run by their side. In the present case, even if it should be contended that wages, by continuing to rise after 1801, did at last nearly recover their former relation to the price of food, still it is not to be questioned that for the seven years preceding that date any rise that they experienced was far from adequate to sustain the labouring population in the position which they had held before 1795.

The great rise in the price of corn, as we have seen, began in that year. The price of the Winchester quarter of wheat, according to the Eton College accounts, was 45s 0d at Michaelmas 1793, 52s at Lady day 1794, 56s at Michaelmas 1794, 71s at Lady-day 1795, 92s at Michaelmas 1795, 96s at Lady-day 1796, having thus, by an uninterrupted ascent, more than doubled its height in the course of two years, while it still continued to mount up. Its progress, however, had been comparatively gradual at first, the transition from the old range of prices to quite a new range may be said to have taken place in the twelve months between Michaelmas 1794 and Michaelmas 1795, during which the quarter of wheat rose very

nearly 70 per cent, and at the end of the term still retained its tendency to go on in the same direction. By the time that parliament met, in the end of October, the general distress had reached such a point that it formed the subject of a prominent paragraph in the king's speech, and on the 3rd of November the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr Pitt, resolved itself into a committee to take into consideration the high price of corn. On this occasion Mr Lechmere, member for the city of Worcester, endeavoured to show that the scarcity had arisen from other causes than the deficiency of the late harvest, which he described to have been as plentiful a one as the great Author of all blessings had ever given us—a mistake, as very soon became apparent enough. "The poor man, nevertheless," added the honourable member, "who ploughed the earth which produced that plenty was starving, or driven to very great distress indeed, and entirely unable to support his family." Lechmere thought that the system of great farms—what he called "the monopoly of farms"—ought to be put down, or at least prevented from extending itself. "It was notorious," he said, "that there were now farms occupied by one man which formerly supported twelve or fifteen families." The jobbers in corn and horned cattle, he also thought, were instruments of great oppression to the people. Fox also doubted if the scarcity had really been occasioned by the defective produce of the two last harvests. Meat, he observed, and the produce of dairy farms, had advanced in price to the same extent as bread, "but what affords," he went on, "the most striking proof that the high price does not arise merely from the deficiency of the harvest, is, that with respect to barley, the produce of which is admitted this season to have been plentiful beyond example, a similar advance of price has taken place." We are not here concerned with these reasonings as to the causes of the dearth, we bring them forward only as involving evidence of its character and extent but surely there was nothing to occasion surprise in the circumstance that the scarcity of wheat should have raised the price of barley—that in their inability to purchase the dearer grain, upon which they had been wont to subsist, the people, or a portion of them, should resort to the cheaper, and so its price be raised by the increase of the customary demand. In fact, it will be found that, under the operation of this principle, whenever the price of any chief article of subsistence rises, the prices of all other kinds of provision that can be in any measure employed as its substitutes will rise along with it. Fox was inclined to attribute the scarcity partly, but not solely, to the war. "I admit, even," he added, "that part of the causes to which it may be traced may be connected with a certain state of prosperity of the country. The war certainly has had a most decided effect, so far as it has tended to increase the consumption, to diminish the production, and to preclude the pos-

sibility of obtaining supplies, which might have been drawn from other quarters. But, if there are other circumstances which have operated along with those arising from the war—if the evil has proceeded from many and complicated causes—nothing can be more mischievous than to ascribe it solely to one cause, and to proceed as if that were the fact." The state of wages had already, it appears from Mr Fox's speech, begun to attract attention. "There are some," he said, "who think that the price of labour has not kept pace with the increased price of provisions. I am afraid that this disproportion too much takes place in almost all the counties of England, and that, while provisions have been rapidly rising to an unexampled height, labour has been by no means advanced in proportion. It is indeed a melancholy and alarming fact, that the great majority of the people of England—an enormous and dreadful majority—are no longer in a situation in which they can boast that they live by the produce of their labour and that it does regularly happen, during the pressure of every inclement season, that the industrious poor are obliged to depend for subsistence on the supplies afforded by the charity of the rich." On the 9th of December following, Mr Whitbread brought in a bill to accomplish the extraordinary purpose of fixing a rate below which wages should not be suffered to be paid. On the 12th of February, 1796, on the order of the day being read for the second reading of this bill Whitbread entered into some details on the subject of the existing distress. "In most parts of the country," he said, "the labourer had long been struggling with increasing misery, till the pressure had become almost too grievous to be endured, while the patience of the sufferers under their accumulated distresses had been conspicuous and exemplary. Were it necessary to refer to any authority, he could quote the writings of Dr Price, in which he showed that in the course of two centuries the price of labour had not increased more than three or at most four fold, whereas the price of meat had increased in the proportion of six or seven, and that of clothing no less than fourteen or fifteen fold, in the same period." Dr Price's calculations upon this as well as upon other subjects may be regarded as more curious than conclusive, but the honourable member went on to observe—"The poor-rates, too, had increased since the beginning of this century from 600,000*l*. at which they were then estimated, to upwards of 3,000,000*l*. Nor was this prodigious increase in the poor-rates to be ascribed to the advance of population, for it was doubtful whether any such increase had taken place. At the present period the contrary seemed to be the case. By the pressure of the times marriage was discouraged, and among the laborious classes of the community the birth of a child, instead of being hailed as a blessing, was considered as a curse." The motion for the second reading of the bill was lost, and at the present day it is scarcely necessary to remark

that Whitbread's idea, if it had been attempted to be carried into execution, would only have aggravated the evil it was designed to cure or diminish. The establishment of a minimum of wages would have been a condemnation to starvation of all who could not find employment at the rate fixed, although they might have found it at a lower rate. Mr Whitbread, however, again brought forward his plan in the next parliament, on the 11th of February, 1800, when he observed that what first put it into his head was the situation to which the poor were reduced in 1795, when their distresses were nearly the same as they still continued. The bill, as before, was thrown out on the second reading.

A few days after this, on the 18th of February, Lord Hawkesbury, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the assize of bread, stated to the House some interesting facts relating to the habits of the people and the economical condition of the country. "The number of consumers of wheaten bread," he observed, "depended much upon the abundance of the crop, and the consequent price of wheaten bread. On an average, one-third of the people did not consume wheaten bread. A great majority of the people in Scotland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, the North Riding of Yorkshire, part of Lancashire, of Wales, Cornwall, and the northern parts of Devonshire, consumed bread made of oats, barley, and other grain. Now, as to the quantity of wheat consumed, a quarter of wheat in the year for each man was the general calculation. This allowance would require between eight and nine millions of quarters to supply the country for a year. The produce of the country varied in different years, but the average did not feed the country, for the average importation for several years back might be estimated at one-twentieth of the whole consumption." The deficiency of the late crop Lord Hawkesbury estimated at one-third of an average crop, so that the quantity of wheat necessary to be imported would be this third added to the usual importation of one-twentieth of the consumption, deducting only the stock on hand. All things considered, he calculated that the probable amount of the importation necessary for the present season would be above 600,000 quarters, whereas in 1796 the quantity imported was more than 800,000. The quantity of wheat and flour actually brought from abroad, however, in this year was above 1,200,000 Winchester quarters.

In the state to which the people were thus reduced, the pressure upon the poor-rates necessarily became greatly augmented.

The history of the legislation on the subject of the poor-laws has been brought down in the last Book to the passing of Mr Gilbert's Act for the erection of union workhouses, in 1782*. By an Act passed in 1790, justices of peace were empowered to visit the workhouses within their jurisdiction, and, having examined the state of the

houses, of the paupers therein, and of their food, clothing, and bedding, to report the result of their inquiries to the next quarter-sessions, and also to summon the masters of workhouses to appear at the sessions to answer complaints made against them. And justices at the quarter-sessions were authorised to make the necessary orders and regulations for the removing of any cause of complaint. The visiting justices were also empowered, if they found the poor in any workhouse affected with any contagious or infectious disease, to order that medical or other assistance should be immediately procured, or proper food provided for them, or that the sick should be separated and removed until further order could be taken at the next quarter-sessions. But the most important of the Acts relating to the poor, passed within the present period, was that passed in 1797 (the 37 Geo III c 101), which repealed so much of the Act of the 13 and 14 Char II c 12, as authorised justices to order the removal of persons likely to become chargeable to parishes, and provided that no poor persons should be removed from any parish in which they might be resident, until they should have become actually chargeable. Thus was at length removed from the statute-book, and the constitution of the country, after it had been in force for more than a hundred and thirty years, a most tyrannical power by which the labouring classes were, in point of fact, reduced to the condition of *serfscripts gl'bar*, with this difference only, that they were confined each to a particular parish, instead of to a particular estate*.

The law regulating the management of pauperism was therefore considerably improved during the present period, but, on the other hand, very serious abuses in practice were introduced. Under the first pressure of the high prices of 1795, the magistrates of Berkshire and some other southern counties published tables of the rates of wages which in the opinion of labourers ought to receive, according to the price of bread and the numbers of their families, and directed that the parish officers should in all cases make up the wages of the labourer to the allowance so set down for him. This example was followed in other parts of the kingdom, and, an act having been passed the following year (the 36 Geo III c 35), permitting relief to be given to the poor, under certain circumstances, and in certain cases, at their own houses, various expedients were adopted by parishes for carrying the new principle into effect. The most common mode was by what was called the roundsman (or other wise the house row, billet, ticket, or stem) system, which consisted, as defined in the Report made by the Poor Law Commission in 1834, in "the parish paying the occupiers of property to employ the applicants for relief at a rate of wages fixed by the parish, and depending, not on the services, but on the wants of the applicants, the employer being repaid out of the poor-rate all that he advances in wages beyond a certain sum." The roundsman

* See ante, vol. I. p. 697 (where the date is misprinted 1781).

* See Pictorial History of England, III. 906.

system, however, had been known in various parts of the country before this date. Sir Frederick Eden speaks of it as having been general in Buckinghamshire and many of the midland counties before the publication of Sir William Young's proposal for the amendment of the poor-laws in 1788.* In his Report on the parish of Winslow, in Bucks, dated September, 1795, he says, "There seems to be here a great want of employment: most labourers are (as it is termed) *on the rounds*, that is, they go to work from one house to another round the parish. In winter sometimes forty persons are on the rounds. They are wholly paid by the parish, unless the householders choose to employ them, and, from these circumstances, labourers often become very lazy and impetuous."† And again, in the report on the parish of Kibworth-Beauchamp in Leicestershire, dated August, 1795—"In the winter, and at other times, when a man is out of work, he applies to the overseer, who sends him from house to house to get employ: the housekeeper who employs him is obliged to give him victuals and 6d a day, and the parish adds 4d (total 10d a day), for the support of his family: persons working in this manner are called *roundsmen*, from their going round the village or township for employ."‡ The Report of the Commission on the Poor Law states that the general practice, where the roundsman system was adopted, had come to be, for the parish to make an agreement with a farmer to sell to him the labour of one or more paupers, at a certain price, and to pay to the pauper out of the rates the difference between such wages and his proper allowance according to the table. "It has received the name of the *billet or ticket system*," continues the Report, "from the ticket signed by the overseer, which the pauper in general carries to the farmer as a warrant for his being employed, and takes back to the overseer, signed by the farmer, as a proof that he has fulfilled the conditions of relief. In other cases the parish contracts with some individual to have some work performed for him by the paupers at a given price, the parish paying the paupers." It is added, that in many places the roundsman system was effected by means of an auction. In Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, the old and infirm were then (in 1834) sold once a month to the best bidder, at prices varying, according to the time of the year, from 1s 6d to 3s a week. At Yardley, Hastings, all the unemployed men were put up to sale weekly, and the clergyman of the parish told the commissioner that he had seen ten men, the week before, knocked down to one of the farmers for 5s, and that, out of 170 male paupers belonging to the parish, there were then about 70 let out in this manner §

One effect of the roundsman system, therefore, was to throw an unfair share of the burthen of supporting the poor upon such rate-payers as did

not employ labourers in proportion to their rates. The farmer got back his assessment, or part of it, in the form of cheap labour: the labour he required was in part paid for him by those of the inhabitants who employed less labour in proportion to their rates than himself. It is evident that this plan could operate no diminution of the entire burthen of the rates, and that it had as little tendency to lessen the amount or check the spread of pauperism. On the contrary, by increasing the allowance to the pauper in proportion to the price of bread and the number of his children, it tended to destroy all habits of providence and economy, to counteract those arrangements of nature by which in years of scarcity the smaller quantity of food that there is to be divided is made to go farther than it would have done or have needed to do in a time of greater plenty, and to encourage by a premium the propagation of poverty and destitution.

The total amount raised under the name of parochial and county rates in England and Wales in the year 1783 was, as we have seen in the last Book, 2,184,904/. The average expenditure upon the poor for the three years 1783-4-5 was 2,004,239/. The next year for which we have any account is 1801, in which the sum expended for the relief of the poor was 4,017,871/, or more than double what it had been seventeen or eighteen years before. The average of the total sum levied for poor rates and county-rates in the three years 1801-2-3 was 53,45,203/, or nearly two and a half times as much as had been so levied in 1753-4-5.

The population of England and Wales was probably about 8,000,000 in 1755, and about 9,000,000 in 1801. The census taken in the latter year made it 8,872,980. The increase of the poor-rates, therefore, in the course of the present period would appear to have been nearly ten times as great as the increase of the population. A portion of the additional amount of money expended on the poor is, no doubt, to be assigned to the augmented price of provisions, but certainly not more than one-half of the increase in the rates can be so accounted for. At least 50 per cent of the increase, which was 100 per cent in all, must be set down, it is to be apprehended, to the increase of pauperism, in other words, while the general population had been augmented by an eighth, the pauper population had been augmented by a half, or by four times as great a proportional accession. And the probability is, that this latter augmentation had taken place in less than half the time that the other had been going on—that it was chiefly the growth of the seven years from 1794, or, at most, of the nine from 1792, to 1801.

During the earlier part of the present period, indeed, the condition of the labouring classes, as well as of the rest of the community, was probably one of decided and even rapid advancement. "There can be little doubt," as Sir Frederick Eden has observed, writing in 1797, "that the ten

* See his *State of the Poor*: i. 397.
† *Id.* ii. 80. ‡ *Id.* p. 384.
§ Report, p. 28.

years ending in January, 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance that has been considered by political economists as demonstrative of national prosperity."⁶ Sir Frederick is even disposed to hesitate before admitting that the great augmentation of the poor-rate was an unequivocal proof of the inability of labourers, at the time when he wrote to maintain themselves on the ordinary wages of labour "Before this can be admitted," he argues, "it should be proved that more persons are maintained by the present poor-rate, which probably exceeds three millions sterling, than were by half that sum twenty years ago" And he goes on "Even allowing this to be the fact, it by no means proves that the able bodied labourer, whom it has been

the fashion of late years, upon benevolent though mistaken principles of policy, to quarter on the parish, would, if unassisted by the overseer, have been unable to benefit himself, whilst his employer was getting riches by his labour" "The fact," he concludes, "seems to have been, that, instead of an advance in wages proportioned to the increased demand for labour, the labourer has received a considerable part of that portion of his employer's capital which was destined for his maintenance in the form of poor-rate (the very worst that it could assume), instead of being paid it as the fair, well-earned recompense of equivalent labour" "This," Sir Frederick well says, "is a deplorable evil, which has fallen heavier on the poor than on the rich"⁷

⁶ State of the I or i 574

⁷ State of the I or i 575